

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
WOMEN  
& ISLAMIC  
CULTURES

WOMEN & ISLAMIC CULTURES

*Practices, Interpretations and Representations*

VOLUME 5

BRILL

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WOMEN  
& ISLAMIC CULTURES

VOLUME V

*Practices, Interpretations and Representations*

General Editor: **Suad Joseph** (University of California, Davis)

Associate Editors and their regional responsibilities:

**Afsaneh Najmabadi** (Harvard University)

Turkey, Iran, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Muslim Republics of the ex-Soviet Union.

**Julie Peteet** (University of Louisville)

Arab Gulf States, the Arab Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, Mauritania, Israel, Andalusian Spain and Europe under the Ottoman Empire.

**Seteney Shami** (Social Science Research Council)

Arab Gulf States, the Arab Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, Mauritania, Israel, Andalusian Spain, Europe under the Ottoman Empire, the Ottoman Empire, the Americas, Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa.

**Jacqueline Siapno** (University of Melbourne, Universidade da Paz-Dili, East Timor)

China, Mongolia, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, Burma, Thailand, Australia, Vietnam, Cambodia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the Asian Pacific.

**Jane I. Smith** (Hartford Seminary)

Western Europe, the Americas, and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Assistant Editor:

**Alice Horner** (Independent scholar)

Sub-Saharan Africa.

Copy editing:

**Margaret Owen**

Indexing:

**Caroline Diepeveen**

Advisory Board:

**Lila Abu-Lughod**, Columbia University

**Leila Ahmed**, Harvard University

**Nadje al-Ali**, University of Exeter

**Soraya Altorji**, American University in Cairo

**Rabiatu Ammah**, University of Ghana

**Yesim Arat**, Boğaziçi University

**Barbara Aswad**, Wayne State University

**Beth Baron**, City College New York

**John Bowen**, Washington University

**Suzanne Brenner**, University of California,  
San Diego

**Jocelyn Cesari**, CNRS and Harvard University

**Julia Clancy-Smith**, University of Arizona

**Virginia Danielson**, Harvard University

**Layla Diba**, The Bard Graduate Center for Studies  
in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture

**Elizabeth Fernea**, University of Texas, Austin

**Yvonne Haddad**, Georgetown University

**Sandra Hale**, University of California,  
Los Angeles

**Virginia Matheson Hooker**, Australian National  
University

**Deniz Kandiyoti**, University of London

**Nursyahbani Katjasungkana**, Indonesian Women's  
Association for Justice

**Nikki Keddie**, University of California,  
Los Angeles

**Kim Knott**, University of Leeds

**Saba Mahmood**, University of California,  
Berkeley

**Katayun Mazdapur**, Institute for Humanities and  
Cultural Studies, Tehran

**Aminah McCloud**, DePaul University

**Anne Meneley**, Trent University

**Barbara Metcalf**, University of Michigan

**Farzaneh Milani**, University of Virginia

**Shahrazad Mojab**, University of Toronto

**Kathleen Moore**, University of California,  
Santa Barbara

**Ebrahim Moosa**, Duke University

**Karin van Nieuwkerk**, ISIM Nijmegen University

**Sulayman Nyang**, Howard University

**Norani Othman**, University of Kebangsaan,  
Malaysia

**Carla Petievitch**, Montclair State University

**Anthony Reid**, National University of Singapore

**Barbara Stowasser**, Georgetown University

**Sylvia Tiwon**, University of California, Berkeley

**Nayereh Tohidi**, California State University  
Northridge

**Frances Trix**, Wayne State University

**Judith Tucker**, Georgetown University

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WOMEN & ISLAMIC CULTURES

VOLUME V

*Practices, Interpretations and Representations*

*General Editor*

Suad Joseph

*Associate Editors*

Afsaneh Najmabadi

Julie Peteet

Seteney Shami

Jacqueline Siapno

Jane I. Smith

*Assistant Editor*

Alice Horner



BRILL

LEIDEN – BOSTON

2007

© Copyright 2007 by Koninklijke Brill NV,  
Leiden, The Netherlands  
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates  
the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,  
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff  
Publishers and VSP

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

ISBN: 978-90-04-12821-7 (Vol. V)

ISBN: 978-90-04-13247-4 (SET)

Despite our efforts we have not been able to trace all rights holders to some copyrighted material. The publisher welcomes communications from copyrights holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Cover design: BEELDVORM, Pijnacker

For information and the author's template, see:

<http://www.brill.nl/ewic>

<http://www.sjoseph.ucdavis.edu/ewic>

# Arts: Belly Dancers

## Overview

FROM LOCAL DANCE TO BELLY DANCING  
The term “belly dancing” is a relatively new label for a dance form that evolved from age-old dances performed throughout the Middle East. Around 1900, Western visitors to Egypt called the local dancing in cabarets and cafés-chantant “belly dancing.” In Egypt, the dance was and still is referred to as *raqs baladī*, local dance. It is particularly the urban *baladī* dance performed in cabarets that is known in the West as belly dancing. In Egypt, these stylized performances are often referred to as *raqs sharqī*, Oriental dance. At present “belly dancing” is performed in nightclubs throughout the Middle East, North Africa, and the West. The term is thus a Western label for a local dance that has in the meantime become global. Although belly dancing is not confined to Egypt, either in the past or at present, in order to understand the development of this urban local dance into belly dancing it is instructive to look into social, historical, and political developments in Egypt.

## SOURCES

The origins of the dance are not clear. Several theories look for rites associated with fertility and maternity (Buonaventura 1989). Because of the lack of sources no conclusions can be drawn about the origins of belly dancing. Only from the eighteenth and particularly the nineteenth century onwards do we have eye witness accounts of local dancing as reported by such Western travelers as Niebuhr (1776), Savary (1787), Burckhardt (1875) Lane (1836), Flaubert (1849) and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1763). These travel accounts are highly biased but, if used with caution, they give some insights into the developments of local dancing into belly dancing. For the twentieth century, there are several Egyptian art magazines, such as *Dūnyā al-fann* and *Majalla al-funūn*, that deal with the scenes of nightclubs. For the recent period, oral history and fieldwork are relevant sources (Nieuwkerk 1995, Franken 1998).

## DIFFERENT GENRES AND CONTEXTS OF BELLY DANCING

*Raq̄s baladī* or belly dancing is not the only dance form in Egypt (Saleh 2002). Besides, profes-

sionals and amateurs practise this dance in different private and public contexts. The differences in context are constitutive for the meaning attached to the dance. Most generally “belly dancing” is practiced by young girls and women of all ages at festive occasions. At all-female gatherings or mixed parties, women dance out of happiness, *farḥa*. It expresses the dancer’s happiness and watching her dance makes others happy. The meaning of dance shifts to the one currently most familiar in the West, that is, as exciting and sensual only if it is performed publicly for a (male) audience by paid professionals.

There are three public contexts in which belly dancers work. First, the performing arts circuit, the performances in theaters and on television. Second, the nightclubs ranging from five-star clubs in expensive hotels to cheap downtown clubs. Famous dancers such as Dina, Suhayr Zaki, Fifi Abduh, and Nagwa Fuad perform in the higher echelons of the nightclubs. The cheaper clubs are inhabited by a number of lesser stars. Third, there is a large group of dancers who perform at weddings and other festive occasions of the lower and lower middle class. Several of them also work at saint’s day celebrations.

## NINETEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

Around 1800, there were two groups of female performers. In the first place, there was a group of *‘awālim*, meaning learned women or female scholars. Their main activities were writing poetry, composing music, improvising, and singing. They also danced, but only for women. The second group of female entertainers was the *ghawāzī*. They were mainly dancers who performed unveiled in the street, in front of coffeehouses and at saint’s day celebrations. There was also a category of female entertainers between the *‘awālim* and the *ghawāzī*. This group consisted of lower-class singers and dancers who performed in popular quarters. During the nineteenth century, this group of common *‘awālim*, who increasingly became mere dancers and mostly performed for foreigners, increased.

This new development met with fierce opposition from the religious authorities. In 1834, the ruler Muḥammad ‘Alī took steps against performers and public women. Public female performers were forbidden to work in the capital. Women detected

infringing this new law were eventually banished to Upper Egypt. The higher-class *ʿawālim* could continue their usual activities in the harems. A number of impoverished entertainers in the south turned to prostitution. The ban was lifted around 1850. Female entertainers were allowed to return to Cairo, but not to practice their occupation publicly. To replace the former singing and dancing in the streets and markets, a new opportunity was created, *cafés-chantant*.

#### TWENTIETH-CENTURY NIGHTCLUBS

Nightclubs developed at the turn of the twentieth century and were mainly restricted to Cairo and Alexandria. In spite of the bad reputation of most nightclubs, the artistic level of many performers was considerable. The main task of female entertainers, however, was to sit and drink with customers. Prostitution was not necessarily part of the performers' job, but some performers probably engaged in prostitution in order not to lose a wealthy customer. Several Levantine dancers worked in the nightclubs as well. In other major Middle Eastern and North African cities a scene of music-halls and *malāhi* developed as well, featuring amongst others Egyptian belly dancers (Zubaida 2002, 221).

During the First World War, the interbellum, and the Second World War, Cairo was full of soldiers and officers spending the evening in the nightclubs. After the war, a new campaign was launched against prostitution and nightclubs. In 1949, prostitution was made a criminal act. In 1951, sitting and drinking with customers was prohibited but the law only became effective under Sadat. In 1973, a new system of registration and licenses was initiated. Dress prescriptions were sharpened and behavior with customers was restricted. Although the new regulations were not watertight, sitting and drinking with customers no longer occurs.

#### PROFESSIONALIZATION

From the second half of the twentieth century, the scene of patronized arts became important. The new media provided performers with a more respectable context. In the beginning, the new options were open to many. Due to a process of professionalization and the growing number of art schools and institutes, a distinction was created between institutionally trained artists and those without formal training. Professionalization influenced the various branches of art in a different way. For actors and actresses it generally resulted in a rise of esteem for the profession as a whole. For dancers it generally had an unfavorable effect. Since the 1960s, the ministry of culture has pa-

tronized ballet and folklore. Belly dancing was left without any form of schooling and recognition. It is not allowed in theaters and, as a result of growing religious opposition, refused on the Egyptian public television channels as well.

#### DECLINE OF THE POPULAR DANCERS

The hey-day of the popular *ʿawālim* was at the beginning of the twentieth century. They increasingly sang and danced for the lower and middle classes. At the beginning of the twentieth century, wedding celebrations were still segregated and for that reason women were prominent on the entertainment market. They worked as singers, dancers, musicians, and organizers of weddings, *uṣṭāwāt*. In the late 1940s, the *ʿawālim* vanished because the weddings became less segregated and less extravagant. They lingered on in the countryside, but around the 1960s the separate women's party disappeared. People either abolished professional entertainment at the women's party or allowed them to be present at the men's party.

Between the 1940s and 1970s, women lost an important market after the disappearance of the *ʿawālim*. Yet, not only did they remain active at weddings as singers and as dancers at mixed parties in the street, but several women also managed to build up a male clientele and kept on working as *uṣṭāwāt*. From the 1970s onward, popular entertainment and music flourished. Due to the open-door policy of President Sadat (1973–81), a middle class emerged that spent part of its wealth on entertainment. The growing demand for entertainers resulted in higher wages. The increased profits have attracted many people from outside the profession. They started working not only as musicians, singers, and dancers but also as employers. The original entertainers' families blamed these "intruders" for the loss of esteem and the decline of the artistic level of entertainment. The economic recession of the late 1980s and 1990s hit popular entertainment hard.

#### GLOBALIZATION OF BELLY DANCING

During the last decades of the nineteenth century, belly dancers were exported in the flesh to the numerous World Exhibitions of the West. The 1889 Paris Great Exposition had an Algerian and Egyptian coffee house with dancers. "Little Egypt," a Syrian dancer, was the sensation at the 1893 International Exposition in Chicago. She inspired a host of imitators who introduced the dance in burlesque shows. The Egyptian dance troupe returned home with \$500. It was an enormous sum in those days and prompted other Egyptian dancers to set out for

Europe and the United States. Western dancers, in turn, set out for the East. These dancers, plying East and West, probably brought Western dance innovations to the Middle East.

The development of the Western cabaret costume was one of the most striking changes influencing belly dancing. The Egyptian dance costume of the nineteenth century consisted of a simple wide skirt or trousers, undershirt and waistcoat. Western belly dancers molded this rather ordinary dance outfit. “Eastern” elements, found missing, were added. The veil, pre-eminently “Oriental,” was introduced, and around the 1920s, the Western cabaret show attire had developed into the present-day presumed Oriental dance costume. The orientalized version was exported by dancers and early American movies and was gradually introduced into Egyptian nightlife (Buonaventura 1989, Graham-Brown 1988).

Within the United States and Europe, belly dancing has become immensely popular. Teachers from Egypt and elsewhere gave workshops and founded schools. Belly dancers trained in the West started their own schools, workshops, and magazines. In the West, belly dancing is not only developed within the context of nightlife – bars and restaurants – but is also connected with such diverse trends as spirituality, fertility, health, and healing. Western-trained belly dancers and recently East European ballet dancers occasionally perform in Cairene nightclubs.

#### GENDER AND ISLAM

Occasionally males perform belly dancing, but it is mainly perceived as a woman’s dance. The woman’s body is focal in dancing but several meanings can be inscribed unto the female body. Whereas in the West belly dancing is perceived in terms of health, fitness, spirituality, or sexuality, in Egypt belly dancing is mainly perceived as pleasure, either familial happiness or sensual pleasure. Particularly the sensual display for money for a male audience is a sensitive issue in Egypt and increasingly under attack from the side of Islamists.

Religious agitation against public entertainment is not a recent phenomenon. The beginning of the nineteenth century and the early 1930s and late 1940s witnessed a religious revival unfavorable to entertainment. Under President Mubarak, a multiple strategy is followed with regard to Islamist opposition. The government attempts to Islamicize its policy in order to take the wind out of the sails of Islamists. Consequently, the effect of growing religious pressure is discernable in all fields of art and entertainment.

In 1977 and 1986, several nightclubs went up in flames. Recently, the closure or replacement of

the Pyramid nightclubs has been under debate. Religious influence on the wedding circuit is most strongly felt in the south, particularly in Minya and Asyut. In Cairo, Islamists effectively control a few neighborhoods. They occasionally disturb weddings, break the musicians’ instruments, and chase the female performers from the stage. Since the late 1980s, the religious battle against art has begun to affect the performers. Several famous female performers repented and adopted the *hijāb*, the new form of veiling. They strongly condemned their former practices and publicly confessed their former sins. The former artists are used in the Islamist struggle against art.

Whereas entertainers must negotiate their ways in an increasingly Islamist atmosphere, there are forces counterbalancing their effect. Many people still enjoy popular entertainment and invite performers to their weddings. If they forego these pleasures it is mostly for economic rather than religious reasons.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- G. Flaubert, *Flaubert in Egypt*, ed. F. Steegmuller, Chicago 1979.  
 E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1978.  
 Lady M. W. Montagu, *The complete letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. R. Halsband, Oxford 1965.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- W. Buonaventura, *Serpent of the Nile. Women and dance in the Arab world*, London 1989.  
 M. Franken, Farida Fahmy and the dancer’s image in Egyptian film, in S. Zuhur (ed.), *Images of enchantment. Visual and performing arts of the Middle East*, Cairo 1998, 265–83.  
 S. Graham-Brown, *Images of women*, London 1988.  
 K. van Nieuwkerk, “A trade like any other.” *Female singers and dancers in Egypt*, Austin, Tex. 1995.  
 M. Saleh, Dance in Egypt, in V. Danielson, S. Marcus, and D. Reynolds (eds.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, vi, *The Middle East*, New York 2002, 623–35.  
 S. Zubaida, Entertainers in Baghdad, 1900–50, in E. Rogan (ed.), *Outside in. On the margins of the modern Middle East*, London 2002, 212–31.

KARIN VAN NIEUWKERK



## Arts: Composers

### Afghanistan

Individual women composers have not been recognized or promoted in Afghan culture. Historically, musical composition has been a generally anonymous process. Musicians and singers improvised around existing material, and little emphasis seems to have been placed on individual innovation. However, from the late 1950s, the task of composing numerous short new pieces became part of music broadcasting at Radio Afghanistan, and male musicians took on this role. Female performers employed at the radio were restricted to being singers, and they were not expected to initiate new material.

In traditional or folk music, women and girls have certainly been active in creating songs, dances, and dance rhythms, but in an anonymous capacity. Domestic women's music-making has a participatory dynamic, and it is likely that many new musical ideas emerged in group contexts. The starting point for creating new songs has surely been with poetic texts, and some songs (especially maternal laments) point to individual poetic authorship.

VERONICA DOUBLEDAY

### The Caucasus

The most notable contribution of Muslim women composers in the Caucasus area is in Azerbaijan, where several generations of academically trained female composers emerged, producing works in all genres of music, many of them gaining international recognition. Two factors facilitated the vast involvement of women in music in Azerbaijan: the ideas of women's emancipation, important for Communist ideology, Azerbaijan being a part of the Soviet Union from 1920 to 1991, and the tremendous efforts of Uzeyir Hajibeyov (1885–1948), the founder of art music tradition in the country.

The first women composers in Azerbaijan, who appeared in the 1940s, had to struggle with conservative views regarding woman's role in society. They involved themselves enthusiastically in the process of mastering European forms and genres that was going on in Azerbaijani music at the time.

Aghabaji Rzayeva (1912–75), Adilya Huseynzade (1916–2005), and Asya Sultanova (b. 1923) contributed to the development of vocal and instrumental music of Azerbaijan. Shafiga Akhundova (b. 1924) became the first Muslim woman to produce an opera (*Bridal Rock*, 1972). Elmira Nazirova (b. 1928) – a renowned pianist – enhanced the piano repertoire of Azerbaijani music, creating études, preludes, a piano concerto on Arabic themes, and a suite for two pianos on Albanian themes (the last two works with Fikrat Amirov). The first female composers of Azerbaijan apparently based their styles on idioms of traditional and folk music, reconsidering them through a prism of Western classical music. All of them had completed academic training, having graduated from the Azerbaijan Conservatory. Nazirova had also studied with Dmitry Shostakovich at the Moscow Conservatory.

The next generation of Azerbaijani female composers, which emerged in the 1960s, enjoyed a more encouraging atmosphere: local audiences perceived their activities positively. Ruhangiz Gasimova (b. 1940) and Elza Ibrahimova (b. 1938) created popular songs that entered the repertoire of famous Azerbaijani singers. Sevda Ibrahimova (b. 1939) (in her operas *The Ring of Faith* and *Tales of My Grandma*, piano concertos, and vocal cycles), and Afag Jafarova (b. 1943) (in her piano preludes, the vocal cycle *Colors*, and symphonic pieces) blended folk music idioms with advanced techniques of twentieth-century music. This was a reflection of the intense stylistic and genre innovations that were taking place in Azerbaijani music in the 1960s.

This process apparently strengthened in the 1970s when composer, pianist, and conductor Franghiz Alizade (b. 1947) became one of the foremost exponents of the avant-garde, experimental music styles in Azerbaijan, soon earning a reputation as one of the leading voices in the world of contemporary music. As a pianist, she was one of the first to bring music of Schoenberg, Berg, Webern, Messiaen, Hindemith, Cage, and Crumb to audiences in Azerbaijan and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Among the first works featuring Alizade's distinct compositional voice is *Habilsayaghi* (1979), for cello and prepared piano, where compositional mastery of Western format is combined with a great legacy of Azerbaijani culture, the *mugham* genre.

This came to be the hallmark of Alizade's style; it is manifest in her later works, for example *Music for Piano* (1989), *Cello Concerto* (2001), *Crossing II* (1993), *Mirage* (1998), *Darvish* (2000), *Journey to Immortality* (1999), *Mughamsayaghi* (1993), and others. Music by Franghiz Alizade is performed all over the world by such prominent soloists as Mstislav Rostropovich, Yo-Yo Ma, Evelyn Glennie, Ivan Monighetti, as well as by the world's famous ensembles and orchestras, including the Kronos Quartet (San Francisco), the Collegium Novum (Zurich), the Continuum Ensemble (New York), the Nieuw Ensemble (Amsterdam), the Philharmonic Orchestra and the Hilliard Ensemble (London), the Berliner Philharmoniker (Berlin), the Ensemble Modern (Frankfurt), and La Strimpellata (Bern). Ballets with her music run successfully on stages in Helsinki, New York, Berlin, Munich, and Istanbul. World famous companies, such as Sony Classical and Nonesuch Records, have recorded her works. Alizade is a key figure among those composers invited by cellist Yo-Yo Ma to participate in his transcontinental Silk Road Project. Four of her works have become mainstays of the repertoire that the Silk Road Ensemble takes on its worldwide tours. Music of Alizade has been played at prestigious festivals of contemporary music, for example Internationale Musicwochen in Lucerne (1999), where she became the first female to earn the status of composer-in-residence. Alizade holds numerous awards, among them League of Composers' Honorary Mention (ISCM, Zurich 1981), Honored Artist of Azerbaijan (1990), Le Diapason d'or. Le Chant du monde (Paris 1992), People's Artist of Azerbaijan (2000), Diploma and Medal 2000 Outstanding Intellectuals of the 21st Century (International Biographical Centre, Cambridge, England, 2003), and Diploma and Medal Women of the Year 2004 (American Biographical Institute, 2004).

Rahilya Hasanova (b. 1951), another voice of contemporary Azerbaijani music, is known for reviving Sufi rituals and ancient layers of Azerbaijani folk music in her instrumental pieces *Sama*, *Darvish*, *Pirabadil*, and *Alla Meikhana*. Adilya Yusifova (b. 1956) and Elnara Dadashova (b. 1952) work productively in stage, instrumental, and vocal genres of music. Aliya Mammadova (b. 1973), who was awarded the second prize at the First Jurgenson Competition of Young Composers held in Moscow in 2001, represents the youngest generation of Azerbaijani female composers.

Crucial political changes – the collapse of the Soviet Union and Azerbaijan's independence in 1991 – have not altered the high status of female musicians in the country. In May 1995, a festival,

Azerbaijani Women in Music, was held in Baku, and in 1998, Frangiz Alizade established the organization Women in Music.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Adilova, *Journey to herself* [in Russian], Baku 2003.  
 N. Akhundova, Women in music [in Azeri], in *Musigi Dunyasi* 1 (1999), 154–5.  
 —, Music festival in Lucerne. Composer-in-residence Frangiz Alizade [in Azeri], in *Musigi Dunyasi* 1 (2000), 140–1.  
 F. Aliyeva, Azeri women in the vanguard [in Azeri], in *Azerbaijan IRS* 4/5 (2000), 110–17.  
 F. Alizade, Music needs beauty (interview with M. Kareva) [in Russian], in *Muzykal'naia Akademiia* 1 (2002), 190–3.  
 S. Behbudova and A. Huseynova, Elmira Mirzarza gizi Nazirova [in Russian], in T. Seidov (ed.), *Outstanding representatives of piano culture of Azerbaijan*, Baku 1988, 115–29.  
 Y. Gabay, Franghiz Ali-Zadeh, in *Music in the USSR* (July–December 1990), 31–2.  
 R. Hasanova, Concert in the museum [in Russian], in *Muzykal'naia Akademiia* 1 (2002), 185–8.  
 A. Huseynova, Aesthetic and stylistic space in the works of Franghiz Alizade [in Azeri], in *Musigi Dunyasi* 1/2 (2007), 84–90.  
 L. Karagicheva, Meetings with Franghiz Alizade [in Russian], in *Sovietskaya Musika* 11 (1990), 22–4.  
 M. Lobanova, Auf der Silk Road des kulturellen Dialogs. Die aserbajdschanische Komponistin Frangis Ali-sade, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 4 (July–August 2000), 20–4.  
 R. Nikolayeva, *Adilya Huseynzade* [in Russian], Baku 1985.  
 S. Tahmirazgizi, *Life is a song* [in Azeri], Baku 2005.  
 R. Zohrabov, Composer and pianist Sevda Ibrahimova [in Azeri], in *Musigi Dunyasi* 1 (2000), 91–2.

NIGAR AKHUNDOVA AND AIDA HUSEYNOVA

#### Iran

Though both composition and improvisation play important roles in the music of Iran, only a small number of male musicians were known as composers before the nineteenth century. While this may suggest that women did not create works of music, the historical record is misleading. Few women were literate before the nineteenth century; this prevented any musical works they created from being recorded. It is likely that many more women composed than the historical record indicates.

Two women became recognized as important composers/performers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sulṭān Khānum and Tāj al-Salṭana both initially resided in the nineteenth-century court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār (1848–96). Sulṭān Khānum was a professional musician who performed in the court's women's quarters (*andarūn*). The exact dates she lived are unknown, but she was a celebrated performer in the middle

of the nineteenth century. Born in 1884, Tāj al-Saltāna was a daughter of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh who played music as a leisure pursuit. According to her memoirs, Tāj al-Saltānah played the piano at an early age and studied the *tār*, a six-stringed long-necked lute. She died in 1936.

The compositions of Sulṭān Khānum and Tāj al-Saltāna portray individuals waiting for their lovers, a common theme in Persian poetry. In the song “Buta Buta” (My idol my idol), Sulṭān Khānum writes:

My idol, my idol  
I am upset and fascinated by your sorrow  
Alone, alone  
My eyes are like the river Oxus  
Morning wind, tell the happy elegant youth – tell us  
not to be crazy  
Until when beloved will you be far from me, dear one  
Until when will you sit with others, dear one  
Be merciful to the countenance of my helpless heart...  
Otherwise I swear to God I will put another in your  
place  
Otherwise I will go and abide with others

In the song “Nadida Rukhat” (Your unseen face), Tāj al-Saltāna wrote about the same subject:

Your unseen face, your unseen face  
I am afflicted by the sorrow of your distance  
I am afraid that I would die  
My problem would be solved  
You are the friend of my cruelty  
My dear, I go away from this sorrow – why are you  
far from me?  
My day is for hardship  
It passes and my night is for separation  
My life is from these two things: uselessness and  
futility

Although these songs were popular in the early twentieth century, only the texts have survived to the present day. More recently musicians have used early twentieth-century recordings that include short sections of these works to reconstruct the songs in their entirety, demonstrating the continued importance of these two composers in the music repertoire of modern Iran.

The rise of the Pahlavī dynasty (1926–79) brought with it new conceptions of music. Increasing familiarity with European music over the previous century eventually changed teaching and performance of music. A growing differentiation between performers and composers emerged as a result of formalization of musical training. While we do not have a full history of this process as it affected women performers/composers, it seems that in this process, women’s presence became more acceptable as performers; male musicians seem to have set out to cast female musicians in a new light akin to women performers in the West. Eliminat-

ing a direct link with dance and adopting European forms of dress, women began singing recitals using a somber style of presentation like that of operatic singers in Europe. This change in public presentation was meant to convert the performances of women from idle entertainment into sophisticated art. As the twentieth century progressed the attempt to cast women performers in Westernized roles emblematic of sophistication continued, but a growing trend toward highly sexual depictions of women in music also took hold. While there were a growing number of women musical performers in the Pahlavī period, there is no information on women composers – a trend that continued in the post-Pahlavī period after the ban on women’s musical performance was partially lifted.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- T. al-Saltāna, *Khātirāt-i Tāj al-Saltāna*, Tehran 1982.  
R. Khāliqī, *Sarguzasht-i mūsīqī-i Īrān*, 2 vols., Tehran 1954.  
H. Mashun, *Tārīkh-i mūsīqī-i Īrān*, Tehran 2002.

ANN LUCAS

## The Ottoman Empire

Women composers were encouraged and their talents developed within the confines of the Ottoman imperial court and in the houses of prominent statesmen and other cultural elites. In addition, the Muslim musical education itself fostered their creativity that in gradual succession went from learning the repertoire to improvisation, composition, and finally teaching.

The process of musical composition in Ottoman culture was significantly different from the European model. In the Ottoman musical tradition, importance was placed almost as much on creation of a particular musical composition as on improvisation, *taqsīm*. To improvise it is necessary to possess a significant knowledge of *maqams* (musical modes) which are more than simple scales – they are truly compositional rules. Hence, vocal and instrumental improvisation should be viewed as a particular type of musical composition; this is a skill expected from any instrumentalist and vocalist who has been through traditional musical training. Historical documents are replete with instances of female slaves who provided entertainment in the confines of a harem. The most talented slaves were sent off to pursue intensive musical training in the most prominent cultural centers of a particular period. This was the case of Christian female slaves in medieval Spain who were sent to Cairo. At the Ottoman court and harems of wealthy

elite in Istanbul, female slaves, who were often from the Balkans and Circassia, learned the art of vocal and instrumental improvisation as a part of their musical instruction. The memoirs of Lady Montagu (eighteenth century) and Leylâ Saz (nineteenth–twentieth century) both noted instances of musical improvisation in their accounts of musical performance in the Ottoman harem. Leylâ Saz also indicates that female ensembles played a diverse repertoire that consisted of folk songs and dances, as well as more challenging pieces that are a part of the classical *fasıl* cycle. This ability to improvise and knowledge of extensive classical repertoire, then, should be viewed as one indicator of Muslim women's ability to compose more structured pieces that are usually associated with male entertainment and Sufi culture.

Recent scholarly studies indicate that it is possible to speculate that women contributed to the creation of *kharja* (final refrain of *muwashshah*) repertoire that served as a female counterpart to the male oriented *muwashshah* (musical poetic form) repertoire in medieval Spain. It is important to note that free Jewish women also made significant contributions to the *muwashshah* repertoire. Ottoman Turkish sources provide even more information on the creativity of women as composers.

The earliest known source that records compositions written by women composers in Ottoman Turkey is Ali Ufkî's *Mecmûa-i Sâz-ü-Söz* from the second half of the eighteenth century. In this collection, Ali Ufkî included both anonymous women's folk songs (*varsâğ-i nisvân*) and the classical instrumental pieces (*peşrev*), which in their titles contained descriptive terms such as *dilkeş* (heart attracting), or *gül-i rânâ* (yellowish rose with reddish heart), to name just two. While it is possible to interpret these terms as titles of character pieces, after careful examination of the entire collection it becomes apparent that Ali Ufkî's systematic approach leaves little space for misunderstanding. All instrumental pieces in this collection note the name of the composer in the title followed by the name of the *maqam* and rhythmic cycle. These descriptive poetic terms, then, probably refer to names of female slaves who were professional musicians at the royal harem. Inclusion of both folk and classical pieces written by women attests to the existence of communication and exchange between the male and female worlds at the Ottoman court. This is further confirmed by Demetrius Cantemir, a Romanian prince who recorded the repertoire played at the Ottoman court around 1700, and included in his collection instrumental compositions of Reftar Kalfa, the term *kalfa* indicating here her rank and probably

teacher status in the imperial harem. Hamparsum Limonciyan, from the early nineteenth century, included pieces by several women in his collection. Among them, Dilhayât Kalfa's instrumental compositions are considered masterpieces and are frequently played today by classical Turkish music ensembles.

However, it was not only the slave women who wrote classical compositions. Ottoman princesses and daughters of prominent statesmen and other cultural elite received remarkably rich musical training, effects that were particularly visible at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century when Ottoman Turkey was swept by modernization and Westernization. Musical training of aristocratic women included instruction in both *alaturka* (Turkish) and *alafranga* (European) styles, and they often played *kanun* (zither), *ud* (lute), and *tanbur* (long necked lute) in addition to piano and violin. They also composed pieces in both styles. Along with *şarkis* (light classical songs) and *saz semais* (instrumental compositions consisting of two to four parts and a recurring refrain), Ottoman women composers wrote marches and waltzes that infused these European forms with Ottoman sensibilities through use of modal features found in Turkish *maqams*. Leylâ Saz, Nigâr Hanım, İhsân Râif Hanım, and other women composers published their compositions in female-oriented publications such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* and *Süs*, and leading newspapers and magazines of the period, such as *Şehbal*. Others, like Câvide Hayrî Hanım, composed spiritual pieces (*nefes*) that were published in *Dergâh* magazine. Some women composers even participated in open competitions and won awards for their compositions, surpassing their male counterparts. Their fame exceeded the seemingly insular world of Ottoman bourgeoisie. Leylâ Saz is a case in point; her *şarkis* crossed the ethnic and class boundaries and her songs are revered today as masterpieces of this popular music genre. Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, many Turkish women have earned degrees in music composition at the conservatories in Istanbul and Ankara, and quite a few pursued further training at leading musical institutions in Europe.

In the past several decades, contributions of Muslim women composers who use Muslim-influenced music idioms are becoming common in Europe. For example, Aziza Mustafa Zadeh, a young Azerbaijani composer now residing in Germany, fuses Azeri *mugam* with European classical and jazz idioms in her compositions, which have won international acclaim. Similarly, the Turkish composer Yüksel Koptagel won several prestigious

competitions and her pieces are frequently performed by contemporary music ensembles and artists across Europe. Their successes cannot be viewed as recent phenomena stemming solely from Westernization and women's emancipation. Rather, they are the legacy of a centuries-long tradition that was nurtured in the Ottoman social milieu.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- B. Aksoy, *Istanbul kültüründe musiki ve kadın*, offprint, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları no. 47, İstanbul 1997.
- J. R. Cohen, Ca no soe joglaresa. Women and music in medieval Spain's three cultures, in A. L. Klinck and A. M. Rasmussen (eds.), *Medieval woman's song. Cross cultural approaches*, Philadelphia 2002, 66–80.
- J. M. Edwards, Women in music to ca. 1450, in K. Pendle (ed.), *Women and music. A history*, Bloomington, Ind. 2001, 26–57.
- S. Elçin, *Ali Ufki. Hayatı, eserleri ve Mecmua-i saz ü söz*, İstanbul 1976.
- S. G. Hatherly, *A treatise on Byzantine music*, London 1892.
- S. K. Irtem, *Osmanlı sarayı ve haremın içyüzü. Müzika-i hümayun ve saray tiyatrosu*, İstanbul 1999.
- R. Klaser, *From an imagined paradise to imagined nation. Interpreting şarkı as a cultural play*, Berkeley 2001.
- Lady M. W. Montagu, *Turkish embassy letters*, Athens 1993.
- Y. Öztüna, *Büyük türk müzikisi ansiklopedisi*, i–ii, Ankara 1990.
- E. Popescu-Judet, *Dimitrie Cantemir* [in Romanian], Bucharest 1973.
- J. A. Sadie and R. Samuel (eds.), *The Norton/Grove dictionary of women composers*, London 1994.
- L. Saz, *The imperial harem of the sultans*, İstanbul 1995.
- , *Solmuş çiçekler*, İstanbul 1996.
- T. Taşan, *Kadın besteciler*, İstanbul 2000.
- I. H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlılar zamanında saraylarda musiki hayatı, in *Bülten* 41 (1978), 79–114.

RAJNA KLASER-LEDoux

### South Asia

Among the array of musical styles in South Asia, the notion of “composer,” one who crafts both music and lyrics, is elusive. Since different types of music in the region are mainly orally transmitted, process is emphasized over product, and forms are often open-ended, allowing for improvisation. Thus, stylized, emotive rendering of existing material that includes repeatedly fresh improvisation, embellishments, and abstraction tends to be considered a more accurate reflection of the depth and creativity of an artist than skill as a composer. Moreover, text-tune hierarchy can dictate whether in some genres (usually folk and devotional) new textual material constitutes a new “composition,” regardless of the fact that the *dhun* (tune type

consisting of particular motivic material) may be almost the same or only slightly varied. The music of South Asia can be grouped into regional folk genres, religious and devotional expressive forms, tribal forms, accompaniment for theater and dance drama, urban popular genres, and art traditions.

Although very little is known about individual women musicians or dancers who lived before the twentieth century, references are made to women in texts dating back to the Rigveda, the oldest text of the Vedic Aryans (ca. 1400 B.C.), as well as other treatises written in the early centuries of the Christian Era. In North India, the best known poet-composer is Meera Bai (ca. 1498–ca. 1546), a Rajasthani queen who, overcome with devotional fervor for the deity Krishna, renounced her wealth and status to live as a mendicant and wander from temple to temple singing songs she composed in his praise and speaking out against the injustice she suffered because of her caste and gender. Several thousand such *bhajans*, an important cache of *bhakti* (popular devotional) poetry also referred to by Sufi poets, are credited to Meera Bai and sung throughout India, yet scholars argue that many of these were actually composed by her devotees. The virtual absence of mention of women singers or composers in Mughal texts reflected the ban in elite Muslim etiquette against writing prose about anything that may invoke eroticism (such as women's voices). One exception is in the seventeenth-century treatise *Rag Darpan*, in which the author, Faqir Allah, mentions one woman vocalist, but only because her voice reflected the glory of her late *ustad*.

In South India in the eighteenth century, Mudupalani, a *devadasi* in the court of Raja Pratap Singh in Tanjavur, wrote a remarkably erotic epic poem set to music, *Radhika Santwanam* (Appeasing Radha). In 1887, a group of Orientalist scholars published an edition of the work, excising Mudupalani's prologue, in which she identifies herself as a *devadasi* hailing from a matrilineage and describes her time in the Tanjavur court. In 1910, another *devadasi* musician, Bangalore Nagaratnammal, found the manuscript and reprinted it, adding the previously omitted prologue, provoking a government ban until 1952. A group of feminist literary scholars resurrected it once again three decades later, including it in an anthology of Indian women writers (Tharu and Lalita 1991).

Until several decades into the twentieth century, gender played an important role in women's access to both training in classical genres and contexts in which to perform them, for example the concert stage. Prior to the late 1930s, women in both north

and south India who made music and/or danced publicly came from classes of professional entertainers who had a low social status because they did not live as married householders and often had intimate relationships with their patrons. Although they were well versed in music, dance, literature, and refined conversation with upper-class men, these women's musical training was often limited to light classical genres with erotic content; their role was to interpret compositions created by men (in the female voice). If a woman composed anything herself, she was likely to keep it private (or, sometimes, allow it to be co-opted by a man). Known as *devadasis* or "servants of God" in the south, these women usually belonged to the lower status *melakkaran* community of musicians and dancers and were attached to temples to whose respective deity they were ritually married. In the north, where a feudal economy of princely states supported musicians and dancers as professionals in the service of the royal court, the landowner's estate, and, finally, the bourgeois salon, these women most commonly were and are referred to as *tawa'if* or *baiji*.

In the Hindustani music world in the first half of the twentieth century, three kinds of *talim* (musical training) were imparted by *ustads*: that for their male relatives; that for *tawa'ifs*; and that for non-kin male (and, gradually, from the 1940s, female) disciples. Clearly, many *ustads* privileged their male relatives over non-kin in terms of the quality and quantity of instruction they would impart to their disciples but were egalitarian regarding the uncompromising standards of skill they expected all students to acquire. However, *ustads* imparted sufficient *talim* to their *tawa'if* disciples only so that they could earn their livelihood as highly skilled "entertainers" practicing a refined, eclectic repertoire, including, among others, *thumris* in dialects of Hindi and Urdu *ghazals* (love poems). Thus, *ustads* excluded *tawa'ifs* from access to knowledge of more esoteric musical genres.

Two kinds of *talim* generally were/are accessible to *tawa'ifs* and *baijis*. The first is that which a woman would receive, often informally and sporadically, from her community of other female musicians, usually semi-classical, regional, and/or folk music. The second kind was that transmitted by *sarangi* players, who occupied the lowest rung on the socio-musical pyramid of prestige (and pedigree) in the Hindustani music world. While *sarangi* players depended on courtesans and their *mehfils* (salon performances) for their livelihood, they often also taught *tawa'ifs* and *baijis*, or at least corrected their sometimes incomplete musical knowledge. Indeed, *baijis* and *tawa'ifs* figured

prominently among musicians as guardians of semi-classical musical knowledge, to the extent that many esteemed *ustads* would go to them to learn *thumris*. Conversely, many women would open their homes (and hearts) to *ustads* in order to engage in an exchange of musical knowledge. Nevertheless, a hierarchy existed, consisting of 1. the *ustads*, especially those who sang *dhrupad* and *dhamar*; 2. *qawwals*; 3. *tawa'if*; 4. *sarangi* players; and 5. *tabla* players.

In Karnatak music prior to 1930, women seldom performed the rhythmically-based cluster of genres *ragam-tanam-pallavi*, although women from the non-Brahmin *melakkaran* community of professional musicians and dancers excelled in the most challenging compositions, *kriti*, *padam*, and *javeli*. Usually singing in ensembles led by sisters, they performed these in private musical gatherings and in temples, but not on the concert stage. The annual Tyagaraja festival honoring the revered composer Tyagaraja (1767–1847), one of the most important events in the Karnatak world, was also an exclusively male event until 1939. Through her tireless dedication, Bangalore Nagaratnammal, a musician of *devadasi* background, brought women to the stage of this festival, first creating a separate platform, or "women's faction," at Tyagaraja's shrine near Tanjuvar, Tamil Nadu, which she was instrumental in restoring. It was only in 1959 that women gained full participation at the festival.

In folk music, emphasis is placed on reaffirming tradition and identity as a member of a group, village, or community. Women sing songs in groups (often informal and separate from men) to observe and comment on life events, such as marriages, births, rites of passage, and seasons. Although these sessions occur consistently and new material can be generated in the process, the "composer" in this case is less likely to foreground his/her individual identity. There are exceptions, however. Daya Devi, a retired songstress and stage actress from the *tawa'if* community residing in the provincial town of Muzaffarpur, Bihar, composes simple songs in the Bhojpuri language in the regional monsoon season genres *kajri* and *jhoola*; these affirm her regional identity and document childhood memories in a verdant rural environment that is rapidly changing. The well-known folksinger and recording artist Reshma, originally from the western Indian state of Rajasthan but long settled in the Punjab region of Pakistan, keeps the beloved regional song *Mast Qalandar* (Ecstatic minstrel), ever-fresh by "putting the words together" and "turning the tune" in imaginative ways. Iconic on both sides of the Indo-Pakistan border as an artist

who embodies the romance and earthiness of the region's nomads, Reshma hails from a caste of roving minstrels who move from one Sufi saint's shrine to the next, singing and dancing as well as trading in livestock.

In the case of devotional music, both Hindu and Muslim, men and women tend to sing texts composed by revered saints set to tunes composed either by themselves or others (often their elders or teachers). In the Shīrī *majlis*, the assembly for the chanting of commemorative and elegiac poetry in observance of the ten-day mourning feast of Muḥarram, women from various communities (those of the low status entertainers *tawā'if* and *domni*, professional reciters or *parbnewale*, and "respectable" amateurs) perform the poetry, setting verses to improvised tunes. They are judged on the basis of their ability to arouse profound grief in the audience through their emotive chanting and flawless diction. Because the context of this performance is religious and its chanting actually falls outside of what Muslims consider music, it is highly acceptable for amateurs to perform it, while participating professional performers enjoy elevation in social status.

Abida Parvin (b. 1954), an eminent Pakistani vocalist specializing in the Sufiana Kalam (Words of the Sufis) sings texts in Punjabi, Seraiki, and Urdu by Sufi saints such as Abdul Latif, Bulle Shah, Kabir, and others in the genres *kafi*, *ghazal*, and the heretofore male-dominated *qawwali*, which are set to music by various music directors and occasionally herself. For her, the objective is channeling the music rather than creating it. Exponents of Hindu devotional genres, such as *bhajan* and various types of *kirtan*, hold similar values.

Although it is fairly common in classical and some devotional music for a composer to "sign" his/her name at the end of a song text, most of the known names prior to the latter part of the twentieth century have been of men. Women made exceptions in unexpected ways, as follows. At the turn of the twentieth century, Fred Gaisberg, representative of the Gramophone Company from London, introduced the recording industry to India. The artists he recorded first and subsequently most frequently were female vocalists, mostly from the *tawā'if* and *devadasi* communities. These early media celebrities, among them classical and light classical artists such as Gauhar Jan, Zohra Bai Agrewali, Malka Jan, and others, would imprint their "signatures" on the gramophone recordings by announcing their names at the end of each selection performed to facilitate identification once the cylinders were pressed. Such recordings went on to

become definitive renditions of particular *bandishs* (compositions) in particular *ragas*, immortalized, as it were, in vinyl. Among these women, Gauhar Jan (1886–1930), of Armenian Jewish descent (but converted to Islam in childhood along with her mother), emerged as the most legendary, celebrated as one of the greatest (and highest paid) performers of her generation. During her recording career, which began in 1902 with Gaisberg and lasted until 1920, she recorded over 600 songs. Additionally, she was a poet/composer, who published her collection of 106 *ghazals* and songs, entitled "Makhzan Ultat-i-Malika."

Among women musicians born in the first half of the twentieth century who had careers as distinguished classical concert artists, several have compositions to their credit, although they consider themselves performers first. Moghubai Kurdikar (1907–2001), one of the first women of her community of professional singer-dancers in the Bombay Presidency area to perform on the theater and concert stage, and her daughter Kishori Amonkar, created compositions in the classical genre *khyal* as well as *bhajans*. Akhtari Bai Faizabadi (ca. 1914–75) began her career as a sought-after singer and actress, whose suitors included the Maharaja of Rampur. She re-emerged as Begum Akhtar following her marriage and became one of the most important recording artists of the mid-twentieth century, her renditions of *ghazals* virtually unparalleled. Naina Devi (ca. 1920–2001), hailing from a family of Bengali social reformers and married into an aristocratic Punjabi family, returned to singing after she was widowed at age 29. She made it her life's work to excel as a professional *thumri* and *ghazal* singer (unprecedented in her generation and class), composing a number of *thumris* and North Indian seasonal songs such as *bara masa* and *jhoola* herself. In addition, she became an advocate for *tawā'ifs*, who faced increasing disenfranchisement in the later decades of the twentieth century. The doyenne of the Benares style of singing, Girija Devi (b. 1929), has composed *thumris* and the seasonal *kajri* and *chaiti*, attributing her inspiration to divine intervention, a profound sense of identification with the culture and traditions of her native Benares, and hard work. Veena Sahasrabudde (b. ca. 1949), who grew up in a Maharashtrian family involved in the "democratization" movement of Indian classical music, has penned a number of *bhajans* as well as compositions in the rhythmically upbeat genre *tarana*, whose text consists of vocables based on Persian syllables. In her compositions, she seeks to attain a balance between musical aesthetics and linguistic meaning, somewhat downplaying the

latter. In contrast, activist-musician Neela Bhagwat of Bombay (a contemporary of Sahasrabudde), composes *bhajans*, *thumris*, and *khyals* whose lyrics express the “ethos of the day,” topics that she considers simultaneously contemporary and timeless, such as women’s issues, communalism, and the like. She states her inspiration as unequivocally human, rather than divine.

Among musician/composers in their thirties and forties, vocalist Shubha Mudgal and *tabla* player Anuradha Pal, both accomplished Hindustani musicians, stand out as pioneers in their approach to music, which includes innovative compositions. Shubha Mudgal has taken the bold step of using her classically-trained voice and traditional repertoire in combination with compositions influenced by rock, pop, reggae, and hip hop music. She draws her inspiration from mystical poetry, in which she finds beautiful indications of Indian culture that link most immediately with daily life. Anuradha Pal, one of the very few female professional *tabla* players in the world, created and directs an all-woman ensemble that combines Hindustani and Karnatak percussionists and vocalists who perform her traditionally-based original compositions.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Abbas, *The female voice in Sufi ritual. Devotional practices of Pakistan and India*, Austin, Tex. 2002.  
 A. Arnold (ed.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, iii, *South Asia*, New York 2000.  
 K. Butler Brown, *Music in the time of Aurangzeb*, Ph.D. thesis, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 2003.  
 V. Deshpande, *Between two tanpuras*, Bombay 1989.  
 M. Kinnear, *The Gramophone Company's first Indian recordings. 1899–1908*, Mumbai 1994.  
 C. S. Lakshmi, *The singer and the song. Conversations with women musicians*, Delhi 2000.  
 P. Neville, The importance of being Gauhar Jan, *Spectrum*, 26 May 2002, <<http://www.tribuneindia.com/2002/20020526/spectrum>>.  
 R. Qureshi, Islamic music in an Indian environment. The Shi'a *Majlis*, in *Ethnomusicology* 25:1 (1981), 41–71.  
 S. Tharu and K. Lalita (eds.), *Women writing in India. 600 B.C. to the present*, i, New York 1991.

AMELIA MACISZEWSKI

## Turkey

The number of women composers is significantly increasing in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in Turkey as a result of newly established musical institutions and the changing lifestyle of women, which makes them visible in public musical life. This entry explores women composers according to musical genres of modern Turkey.

## POLYPHONIC MUSIC IN TURKEY

Despite the special efforts of the new Turkish Republic to involve women in polyphonic music, in the first 50 years of modern Turkey composers were always men whereas virtuosi performers were women. Though these women proclaimed that they were neither discouraged nor suffered any disadvantage because of being women, none of them (except İdil Biret, b. 1941) attempted composing. It seems that their busy lives, occupied with frequent rehearsals, concerts all over the world, and regular university teaching jobs, did not allow them to focus on composing.

However, the life story of Ferhunde Erkin (b. 1909), gives another explanation for not being a composer and remaining a virtuoso performer. She received professional musical training in Germany, where she was sent for training with her brother. After marriage, she remained a professional pianist and introduced her husband’s compositions to the public. Knowing her husband’s high standards, she was nervous about making a mistake while playing his compositions. In addition to having a critical composer husband, she was a housewife, mother of two daughters, and professor of music, all of which kept her overwhelmingly busy and discouraged her from composing music.

After several decades, certain women born around the 1960s and trained in the conservatories emerged as successful composers: Deniz Ülben, who is famous for film music compositions; Perihan Önder-Ridder, who uses Anatolian modes and rhythms; Sıdıka Özdiil, who studied composition at the Royal Academy of Music in London, became an art producer in the BBC World Service in London, and was appointed by the Turkish government to establish a new orchestra; and Anjelika Akbar, who has a mystical tendency in her compositions.

It is noticeable that both female virtuosi and composers come from families who played Western instruments and provided their children with famous music tutors and professors in their early childhood. Their gender notwithstanding, women musicians are supported either by their families or by the state in order to receive a superior education in Europe and pursue their careers in different countries.

## CLASSICAL TURKISH MUSIC

Though classical Turkish music was not supported by the state and its composition was officially halted for the past 50 years, women composers persisted even during those years. Most of them came from families concerned with music. Some were trained in conservatories or tutored by



musical experts of the era and others received training as employees of Istanbul and Ankara Radio, which were unofficial conservatories of the time. Many women started composing after performing music for years, others began earlier and continued to compose after marriage and having children. Faize Ergin (b. 1892) is one who was encouraged to compose by her husband. However, some, such as Melahat Pars (b. 1919) and Gül Kansu (b. 1929), stopped performing and composing music for a while.

Every female composer has her own story. For instance, Mediha Şen Sancakoğlu (b. 1941) started writing lyrics and composing after the unbearable grief of her brother's death, whereas Melahat Pars was inspired by beautiful emotional lyrics and encouraged to compose by her teachers. Pars comments that the small number of women composers is a result of their delicacy and the criticism that easily breaks their enthusiasm. Vecihe Daryal's (1908–70) attitude confirms Pars's claim. Although Daryal contributed to Turkish music as an academician and a virtuoso, she did not dare to compose because she was very critical of herself. Once she attempted composing, but felt ashamed when comparing her work to outstanding masterpieces and, accordingly, gave up composing.

#### FOLK MUSIC

There are an increasing number of women composers in contemporary Turkish folk music. Some of them are called as *aşıks* (minstrels) since they play *saz* (long lute), improvise compositions, duel with other minstrels by using couplets, and use pen-names. Either their parents or their husbands are *aşıks*. Though they attend some competitions and duel with other *aşıks*, they do not wander like traditional *aşıks*. For instance, Ayşe Çağlayan (b. 1939), whose husband is also an *aşık*, began to compose quatrains when she was 7, and began composing songs at 14. Although she is married and has three children, she attends activities and competitions, and has received awards several times. As customary with *aşıks*, some women start improvisation after drinking a holy drink in a dream. For instance, after ingesting a healing food (normally it is a drink) in her dream, Derdimend started improvisational compositions although she is illiterate.

In addition to women *aşıks*, there are many women composers who write folk songs but are not necessarily minstrels. Like women *aşıks*, most were born in the countryside or a village, but migrated to cities or to Germany, though a small number live in their home town. Most did not earn a degree, and a few remain illiterate. Among both types (*aşıks* and

song writers), there are religious women (such as Döne Sultan, Emis Baci, Adıye Anabacı) who follow the Bektaşî, Alevî, and Mevlevî Sufi orders and prefer religious themes, while a very few women (such as Şah Turna) compose political songs.

#### POP MUSIC

Pop music was introduced in the 1950s, and original compositions were produced in the 1970s when Sezen Aksu appeared as a singer and composer. She climbed to the top and remained there as a singer, lyric writer, and composer for many years. Furthermore, Aksu in effect founded a school for her vocalists, who are famous singers and composers today (such as Sertap Erener, Harun Kolçak, Levent Yüksel, Nazan Öncel, and Yıldız Tilbe). After training her vocalists, Aksu introduces them to the public and supports their albums with her own compositions. Since whatever she produces becomes a hit and whomever she supports becomes famous, she is called "Queen Mother," and because she is petite, she is called "Little Sparrow." Yıldız Tilbe and Nazan Öncel, who were under the wings of Aksu, are also well-known contemporary women composers, though not as famous as Aksu, composing mostly for their own albums. Other well-known women in pop music are lyric writers rather than composers, such as Aysel Gürel and Şehrazat.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Ali and S. Cenap, *Ferhunde erkin tuşlar arasında*, İstanbul 2000.
- Bilanço '98 *Cumhuriyetin sesleri*, Türkiye İş Bankası and Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul 1998.
- Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, vi, İstanbul 1983.
- E. Doğanay, *Kadın asıklar (antoloji)*, Berlin 2002.
- G. Erbaş, *Yaşayan kadın bestekarlarımızdan melahat pars*, graduation thesis, İstanbul Technical University 1988.
- E. İlyasoğlu, *Çağdaş Türk bestecileri*, Beşiktaş, İstanbul 1998.
- Ş. Kuseyri, *Aşıklar meydanında bir baci, bağlamacılar*, in *Hayat* 3:48 (1969), 16–17.
- T. Taşan, *Kadın besteciler*, Beşiktaş, İstanbul 2000.
- Y. Tatlıses, *Besteci ve söz yazarları sitesidir sitemize hoş geliniz*, <<http://www.besteciler.com/>>.
- İ. Tunçdemir, *Çok sesli müzik alanındaki kadın devlet sanatçılarımız M.A. thesis*, Ankara University 1996.

DERYA SENOL İNER

# Arts: Dance: Expression and Ritual

## Arab States

Dance (Arabic *raqs*), is an aspect of all festive occasions in Arab Islamic society, and the inclusion of both amateur and professional dancing is vital to important formal celebrations. The amateur tradition of dancing solo to entertain friends and relatives continues down to the present day, whether the party is mixed sex or women-only. In many rural communities women dance in private, with no men allowed to watch. An exception to this is men visiting from foreign (non-Muslim) countries, who may be invited with their female partners to watch. However, from country to country, from rural/nomadic to urban cultures, and between socioeconomic groups, the situation in which amateur dancing occurs varies so greatly that it can be misleading to generalize.

### THE ROLE OF AMATEUR DANCING AND MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT

At informal gatherings dance is an important means of self-expression for women, in which they show themselves to each other in a supportive, non-competitive, and often humorous way; it can be a form of therapy, as in trance dance ceremonies; and it can be a way for a young girl to demonstrate her beauty and sensuality in front of a prospective mother-in-law. The traditional way of accompanying this dancing is by singing, handclapping, and playing brass finger cymbals and a variety of hand-held drums. Naturally, pre-recorded music is now often used, but this has not altered the extent to which women like to participate personally in the music-making. The *zagārid* (a high-pitched ululation, often written as *zhagareet*) is used to encourage a dancer and signify approval of what she is doing.

### DANCE AND ISLAM

Professional dancers were among the first Muslim women to appear unveiled in public in the exercise of their work. It is not considered respectable for a Muslim girl to display her body freely in public in the sensual expression of dance; dance is thus considered, to this day, a disreputable profession for a woman, and professional dancers have always come from the poorest classes of society. Even in liberal, Westernized Arab Islamic coun-

tries, it remains the case that a girl from an educated, middle-class background will not normally consider dance as a profession. However, having a professional dancer entertain is considered vital to important celebrations, as the dancer is believed to bestow good luck.

### DANCE AS THERAPY

Many forms of trance dancing exist in the Arab Islamic world, some deliberately designed as therapy. If a woman is psychologically disturbed or unhappy – in the terms of the culture, she would be described as being “possessed by demons” – a trance ceremony is called, with family and friends present to support the “afflicted” person. In Egypt, where this dance is known as the *zar*, different rhythms are played, until she recognizes her specific spirit rhythm, after which she will dance until she falls down in a trance. She will then be carried away, covered with a blanket and looked after until she recovers. Such ceremonies may go on for many hours, with different women going into trance when their rhythm is played. In Tunisia trance-like music is played when women gather at the tombs of marabouts (saints) to ask for a solution to their problems. Music is played on hand-held *bendirs* (sieve-like drums) and the women dance together to exorcise their demons. Incense is invariably used as part of the pre-dance purification ritual.

### VARIETIES OF FEMALE DANCE

There are great differences in technique and use of the body from country to country in the Arab Islamic world. Tunisia is just one country where dances can be found imitating work activities such as going to the well to draw water and making couscous. In Morocco women may dance in pairs, facing each other, and matching each others' movements. They accompany this type of dance using traditional songs, which everyone present generally knows and can sing along with. In Saudi Arabia women sway from left to right, swinging their long hair from side to side. In Iran a large repertoire of facial movement and hand gestures survives from an older court tradition. There is also a tradition of humorous dance, in which women mock aspects of their own culture which they find oppressive. In modern Iran women have perfected a style known as *babakaram*, which remains essentially a private

dance performed at women-only parties. For this dance a woman will dress in a man's suit and hat and will mock the macho posturings of gangsters. Women may also dance in pairs, playfully mocking each others' movements. The most widely-known type of Middle-Eastern/North African dance is that based on pelvic movement and undulations of the spine and torso. This style has achieved its greatest sophistication as an art form in Egypt, though amateur dancers content themselves with only a small number of movements. Before getting up to perform this dance for her friends a woman will tie a scarf round her hips, in order to draw attention to the undulating, shimmying, and swaying movement of this part of the body.

#### DANCE AT WEDDINGS

Dance has a particularly important ritual significance at weddings. At the henna ceremony, when the bride's body is painted in intricate henna designs, her friends dance together. After the wedding ceremony, and depending on social class and the degree of modernity of the family, guests may dance together in mixed groups; or else the women will entertain each other separately from the men, and the men will either hire a professional troupe of female dancers to entertain them, or else will dance in another room. If the wedding is held in the street, men and women will dance at opposite ends of the street. A professional dancer, who is always engaged to animate the wedding festivities, serves as a symbol of the fertility which it is hoped the marriage will bring. In Egypt, after performing, she will go and stand between the bride and groom, who will each place a hand on her belly, and a photo will be taken. In her (predominantly secular) dance we find a pale echo of the ancient significance of the pelvic women's dance, which was once part of fertility rites throughout the region.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- W. Buonaventura, *Serpent of the Nile. Women and dance in the Arab world*, London 1998.  
 L. Morgan, *Flute of sand. A year with the mysterious Ouled Nail*, Bristol 1999.  
 K. van Nieuwkerk, "A trade like any other." *Female singers and dancers in Egypt*, Austin, Tex. 1995.

WENDY BUONAVENTURA

## Arts: Fiction and Fiction Writers

### Afghanistan

Women's fiction in Afghanistan has varied with the situation of women in that country, but all of it has one thing in common: the depiction of the harsh lives of women and the need for change. Women writers have focused on portraying women's lives in Afghanistan as they lived and experienced it.

#### THE EARLY STAGE

Maga Raḥmānī (b. 1924) was the first woman fiction writer to write about the miserable situation of women in a traditional society and their unfair treatment. Her "Dust-i badbakhtam" (My unfortunate friend, 1948) was the first work written by a woman, narrated by a woman, which had a woman (Ḥalīma) as its main character. Ḥalīma is deprived of any rights by her stepmother and brothers and pushed into an unsuccessful marriage. Raḥmānī depicts here the silent cry of the sorrow-stricken woman with no means of changing her lot. In 1948, merely writing about the harsh treatment of women was a big achievement for women writers.

#### THE MATURATION STAGE

During the 1960s and early 1970s, along with the emergence of political parties, an independent press, and women's political organizations, women's fiction flourished. Women writers, especially Sapūzhmay Zaryab and Maryam Maḥbūb, wrote about women's causes.

After experimenting with existentialist short stories, Sapūzhmay Zaryab (b. 1950) began writing feminist works about the relationships between men and women, which showed how women perceived their status and responded to it. In *Chapan-i siyābrang* (The black clock), which can be regarded as the manifesto of Afghan feminist literature, Zaryab contends that the suffering of women lies in a patriarchal system in which all men, regardless of their relationship to women, are involved. Aysha, the main character, suffers simply because she is a woman. At seven she is forbidden to go out and play with males including her father and brothers. After her marriage she is beaten repeatedly by her husband. She even has to silence her sick one-and-half-year-old daughter in order to let her husband sleep well, only to find her child dead the next day. But once Aysha discovers her expected baby is a

girl, she aborts it with a piece of metal to prevent the unborn daughter suffering the same dark fate. In the end Aysha herself dies. In the 1980s, Zaryab wrote antiwar stories, in which she criticized both the leftist government for creating social problems through its policies, and the Mujahideen for bringing instability and insecurity to the country. These works, collected in *Dasht-i Qābil* (Cain's desert), portray the devastating impact of war on the community in general and women in particular. "Satl-hāy āb wa kharita-hāy arzan" (Buckets of water and bags of millet), for example, is a story of women who have lost their sons in war. Zaryab's strong antiwar sentiment is displayed through the silent anger of the women.

Maryam Maḥbūb (b. 1955) turned to writing about women and their issues in the 1970s. She published four collections of short stories, among them *Gum* (The invisible) in 1999 and *Khanum Jūrj* (Lady George) in 2003. In the title story of *Khāna-i dilgīr* (A confined house), a girl who loves school is prevented from going there by her father, but her bad-mannered and murderous brother is allowed to attend. The girl rebels by going to school secretly. In *Rajīm* (Damned), a young woman, Mahtāb, is condemned to death by stoning because she is thought guilty of adultery, though her real "crime" is refusing to submit to a man. For Maḥbūb, women's lives and destiny are in the hands of men in a society ruled by men and based on men's interest and pleasure. Maḥbūb is also the first female writer to explore the lives of Afghan women in diaspora, where they suddenly find themselves in a new environment with different cultural values and new opportunities, but still face resistance from male members of their families. Set in Canada, *Gum* is the story of Shirīn, who wants to be herself and change her life; however, she is stopped by her husband. Shirīn leaves home, but ends up as a prostitute, escaping from one trap only to be caught in another, mainly because she does not have any means of survival. By contrast, in *Shelter*, Ghotai, a 23-year-old who cannot stay with her brother and relatives, ends up in a shelter but eventually starts a new life.

In the 1980s, literature became more politicized and women who wrote fiction dealt more with political issues than women's causes, for example Kāmila Ḥabīb, Tūrpakay Qayūm (b. 1958),

Khushnazar Hamdush, and Parwīn Pazhwāk (b. 1966). Qayūm's novels and short stories are concerned with class struggle and the conflict between the revolutionary leftist government and the Mujahideen. Pazhwāk appears as a storyteller relating tales of young people in search of love and harmony in her anthology, *Nigina wa-Sitāra*. Only in two recent works, *Ābshār-i nastaran* (Eglantine fountain) and *Salām Marjān* (Hello Marjān), does Pazhwāk deal specifically with women's causes. In *Ābshār-i nastaran*, she depicts the dilemma of Afghan women in diaspora who have changed, where Afghan men want to retain the old traditions in their relationships with women.

#### THE NEW GENERATION OF WOMEN WRITERS

Since the early 1990s, a new generation of women writers has emerged, mainly overseas, including Humayra Ra'fat, Mas'ūda Khazan, Amīna Muḥammadī, Sulṭāna Mawlanazāda, Layla Rāziqī, Humayra Qādirī, Khālida Khursān, Sidīqa Kāzimī, Ma'sūma Kawṣarī, Fakhriyya Musāwī, Ma'sūma Ḥusaynī, Shukriyya Irfānī, Batūl Muḥammadī, and Zahra Ḥusaynzāda. By producing only short stories that do not exceed a few hundred words, and following modern and postmodern approaches, these women are innovative in their themes and form. Their works symbolize the alienation and loneliness of those in the process of losing their traditional sociocultural identity because it has become irrelevant to their lives, and who are instead rooted in the migrant experience. Most of these authors deal with events of little significance, such as how a young woman applies her make-up, or cuts and dyes her hair, and how these small incidents signify their individual lives. These women are individuals with individualized concerns rather than traditional community concerns. These writers provide the voiceless female with a narrative voice that is truly her own, and it is probably no coincidence that most of them come from a background of voicelessness, such as poor Hazara and Shīrī communities in central and western Afghanistan.

In her anthology *Nigāh-i az ān suy-i panjira* (A look from beyond the window, 2002), Humayra Ra'fat portrays young women living in traditional families outside Afghanistan who have no choice about education, partner, or even whether they can leave their homes. Humayra Qādirī is an innovative writer who has selected the uncommon second-person point of view. In *Baz bārān agar mubarid* (If it was raining again), she depicts the internal world of a newly-married young woman in an arranged marriage who is longing for her lover, and who dreams

symbolically that a flood will wipe out everything. Amīna Muḥammadī (b. 1981), who published an anthology, *Sāya-hāy mahtāb* (Shadows of the moonlight), in 2001, mainly concentrates on the lives of young women and their relationship with the outside world, and how they have lost their common language. Muḥammadī's main characters often embark on journeys, a motif of continuous separation. Sidīqa Kāzimī's *Janīn-i āftāb* (2002) is a collection of eleven short stories in some of which men, women, and animals are imprisoned. In others, the exiles return only to discover they have lost that for which they were living.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Bezhan, The emergence and development of modern fiction in Afghanistan, Ph.D. diss., Monash University 2003.  
 —, A woman of Afghanistan. A warning portrait, Afghanistan's first novel, in *Critique. Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 15:2 (2006), 171–86.  
 M. Maḥbūb, *Khāna-i dilgīr*, Kabul 1990.  
 —, *Gum*, Toronto 1999.  
 —, *Khānum Jūrj*, Toronto 2003.  
 A. Muḥammadī, *Sāya-hāy mahtāb*, Tehran 2002.  
 S. Kāzimī, *Janīn-i āftāb*, Tehran 2002.  
 P. Pazhwāk, *Nigina wa-Sitāra*, Kabul 1990.  
 —, *Salām Marjān*, Toronto 2005.  
 —, *Ābshār-i nastaran*, <<http://www.kabulnath.de>>.  
 H. Qādirī, Bāz bārān agar mubarid, in *Hazru-yak Shab* 1:2 (2005), 121–6.  
 T. Qayūm, *Wa sukut shikast*, Kabul 1987.  
 —, *Faryad-hay shikasta*, Kabul n.d.  
 —, *Qurbani Beguma*, Kabul n.d.  
 H. Ra'fat, *Nigāh-i az ān suy-i panjira*, Tehran 2002.  
 M. Raḥmānī, Dust-i badbakhtam, in *Āryānā* 3 (1948), 46–65.  
 S. Zaryab, *Sharang sharang-i zang-hā*, Kabul 1983.  
 —, *Dasht-i Qābil*, Kabul 1988.  
 —, *Dar keshw-r-i digar*, Kabul 1988.

FARIDULLAH BEZHAN

### The Caucasus

As fiction writers, women have been a valuable source in the cultural production of the Caucasus. Although as poets a number of women have made their names known outside the Caucasus, in the overall research on the area, many have remained unnoticed as writers of fiction. While one can refer to famous poets such as Raisa Sultanmuradova Akhmatova (1928–92), from the northern part of the Caucasus, little is known of women fiction writers of this area. In the southern Caucasus, however, Azerbaijan, as a result of its different history has had a relatively greater number of women recognized as writers of fiction. In many ways, different parts of the Caucasus have much in common, yet varied historical, economic, social, and political

factors, as well as the heterogeneous influence of Islam, has resulted in significant and diverse experiences. Because of its oil industry, dating back to the Tsarist period, Azerbaijan has enjoyed a relative socioeconomic development. This situation has resulted in a long history of women's public presence and thus further recognition for those who have expressed themselves through different literary forms.

The transformation of Azerbaijani traditional society brought about many changes in the lives of women. The introduction of the discourse of modernity in the late nineteenth century accompanied a campaign for literacy, secular education, and women's greater participation in the public sphere. A variety of new literary genres, drama, novels, and journalism became instrumental in the dissemination of new ideas. In the subsequent years, Azerbaijan went through a short-lived period of national independence from Russian Tsarist colonialism, followed by the Soviet takeover of 1920, and its ultimate fall in 1991, resulting in the establishment of the independent Republic of Azerbaijan. Throughout the different stages of its modern history, women fiction writers of Azerbaijan have played a significant role in articulating the complexities of women's existence at the intersections of the colonially informed discourse of modernity on the one hand, and the traditional patriarchal discourse on the other. Different generations of women fiction writers from the period of Soviet rule up to the contemporary postcolonial society have represented the diverse experiences. Challenging and negotiating their social and domestic roles, women writers in this part of the Caucasus have responded to political upheavals and above all articulated their voice through a variety of different writing styles in their texts of fiction.

Similar to many societies with heavily controlled means of communication, during the Soviet period the countering of colonial narratives, articulations of indigenous national and religious identity, as well as criticism of sociopolitical conditions in modern literature all had to be cloaked by literary symbols and allegories. Issues of women and gender, as a counter to the masculinist narratives, were an added problem for women writers. The work of Aziza Jafarzade (1921–2003) provides a good example of the ways in which particular writers have faced this challenge. Her historical novels, with a special focus on women characters, most of them important personalities, have problematized the colonially informed Orientalist image of the passive Muslim woman. At the same time her work has represented women's transgression

of assigned boundaries of the traditional society. *Stories about Natavan* (1963) is based on the life of the poet Khurshud Banu Natavan, (1830–97) famous for her powerful social and poetic voice, and *Zarrin-Taj* (1996) narrates the life of Tahira Qurrat al-'Ayn, the nineteenth-century poet and religious scholar who publicly unveiled herself. Other works by Jafarzade include *Alam-da-sasim var manin* (I have a voice in this world, 1973), *Vatana-gayit* (Come back to the homeland, 1977), *Yaa-et-mani* (Remember me, 1980), and *Eldan ela* (Nation to nation, 1992).

Khalide Hasilova is another writer of this generation with works such as *Daniz chiraghlari* (Sealights, 1964), *Atlas yarpaghlar* (Silk leaves, 1965), *Yashli ayna* (Old mirror, 1971), and *Chilchiraq* (Chandelier, 1985). Using a realist style, her work exemplifies the lives of women in Azerbaijan through Soviet narratives. For many years, she was also director of the journal *Azerbaijan qadini*, the monthly women's publication connected to the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. Alaviyeh Babayeva (b. 1921) with such novels as *Adamlar-va-tal-e' lar* (People and fates, 1971), *Sehirli pillalar* (Secret stairs, 1974) and *Sani akhrariram* (I am looking for you, 1981) is another writer of this period who writes on the themes of love, familial relations, and the professional dimension of women's lives during the Soviet regime.

A number of women writers during the 1980s and early 1990s expressed in their works of fiction various aspects of the turbulent years that set the stage for the breakup of the Soviet Union and the eventual establishment of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1991. Relative relaxation of censorship by the state during the last years of the Soviet rule provided the possibility for writers to address in their works such subjects as the colonial history as well as contemporary social problems, an important topic of many literary works of this period. Among many women fiction writers of this period are Sara Nazirova whose work includes, *Tal-e' damghasi* (Fate), and *Beton evdan yazilar* (Writings from the concrete house); Zohra Askarova with *Ozga evin ishig-i* (Light in the stranger's house); Manzar Eynolazada with *Yarimchik ma'zuniyat* (Unfinished leave of absence); and Mehriban Vazir with *Uchunji ildonum* (The third anniversary). Afaq Masud is another noteworthy writer of this time. Besides addressing social issues that inform women's lives, her work provides textual representations of women's sexuality as well as the psychological dimension of their existence. Her fiction also exemplifies experimentations in abstract and non-linear narrative forms. *Izdiham* (Chaos) and *Tak* (Lonely) are good examples of her fiction.

These fiction writers, through different literary languages in their work, some with direct and descriptive depictions of daily life, others with abstract narratives, have written about the love, desire, and lives of their contemporaries. Their literary texts are important representations of the social, economic, political, and emotional dimensions of Azerbaijani women's lives in urban as well as rural settings. Post-independent society, with the process of nation building and the integration of Azerbaijan into the global market, mostly for its oil, has brought about new realities and challenges for the people in this society. *Kapanakin-omru* (The life of a butterfly) by Sara Nazirova, addressing women's exclusion from the new national projects, and Afag Masud's short stories, *Dəbi* (Next) and *Muvakkil Vaysman* (Plaintiff Vaysman), depicting the politics of neocolonial society, are among noteworthy examples of current women's fiction.

As in other parts of the Caucasus, in Azerbaijan women fiction writers have had a major voice in representing intricacies of women's lives and the gendered dimensions of their culture and society.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Alexander, Mountain women, in *Soviet Literature* 3:456 (1986), 116–20.  
 A. Jafarzade, *Women poets and minstrels of Azerbaijan* [in Azeri], Baki 2003.  
 N. Kuprianova, Raissa Akhmatova. The grain of a mature heart, in *Soviet Literature* 3:432 (1984), 111–13.  
 T. Mammadova, I still have a lot to say [in Azeri], in *Azərbaycan Adabi-Badii Jurnal* 3/4 (1992), 178–81.  
 N. Tohidi, Guardians of the nation. Women, Islam, and the Soviet legacy of modernization in Azerbaijan, in H. L. Bodman and N. Tohidi (eds.), *Women in Muslim societies. Diversity within unity*, Boulder, Colo. 1998, 137–61.  
 S. Vatanabadi, Past, present, future, and postcolonial discourse in modern Azerbaijani literature, in *World Literature Today* 17 (1996), 493–8.

SHOULEH VATANABADI

## Egypt

This entry summarizes the contributions of Egyptian women to Arabic literature in the twentieth century, emphasizing the ways in which their consciousness-raising and activism in support of women's rights served and continues to serve as the primary catalyst for much of their literary production.

#### PIONEERS

From the late nineteenth century through to the early twentieth century, Egypt was the center for literary and intellectual activity in the Arab world.

Many Arab writers with exposure to the literary periodicals and salons of the West, particularly Lebanese Christians, flocked to Egypt and established similar institutions there. Most of the early women writers who began publishing essays or short fiction in these periodicals were women of wealthy families who had access to education and often exposure to French and English literature. In time, many of these women founded their own journals in an effort to give women a place to publish their work and to provide articles highlighting the political and social concerns of their gender. The best-known names associated with this period include 'Ā'isha al-Taymūriyya, Zaynab Fawwāz, Mayy Ziyāda, Labība Hāshim, Suhayr al-Qalamāwī, and Bint al-Shāṭi' (the pseudonym for 'Ā'isha 'Abd al-Raḥmān). While many of their novels and short stories were stylistically closer to the Arabic *maqāmāt* (rhymed prose) and drew upon popular storytelling techniques and historical events for inspiration, these early forays into the genre were significant in that they legitimized the presence of women's voices in the public sphere and they were, on some level, formally innovative. With the exception of Bint al-Shāṭi', few writers incorporated overtly Islamic themes in their fiction. Shāṭi' was particularly fascinated by the lives of early Muslim woman and wrote a number of biographical pieces taking up the subject. In addition, unlike the early allegorical writings of 'Ā'isha al-Taymūriyya and Zaynab Fawwāz, Shāṭi's work experimented with more realist forms of representation. With this approach she depicted village life from a female perspective, portraying the patriarchal systems governing this reality and the hardships women endured as a result. Through their active involvement in the Arab press and Egyptian cultural and political spheres, these early literary pioneers created opportunities for a new generation of writers who were more confident in the narrative form and more radical in their use of fiction as a means for drawing attention to the social injustices faced by women.

#### WRITERS OF THE 1950S, 1960S, AND 1970S

From the 1950s onward, the influence of translated works of Russian social realist literature and French engagé writing, along with the nationalist fervor leading up to the July Revolution of 1952, helped to transform the novel in Egypt into a vehicle for social criticism. While two prominent Lebanese women writers, Laylā Ba'labakkī and Ghāda Sammān, made significant strides in the exploration of female subjectivity and women-related themes

during the 1960s and 1970s, in Egypt, more than any other Arab country, women began to analyze and treat in their novels a number of sensitive subjects not taken up by earlier Arab writers. Among the issues that emerged in these works were the patriarchal structure of the family, the depiction of loveless marriages, the idea of women's identity vis-à-vis the creative process and the nationalist struggle, sexual fulfillment, and female circumcision. Amīna al-Sa'īd, in her 1950 novel, *al-Jāmiḥa* (The defiant), was one of the first women writers to narrate her story using the first person point of view to reveal her female protagonist's interior emotional world. The main character in 'Ināyāt al-Zayyāt's novel, *al-Ḥubb wa-al-ṣamt* (Love and silence, 1967), reflects an acute awareness of her body as an object of both shame and male desire. Laṭīfa al-Zayyāt, in her widely celebrated work, *al-Bāb al-maftūḥ* (The open door, 1960), constructs a sensitive coming-of-age story framed by the political events of the 1952 Revolution and the 1956 Battle of Port Said. The novel explores the ways in which the young protagonist, Layla, comes into her own political and artistic consciousness despite the restrictiveness of her father's household. By successfully incorporating colloquial Egyptian into her passages of dialogue and drawing out the inner world of her protagonist, Zayyāt creates a dynamic national romance that both celebrates and critiques the trials of an Egyptian family at mid-century.

Probably the best-known Egyptian activist and novelist among readers in the West writing during this period, was Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī. Extremely prolific though barely read in Egypt at the time, Sa'dāwī draws on her personal experiences as a physician working in the villages of the Nile Delta, her own childhood, as well as the period she spent as a political prisoner to detail the degree to which women are oppressed and rendered helpless in the face of rigid traditionalism and patriarchal laws. Her fictions, while not known for their innovation in the literary sense, are bold in their assertion of a deeply subaltern, female point of view and in their willingness to probe controversial subject matter, specifically exploding certain taboos around female sexuality and the trauma of female circumcision. In contrast to Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī's standpoint as a global feminist, the fictions of Alifa Rif'at are told from the point of view of someone who spent her entire life in the Delta provinces, accepting, for the most part, their religiously inscribed way of life. In her stories, she controversially calls into question the moral duties men have to treat their wives with respect, suggesting the ways in which a broad

knowledge of Islam can serve as a corrective to sexist tradition. Other names associated with this period include Iqbāl Baraka, Sikīna Fu'ād, Šūfi 'Abd Allāh, Iḥsān al-'Asāl, and Andriyā Shidīd, the last of whom writes mostly in French but has situated many of her works in Egypt and Lebanon. The sheer proliferation of voices during this period and the increasing awareness of the community of Western feminists concerned with the "plight" of women in the Third World, brought international attention to many of the issues that writers of these generations foregrounded in their fiction. However, in Egypt such issues and voices remained marginal. This was due, in large part, to a number of factors: the eclipsed sense of optimism associated with the nationalist movement following Egypt's defeat in 1967, the lack of effectual social and economic reforms during the 1960s and 1970s to enfranchise the vast majority of the population, and the emergence of religious extremism during Anwar al-Sādāt's administration as a viable alternative to other forms of populist discourse – a shift which reopened the debate concerning the role and rights of women.

#### CONTEMPORARY WRITERS

The novels and short stories of women writers from the 1980s onward reflect an increased experimentation with form and voice and the desire to take up a broader range of experiences from multiple class perspectives. The works of Salwā Bakr, for example, not only interrogate the ways in which working-class women uniquely experience notions of public and private space, but, according to the literary scholar Hudā al-Šaddā, Bakr moves away from certain binary dualities that pit the sexes against each other and instead seeks to represent the way men and women equally participate in recapitulating and preserving certain repressive norms and beliefs within Egyptian society. In contrast to the very local worlds that Bakr invokes, Radwā 'Ashūr's novels and short stories often span both eastern and western locations and multiple historical periods. In the tradition of the Egyptian writers Jamāl al-Ghīṭānī and Sun' Allāh Ibrāhīm, she incorporates lengthy passages of historical material into the flow of her narrative. For example, her three-part novel *Thulāthiyyāt Gharnāta* (The Grenada trilogy, 1994–5), is set in Andalusia and details the expulsion of Muslims and Jews from Spain in the late fifteenth century. In one interpretation, the novel has been read as an allegorical rendering of the devastating defeat the Arabs experienced in 1967 at the hands of Israel. In contrast to this historical approach, Mīrāl al-Ṭahāwī, in her celebrated novel,



*al-Khibā* (The tent, 1996), lyrically writes of one young girl's experience in the context of her Beduin family living in the eastern desert of Egypt. The significance of the work lies not only in Ṭahāwī's ability to translate the unique physical experience of life in the desert where honor and tradition are central to Beduin identity, but depicts through her description of a domineering grandmother and an absent Beduin father, an oddly matriarchal world negotiated within the boundaries of deeply patriarchal tradition. Ahdaf Suwayf, another prominent Egyptian writer and essayist who has lived as an expatriate in London, writes predominantly in English. Her two novels, *In the Eye of the Sun* (1992) and *The Map of Love* (1999), are epic, historical romances that seek to explore the issue of self-representation and the role of the exotic "other" in the context of the West. Other prominent and emerging novelists include Mayy al-Talmisānī, Somaya Ramaḍān, Nūrā Amīn, Ṣafā' 'Abd al-Mun'am, Najwā Sh'abān, and Saḥar al-Mūjī. The works of these authors continue to explore issues related to the idea of the body as object, sexual identity, and the self as negotiated through private and public spaces. In addition these writers reflect a commitment to narrative experimentation, at turns using highly lyrical and poetic language, or incorporating colloquial or intertextual references to create multiple narrative and linguistic registers.

The prominence of Egyptian women fiction writers today and the respect they garner in Arab cultural circles as well as among a Western readership, particularly for those that have been translated, has led to a far more diverse body of works and voices in circulation. Although the Egyptian literary market is still largely dominated by men, the interest of prominent critics in the works of women and the commitment of publishing houses (such as Mīrīt in Cairo) to publishing new voices has improved the possibility for women to gain exposure and scholarly attention. Still, Egypt's weak economy and high illiteracy rates continue to make the writing of fiction, for the most part, limited to women of financial means. Thus the issues and perspectives treated by contemporary novelists today must be understood within this social framework as the product of a predominantly elite class.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- E. Accad, Rebellion, maturity, and the social context. Arab women's special contribution to literature, in J. E. Tucker (ed.), *Arab women. Old boundaries, new frontiers*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993, 224–53.
- M. Al-Nowaihi, Reenvisioning national community in Salwa Bakr's Golden Chariot, in L. S. Majaj, P. W. Sunderman, and T. Saliba (eds.), *Intersections. Gender, nation and community in Arab women's novels*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2002, 68–93.

- A. Amireh, Framing Nawal El Saadawi. Arab feminism in a transnational world, in L. S. Majaj, P. W. Sunderman, and T. Saliba (eds.), *Intersections. Gender, nation and community in Arab women's novels*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2002, 33–67.
- M. Badran and M. Cooke (eds.), *Opening the gates. An anthology of Arab feminist writing*, Bloomington, Ind. 1990, repr. 2004.
- M. Booth (trans.), *Stories by Egyptian women. My grandmother's cactus*, Austin, Tex. 1993.
- P. Cachia, *An overview of modern Arabic literature*, Edinburgh 1990.
- H. El-Sadda, Women's writing in Egypt. Reflections on Salwa Bakr, in D. Kandiyoti (ed.), *Gendering the Middle East. Emerging perspectives*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1996, 127–44.
- S. K. Jayyusi, Modernist Arab women writers. A historical overview, in L. S. Majaj, P. W. Sunderman, and T. Saliba (eds.), *Intersections. Gender, nation and community in Arab women's novels*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2002, 1–30.
- J. T. Zeidan, *Arab women novelists. The formative years and beyond*, Albany, N.Y. 1995.

MARA NAAMAN

#### Iran

The earliest experimentations in modern Persian prose and fiction took shape in the last third of the nineteenth century – by which time at least two distinct genres, the short story and the novel, had emerged in European fiction. Translations from European (especially French) novels were among the first significant steps toward introducing modern fiction to Iranian readership. Fictitious travelogues, didactic tales, and historical novels also constituted the early fictional prose of modern Persian literary history. However, modern fiction, with distinct features in the novel and the short story, was not well established until the 1920s. By the 1960s, women fiction writers became an important presence in this relatively recent history.

This brief entry highlights some of the important signposts in the emergence of a female point of view in fiction while acknowledging the effects of the Islamic Revolution of 1979 on this development. This semi-linear approach is a way not only of managing a complex process of creative development in a very short space, but also of emphasizing the Revolution of 1979 as a historical landmark dividing literary production, especially of women's fiction, between pre- and post-revolutionary periods.

The first generation of Iranian women writers of fiction, like their male counterparts, were born into (upper) middle-class families. They had access to higher education and could travel abroad. Sīmīn Dānīshvar (*Savūshūn*, 1969), Mahshīd Amīrshāhī

(*Sār-i Bībī Khānum*, Bibi Khanum's starling, 1968), Gulī Taraqqī (*Man ham Chih Gavārā hastam*, I am also Che Guevara, 1970), and Mīhan Bahrāmī (*Zanbaq nachin*, The iris that cannot be plucked, 1962) are the most prominent of the period (1960–79). Of this group Sīmīn Dānishvar is by far the most important not just in establishing a female point of view but also in writing the first bestseller of artistic merit (*Savūshūn*) in the history of the Iranian novel.

Dānishvar, who started her literary career in the 1940s, wrote *Savūshūn* in 1969 after returning from Stanford University where she had been a Fulbright scholar. The story is told from the point of view of a woman, Zārī', who anxiously witnesses her husband's (Yūsuf) growing defiance against the British colonial presence in Shiraz and domestic corruption, eventually leading to his murder. Significantly, Yūsuf's tale of heroism, told from the point of view of his wife, juxtaposes the male public sphere of politics with the female private sphere of family in a way that raises the latter to the level of public life. As the critic Fārzana Milānī has observed, although Yūsuf is the hero of the story, it is Zārī' who evolves as the real protagonist, constantly reflecting, questioning, doubting, and searching (Milānī 1988, 20).

Following in Dānishvar's footsteps, the next generation of Iranian women fiction writers, especially after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, became increasingly attentive to the question of woman's selfhood manifested in both social reality and fiction. Women's experiences of the revolution and the Iran–Iraq war (1980–8), combined with the emergence of definitions of femininity in accordance with dominant visions of the Sharī'a, prompted many women writers of the old generation and the new to take the question of gender and its relationship to power more seriously. Moreover, as more women of humbler backgrounds started to write and read fiction, women's fiction ceased to reflect only the elite perspective.

While women writers of the previous generation like Dānishvar (*Jazīra-i sargardānī*, The island of bewilderment, 1993) and Taraqqī (*Khāṭira-bā-yi parākanda*, Scattered memories, 1992) continued to write fiction with an added emphasis on the female voice and perspective, a new generation of women writers emerged with fresh ways of tackling the question of gender. Shahrnūsh Pārsīpūr, Ghazāla Alizāda, and Munīrī Ravānīpūr are representatives of this group.

Pārsīpūr, who had already published a collection of short stories before the revolution, created quite a stir in the Persian literary community with the

publication of her novel, *Tūbā va ma'nā-yi shab* (Tūbā and the meaning of night) in 1978. Her novel, which is generally regarded as one of the first experiments with magical realism in Persian fiction, maps the psychological, philosophical, and mythical dimensions of femininity in a woman's life story spanning from the constitutional period to the Revolution of 1979. In *Tūbā*, as in Pārsīpūr's other works of fiction, *Zanān bidūn-i mardān* (Women without men, 1990) and *'Aql-i ābī* (Blue logos, 1994), women's concerns go beyond understanding their social and historical place in a male dominated world. Pārsīpūr's women ask the fundamental existential questions: Who am I? How can I seek the truth of my existence? In Pārsīpūr's fictional universe, breaking from the old prescribed notions of femininity and starting the journey of self-discovery is a painful, lonely process of unearthly dimensions that nevertheless is essential and fruitful.

Munīrī Ravānīpūr, who is also strongly influenced by magical realism, weaves her first stories (*Kanizu* 1988) around the myths and legends of her hometown Jufrā, a remote village on the Persian Gulf. Instead of the upper middle-class perspective that dominated the earlier fiction of Iranian women, the voice of the uneducated rural woman resonates for the first time and reveals the cruelty of traditions that make life a living hell for women who have no power to resist them. In her later stories *Sanhāyi shaytān* (Satan's stones, 1990), and *Dil-i fūlād* (Heart of steel, 1990) Ravānīpūr returned to the social realism and the urban middle-class perspective of the older generation and examined the psychological suffering of the modern woman who must continuously struggle against cultural norms of femininity.

Ghazāla Alizāda, who started her writing career before the revolution, published her most important work of fiction, *Khāna-i Idrīsīhā* (The house of the Idrisis), in 1991. The novel centers on an aristocratic family living in their ancestral home who suddenly find themselves in the middle of a revolution when their house is invaded by the mob. A significant aspect of Alizāda's narrative is the way in which she throws women who have been traditionally robbed of agency into the middle of a crisis, forcing them to become active and assume responsibility for their lives. Although the story has no overt references to the Islamic Revolution in Iran (it takes place in the city of Ashkabad, presumably at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution), the connection is impossible to miss. Perhaps the fear of censorship inherent in such an acknowledgment explains why so little critical attention is given to this important literary work that explores the

complexity of women's relationship with the revolution, enabling and disabling at the same time.

From 1990 to the present, women's fiction in Iran has proliferated to the extent that it is no longer possible to refer to only a few prominent women writers. Among emerging women writers are Farkhunda Āqā'ī, Zawyā Pīrzād, Nāhīd Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Farībā Vāfī, Ṭāhira 'Alavī, Mahnāz 'Alīpūr, Sūdāba Ashrafī, Shīvā Arasṭū'ī, Farkhunda Ḥājizāda, and Manṣūra Sharifzāda. Though the short story appears to be the dominant genre of this period, some women writers have published successful novels and autobiographies as well. Special mention should be made of Zūyā Pīrzād, who attracted a large readership in addition to winning critical acclaim through the publication of her novel *Chirāgh'bhā rā man khāmūsh mīkunam* (I'll turn off the lights) in 2002. Pīrzād's attention to the aesthetics of language in her depiction of routine family life heightens the reader's sensibility of the unexpressed longings of Clarice, the female protagonist, in her traditional role as a homemaker. Another important development in this period is the publication of popular fiction written for mass consumption. Here also women novelists have the upper hand. The most notable example is Fattānah Ḥājī Sayyidjavādī's novel *Bāmdād-i khumār* (The morning after), published in 1995, which became an instant bestseller.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. 'Alizādah, *Khānah-i Idrīsīhā*, Tehran 1991.  
 M. Amirshahi, *Sār-i Bibī Khānum* Tehran 1968.  
 M. Bahrāmī, *Zanbaq nachīn*, Tehran 1962.  
 S. Dānishvar, *Savūshūn*, Tehran 1969.  
 —, *Jazīra-i sargardānī*, Tehran 1993.  
 F. Ḥājī Sayyidjavādī, *Bāmdād-i khumār*, Tehran 1995.  
 F. Milānī, Nilūfar-i ābī dar murdāb ham mirūyad, in *Nimiyi Digar* 8 (1988), 5–24.  
 H. Mīr'ābidīnī, *Sad sal dāstān-nivīsī dar Īrān*, 4 vols., Tehran 1988–98.  
 —, *Dāstān-nivīsī-i zanān*, in *Zanān* 115 (2005), 60–6.  
 S. Pārsipūr, *Ṭubā va mā'nā-yi shab*, Tehran 1978.  
 —, *'Aql-i 'ābī*, San Jose, Calif. 1994.  
 Z. Pīrzād, *Chirāgh'bhā rā man khāmūsh mīkunam*, Tehran 2002.  
 M. Ravānīpūr, *Kanīzū*, Tehran 1988.  
 —, *Sang-bāyi shaytān*, Tehran 1990.  
 —, *Dil-i fulād*, Tehran 1990.  
 G. Taraqqī, *Man ham chih gavārā hastam*, Tehran 1970.  
 —, *Khātira-hā-yi parākanda*, Tehran 1992.  
 H. Yavari, Fiction. The novel, in E. Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopedia Iranica*, New York 1999, ix, fasc. 6, 580–92.

Persian fiction by Iranian women writers available in English

- M. Amirshahi, *Suri and co. Tales of a Persian teenager*, trans. J. E. Knörzer, intro. H. Farmayan, Austin, Tex. 1995.

- S. Daneshvar, *Daneshvar's playhouse. A collection of stories*, trans. M. Mafi, Washington, D.C. 1989.  
 —, *Savushun. A novel about modern Iran*, trans. M. Ghanoonparvar, Washington, D.C. 1990.  
 —, *A Persian requiem*, trans. R. Zand, London 1991.  
 —, *Sutra and other stories*, trans. H. Javadi and A. Neshati, Washington, D.C. 1994.  
 M. Mehdi Khorami and S. Vatanabadi (eds. and trans.), *A feast in the mirror. Studies by contemporary Iranian women*, Boulder, Colo. 2000.  
 N. Mozaffari and A. Karimi-Hakkak (eds.), *Strange times, my dear. The PEN anthology of contemporary Iranian literature*, New York 2005.  
 S. Parsipur, *Women without men*, trans. K. Talatoff, Syracuse, N.Y. 1998.  
 —, *Touba and the meaning of night*, trans. Z. Houshmand and K. Talatoff, New York 2006.  
 G. Taraqqī, *Winter sleep*, trans. F. T. Mahak, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1994.  
 —, *A mansion in the sky. And other short stories*, intro. and trans. F. Farrokh, Austin, Tex. 2003.  
 M. Ravānīpūr, *Satan's stones*, ed. with an intro. M. R. Ghanoonparvar, Austin, Tex. 1996.  
 —, *Kānīzū*, trans. H. Dinevari, A. Mokhtari, Sh. Mozaffari, and R. Sarraf, ed. with an intro. M. R. Ghanoonparvar, Costa Mesa, Calif. 2004.

SAFOURA NOURBAKHSH

#### North Africa

In the field of fiction, the countries of the Maghrib (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) are usually grouped together due to their common thematic preoccupations and linguistic characteristics, namely predominance of the French language. Egypt, although geographically part of North Africa, is usually studied with the literature of the eastern region of the Arab-Islamic Middle East. This entry highlights some of the common trends and themes treated by women fiction writers of the Maghrib, paying particular attention to the historical, linguistic, and artistic ruptures brought about by the French colonial occupation.

In Algeria, the first women novelists were publishing as early as 1947. Djamilia Debeche wrote two novels that dealt directly with the condition of Algerian women, *Leïla, jeune fille d'Algérie* (1947) and *Aziza* (1955), and also wrote non-fiction essays (in the early 1950s) on the liberation of Algerian women, women and Arabic language education, and women's right to vote. This was the earliest fiction writing by women in the Maghrib. The most prolific contemporary women fiction writers are Malika Mokeddem, Assia Djebar, and Leïla Sebbar. It is noteworthy that all three of these women write in French and have spent significant periods of their lives in France. Malika Mokeddem (b. 1949) has published novels starting with *Des rêves et des assassins* (1995), which was translated

into German, Dutch, and Italian. She also published *L'interdite* (1993), *La nuit de la lézarde* (1998), *Les hommes qui marchent* (1990), and *La transe des insoumis* (2003), among other titles. Mokeddem's stories often revolve around female protagonists who struggle with violence against women and the restrictions put on women by the contemporary Islamic culture of Algeria. Assia Djébar (b. 1936) also writes about women who struggle with Algerian culture, but in a more poetic literary style. Often her characters find a resolution to the crisis of the Algerian woman through intellectual, poetic, or amorous pursuits as part of a generalized acceptance of modernity that is often depicted in her novels. Djébar is a prolific novelist, but she is also an internationally acclaimed poet, playwright, and filmmaker. Her many novels include *La soif* (1957), *Les impatients* (1958), *Les enfants du nouveau monde* (1962), *Les allouettes naïves* (1967), *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (1980) and *L'amour la fantasia* (1985). Leïla Sebbar (b. 1941) is the author of several collections of short stories, novels for children, essays, and novels. Her novels are often inspired by the situation of the immigrant worker in France and by the situation of Algerian women. A small selection of her fiction titles includes *Fatima ou les Algériennes du square* (1981), *Shérazade: 17 ans, brune, frisée, les yeux verts: roman* (1982) and *Les silences des rives* (1993). In addition to these novelists, it is also important to mention lesser known but noteworthy women writers such as Latifa Ben Mansour, Maïssa Bey, Leïla Houari, Aïcha Lemsine, Yamina Mechakra, Rabia Ziani, and Nadia Ghalem. It was recently discovered that the female name Yasmina Khadra, who authored dozens of novels, is actually a *nom de plume* for a man by the name of Mohammed Moulessehou. Ahlam Mosghanemi is credited as the first Algerian woman to publish a novel in Arabic with her novel *Zakirat al-jasad* (1985), which was translated into English and published in 2003 with the title *Memory in the Flesh*.

In Tunisia, the list of women novelists is significantly shorter than in Algeria. While Algeria saw women writers publishing in the 1940s, Tunisian women began publishing novels only 40 years later. Although there were women writing doctoral theses and poetry in the 1960s and 1970s, the first novels by Tunisian women did not appear until 1975 and for the most part a real proliferation of women novelists did not occur until the 1980s and 1990s. The best known novelists are Hélé Béji (b. 1948) and Emna Bel Haj Yahia (b. 1946). Béji's writings include articles published in the periodicals *Le débat* and *Esprit*. She has also published *Itiné-*

*raire de Paris à Tunis* (1992), *L'imposture culturelle* (1997) and *Le désenchantement national* (1982). Her writing engages the question of the role of the Muslim woman in Arab-Islamic society, making the argument that the "archaic" Arab woman maintains a critical and intimate relationship with daily life that modern and Western women have lost, leaving the latter in a state of malaise. Her position on women in the Arab world is situated within the larger framework of an inquiry into the civilization of decolonization and national Arab culture in the modern period. Emna Bel Haj Yahia was the chief editor of the women's magazine *Nissa* and is the author of, among other works, *Chroniques frontalières* (1991) and *Tasharej* (2000). Both novels take their as primary theme the condition of women in the Arab-Islamic world; *Tasharej* weaves a complex and intimate narrative of a woman, an intellectual and mother, whose conversations with her daughter lead her to question her modern identity and the possibility of a return to Islamic tradition. It was in the 1990s that Tunisian women writers blossomed, writing in French and Arabic. Among many others, Rachida Tourki and Hayat al-Rayis both published collections of short stories in Arabic in the early 1990s.

Similar to the situation in Tunisia, Moroccan women writers only began to find a strong literary voice in the 1980s and 1990s. While most Moroccan women novelists wrote in French, similar to their Tunisian and Algerian counterparts, there were some noteworthy women writers who chose to write in Arabic. Among them is Leïla Abouzeid (b. 1950) who was a journalist before she decided to devote herself full-time to fiction writing. She has been translated widely into English, notably *The Year of the Elephant: A Moroccan Woman's Journey toward Independence* (1989), which deals with women's struggles during the Moroccan nationalist movement. This novel, as well as *Return to Childhood: The Memoir of a Modern Moroccan Woman* (1999) explores the very private subjects of divorce, family, and generational differences against the backdrop of broad historical and collective identity transformations. Fatima Mernissi (b. 1940) is also a well-known fiction writer although she is perhaps most recognized as a sociologist of Muslim and Moroccan women's lives. Her fictionalized autobiography, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood* (1994) was written in English and tells the story of a Moroccan girl who was born and raised in a harem in Fez of the 1940s. This tale explores the lives of women who experienced isolation from the world outside the harem. The story is one of hope and the girls,

through solidarity and the advantages assured by the ruling class of Moroccan society, manage to transcend their segregation by engaging in song, performance, and story-telling. In addition to these women writers, there is an increasing number of emerging Moroccan women novelists including Yasmine Chami-Kettani, whose novel *Cérémonie* (1999) tells the story of a recently divorced Moroccan woman who returns to her father's house just in time for her brother's wedding celebrations. Nadia Chafik published three novels, including *A l'ombre de Jugurtha* (2000) and Leïla Chellabi has published several essays and three novels including *L'oeil de cristal* (1998). There are dozens more Moroccan women novelists, not to mention women who write essays and poems.

Women's fiction in the Maghrib is still, for the most part, written in French, partly due to publication opportunities, distribution networks, and educational structures. It remains to be seen whether these tendencies will change and lead to the production of more Arabic language fiction in the future. Overall, the number of women writers from the Maghrib is rapidly increasing, especially since the 1990s.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works available in English

- L. Abu Zayd, *The year of the elephant. A Moroccan woman's journey toward independence*, trans. B. Parmenter, Austin, Tex. 1989.  
 A. Djébar, *Fantasia. An Algerian cavalcade*, trans. D. S. Blair, Portsmouth, N.H. 1993.  
 F. Mernissi, *Dreams of trespass. Tales of a harem girlhood*, Reading, Mass. 1994.  
 M. Mokeddem, *The forbidden woman*, trans. K. M. Marcus, Lincoln, Nebr. 1998.  
 A. Mosteghanemi, *Memory in the flesh*, trans. B. Ahmar Sreih, rev. trans. P. Clark, Cairo and New York 2003.

ANDREA KHALIL

### North America

As a genre, fiction, particularly full-length fiction, is a signifier of a fully fledged literature coming into its own; until recently, poetry and memoir were the predominant forms of literary expression by Muslim women in North America, but a critical mass is beginning to form with a flowering of short stories and a few novels by immigrant or second-generation writers.

The novel creates a uniquely expansive, accessible space for empathy on the part of the reader in a way that less expansive genres cannot. At the same time, the reflective, self-analytical nature of fiction privileges the complexities of the personal over the

concerns of the communal, transcending the limitations of the literature of representation. This promising beginning by Muslim women authors augurs development along the lines of Latino and Indian fiction, already widely published in the United States and Canada.

Suggesting a growing trend toward self-awareness, there is an ongoing proliferation of anthologies that include Muslim women writers: from *Post Gibran* (Akash 2000), published before 11 September 2001, and reflecting in the title the predominance of second- or third-generation, mostly Levantine Christian contributors, to the multiplicity of anthologies published since, some devoted to Muslim women, such as *Shattering the Stereotype: Muslim Women Speak Out* (Afzal-Khan 2005). This indicates, as noted, self-awareness, but also the perception on the part of publishers and academics of Muslim women's literature as a distinct sub-genre overlapping with more than one sub-genre after 11 September 2001.

It remains the case, however, that memoir is the genre privileged by publishers when it comes to Muslim women writers, relying on the immediacy of its appeal to the Western reader's curiosity about an exotic culture rather than the more mediated and subjective perspective of fiction. Recent memoirs, by Iranian and Afghan women in particular, have been successful with the publishing industry, the media, and feminist academics in North America to the extent that the writer maintains a critical distance from her Muslim heritage and subscribes to a narrative of witness or survival. The best-known example is Azar Nafisi's *Reading Lolita in Tehran* (2003).

Blurring the line between memoir and novel, fiction by Muslim women tends to be heavily if not explicitly autobiographical. As is typically the profile with emerging literature of immigrant minorities, it reflects the politics of alienation and the need to interpret a triply marginalized identity: Muslim/woman/immigrant or ethnic minority. But beyond motivation and autobiographical tendency, the vast diversity in cultures, backgrounds, and experiences makes generalizing problematical.

Mapping the field of Muslim fiction writers in North America is complicated by issues of self-identification and by overlapping spheres of heritage. Some authors who embrace the designation of Arab American decline to acknowledge any religious affiliation, regardless of ancestry, while among writers of Middle Eastern or South Asian heritage there is no consensus on adopting the appellation "women of color," a posture that many see as politically valid and others reject. On the other hand,

the experiences of American converts to Islam, particularly African Americans, barely represented in the literature at present, can be expected eventually to bring a significantly different perspective and history to the field. *Azizah Magazine* carries occasional short fiction in that vein.

The focus of this entry is women writers of Muslim heritage writing in English and living in North America, whether foreign-born or second-generation. For immigrants, the choice of English as the language of literary expression rather than their mother tongue is in itself a marker of self-identification and of the choice of the Western reader as privileged interlocutor, but both groups share the markers of a transitional identity that straddles more than one culture and mediates alternative realities of remembered worlds and American actualities.

Second-generation writers of Muslim heritage writing about their communities in North America tend to depict them in the tropes of immigrant subcultures, with an emphasis on clannishness, sociability, food-centeredness, loudness, and cultural inappropriateness in the American context. They are, in other words, ethnic, in the now familiar ethnographic idiom of writers from Asian, South Asian, and Latino cultures, but also in the time-honored American tradition of exoticizing one's community, as earlier generations of Jewish and Southern novelists did so successfully.

In *Arabian Jazz*, Diana Abu Jaber's transplanted Palestinians in small-town upstate New York speak hilariously tortured English, none more so than the father, who can hardly hope to impose respect on his daughters when he mangles the only language in which he can communicate with them. The stereotype of the traditional Muslim patriarch is subverted in favor of a loving, lovable, but bungling father figure familiar to American sitcom sensibilities. Interestingly, father figures are generally portrayed in positive terms as loving and supportive influences on their daughters' lives, perhaps reflecting a self-selective paradigm: women who grow up to express themselves as writers are more likely to have had an empowering relationship with their father figure rather than an oppressive one.

It seems to be the literary fate of transplanted immigrants in general to sacrifice some essential human dignity in the uprooting process, and indeed the quest to rediscover that lost dignity appears recurrently as a theme in novels of return to the country of origin. In Kathryn Abdul-Baki's *Tower of Dreams*, and in Naomi Shihab Nye's *Habibi*, a young American girl returns with her Arab father and American mother to the "old country" and

tries to adapt to the unaccustomed expectations and restrictions of Muslim culture, particularly when it comes to interactions with the opposite sex. A related trope is the crystallization of cultural conflict around marriage, particularly when the American-raised girl is brought to the Middle East to find a suitable mate.

If assimilation is a collective concern for the American-born members of settled communities, integration is an individual, isolated experience for the immigrant writers in this discussion, who often come from different backgrounds. They are more likely to have come to North America as college students or academics, and less likely to live surrounded by an immigrant community. The consciousness of being a chameleon, the imperative of blending into one's environment in order to survive, is more urgent for the expatriate intellectual marooned in an American white bread world than for the member of an established immigrant community. This sense of dislocation is experienced by the narrator in Samia Serageldin's *The Cairo House* as she tries to reconcile the present in a New England college town to the politically-charged past in the Cairo milieu of a prominent family. The fiction of immigrant writers, regardless of heritage, tends to revisit the past, adding the dimension of geography to the dislocation of time common to most first novels, and often comes full cycle, from past to present and back to the revisited past.

But several Muslim women novelists living in North America opt to orient their stories entirely in the past, in this case a place rather than a time: the country of origin. Pakistani-born Kamila Shamsie sets the family saga *Salt and Saffron* overwhelmingly in Karachi, as does another Pakistani, Maniza Naqvi, in *Mass Transit*. Moroccan-born Laila Lalami's *Hope and Other Pursuits* follows this trajectory in examining the lives of Moroccan illegal immigrants to Spain.

Although immigrant authors are more likely to identify spontaneously with their Islamic heritage, the realities of the post-11 September 2001 world are such that the issue of religion has become inescapable for Muslim writers, just as gender factors explicitly or implicitly. Most novelists would like to put the complexities of the personal above the concerns of the communal, and to transcend the limitations of literature of representation. Arguably, however, Muslims writing for a mainstream American readership are subject to inhibiting considerations of potentially negative reactions on the part of their "own" community, whether in North America or in the country of origin, as well as reinforcing negative stereotypes, advertently

or inadvertently. This is particularly true regarding representations of gender politics or religious practice. *Arabian Jazz*, for instance, received some criticism for depictions of female infanticide in contemporary Palestine. *The Cairo House* evoked objections to its descriptions of Islamic practice, particularly the Feast of the Sacrifice, and to translations of verses from the Qur'ān.

A theme that rarely escapes the politics of representation is sexuality, given that gender and sexual stereotypes contribute so significantly to the construct of the Muslim "Other." Some writers chose to subvert these stereotypes, others to play to them, whether ironically or not, as evidenced by some of the short stories on the website "Sex and the Umma," to which Mohja Kahf is a prominent contributor.

To sum up, the field of fiction by Muslim women in North America is beginning to develop along promising lines, but lags behind – and is somewhat diluted by cross-referencing with – the fields of Arab American literature or Asian literature in university courses and anthologies. Muslim women writers are more likely to be found affiliated with RAWI (Radius of Arab American Writers Inc.), the Arab American writers' association, or published in *Mizna*, the Arab American literary journal, and reviewed in *Al-Jadid*, even if their heritage is South Asian.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- K. Abdul-Baki, *Tower of dreams*, Colorado Springs 1995.  
 —, *Ghost songs*, Pueblo, Colo. 2000.  
 F. Afzal-Khan (ed.), *Shattering the stereotypes. Muslim women speak out*, Northampton, Mass. 2005.  
 M. Akash (ed.) *Post Gibran. Anthology of new Arab American writing*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2000.  
 D. Abu Jaber, *Arabian jazz*, San Diego, Calif. 1993.  
 —, *Crescent*, New York 2004.  
*Al-Jadid Magazine*, Los Angeles.  
*Azizah Magazine*, Atlanta, Ga.  
 S. Muaddi Darraj (ed.), *Scheherazade's legacy. Arab and Arab American women on writing*, Westport, Conn. 2004.  
 E. Farry, *Redemption*, New York 2002.  
 P. Kaldas and K. Mattawa (eds.), *Dinarzad's children. An anthology of Arab American fiction*, Fayetteville, Ark. 2004.  
 L. Lalami, *Hope and other dangerous pursuits*, Chapel Hill 2005.  
*Mizna Literary Magazine*, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 A. Nafisi, *Reading Lolita in Tehran*, New York 2003.  
 M. Naqvi, *Mass transit*, Oxford 1998.  
 N. Shihab Nye, *Habibi*, New York 1999.  
*RAWI Newsletter*, Madison, Wis.  
 S. Serageldin, *The Cairo house. A novel*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2002.  
 K. Shamsie, *Salt and saffron*, New York 2002.  
 —, *In the city by the sea*, New York 2004.

#### West Africa: Francophone

The emergence of women fiction writers in Islamic cultures in West Africa is relatively recent, starting in the late 1970s, the decade that followed the independence of many African countries. These women writers are mainly from Senegal, Mali, and Guinea, countries that are former French colonies, where French is still the official language and the main medium of learning in schools. Most of these women writers were born in the coastal cities where the French presence and influence prevailed. They may be classified into three generations of women writers. The first generation includes Nafissatou Diallo, Aminata Sow Fall, and Mariama Bâ (all from Senegal). Mariétou Mbaye Biléoma, who signs her work with the pseudonym Ken Bugul (Senegal) and Mariama Ndoeye (Senegal) are part of the second generation. Finally, a third, transnational generation has recently surfaced with such authors as Fatou Diome (France-Senegal) and Bilguissa Diallo (France-Guinea). This is not an exhaustive list of women fiction writers of Islamic cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa, but a representative sample of influential authors whose works are most readily available in the region as well as internationally.

These Muslim women writers have considerably changed the Sub-Saharan African literary landscape by claiming their part of a literary space previously dominated by celebrated male writers. It is widely agreed that one of the key creative motivations of these women fiction writers has been the need to introduce a gendered discourse. For decades, the role and conditions of women have been discussed, interpreted, and translated into fiction by male fiction writers. One could argue that, most of the time, these portrayals are inherently biased. Women fiction writers often feel invested with a mission to clarify, if not unveil, the often discriminatory cultural practices of Islam in their societies. It is important, however, to point out that their criticism of Islamic practices does not signify a total withdrawal from that religion. Their relation to Islam is thus ambiguous, and even problematic, as most of them tend to denounce the way men have interpreted Islam, rather than the fundamentals of the religion itself. Hardly any of these writers have put into question their personal beliefs in Islam, no matter how challenging the issues their fiction raises in relation to the practices of Islam in their countries.

Various connected circumstances have therefore contributed to the emergence and continued presence of Muslim women as renowned fiction writ-

ers. These authors have tended to emphasize and establish a leading social role, by representing women and their conditions in their own terms, but also to uncover in a subtle yet uncompromising way the inequalities between genders in their own societies. The social issues that they discuss range from polygamy to politics as well as the often opportunistic reading of the religious texts in these frequently patriarchal societies. Sub-Saharan African versions of Islamic practices and the issues they raise seem to permeate most of the fiction writing by women, which intertwines autobiography and fiction.

The first generation of women writers chose fictionalized autobiography to avoid censorship and criticize a male-dominated society. Regarding this aspect of social criticism, Mariama Bâ's *Une si longue lettre* (So long a letter) does reflect the disrupting nature of polygamy, in which men under Islamic civil law are allowed to marry up to four wives. This epistolary novel crystallizes the different facets constituting the social condition of women left to the whims of men and it raises questions about Islam's social justice toward women. Yet Bâ also successfully draws upon Muslim traditions in presenting an authentic cultural setting, such as in her description of the protagonist's husband's funeral in *Une si longue lettre*.

The experiences of this first generation of authors as women living in Islamic cultures were certainly reflected in their fiction. This in turn tended to highlight the position of women in given social and cultural environments, thus encouraging local governments to pay attention to women's social and economic conditions. The social and intellectual leadership embodied by women writers sometimes translated into political and economic opportunities. For example, Aminata Sow Fall – author of the novel *La grève des battu* (The beggars' strike) – is founder and head of a well-known publishing house, Editions Khoudia, in Dakar, Senegal.

The second generation of women fiction writers has tended to expand this social study of their societies to establish a correlation between gender discrimination and the global issues of poverty in the Third World. Gender issues such as polygamy and the way in which it could degrade women are made relative by Ken Bugul (Mariétou Mbaye Biléoma) in *Riwan ou le chemin de sable* (Riwan, or the sandy track). The writer explores the peaceful and happy lives of co-wives and other women in the house of a *marabout* (religious leader). She makes a deliberate choice to contradict the general feminist and often anti-Islamic trend toward

polygamy. Thus, Ken Bugul introduces a dissonant feminist discourse to showcase the intimate and sometimes happy lives of some Muslim women in West Africa.

Mariama Ndoye is a Senegalese writer who lives in Tunisia, after spending many years in Ivory Coast. Her prolific fictional work includes *Comme du bon pain* (Like good bread), a novel in which she depicts the beauty of the Senegalese middle-aged woman. Despite being a devout Muslim – as her interviews indicate – fiction has become a pastime through which she invites her reader into the divine sensuality and gift of women. In *Comme du bon pain*, Ndoye takes us into the personal lives of women with great humor. In her fictional space, as the title hints, the woman can be considered to a large extent as good bread, but one has to be well educated to appreciate good bread.

The new generation of West African women fiction writers, however, is unique in the ways in which they envision their relations with Islam as well as with Africa. An increasing number of them live in Europe and they are deeply influenced by Western cultures. Both Fatou Diome and Bilguissa Diallo live in France. The major themes they develop in their fiction are related to the complexities of immigration and hardships of integration. Fatou Diome, in her *Le ventre de l'Atlantique* (The belly of the Atlantic), for example, focuses on the untold and heartbreaking stories of African immigrants living in Europe. The language she uses is not necessarily subtle, as she reveals the cruelties of some African traditions toward women. In her first novel for instance, *Salie*, the heroine living with a host family in a big city in Senegal, details her traumatic sexual abuse at the hands of a local *marabout* with the complicity of her host mother. Such a graphic description of sexual exploitation has not been common in women's fictional works and the writer's negative characterization of a religious figure is also noteworthy. Among other topical issues Fatou Diome tackles in her fiction is French xenophobia, especially toward African immigrants. While the content is drawn from a recent African past, her narrative style echoes the freedom of expression of the place from which she writes.

In her first novel, *Diasporama*, Bilguissa Diallo addresses similar themes, although she delineates a different version of immigration. Diallo tells the difficult but successful story of a Guinean immigrant family in France. She courageously exposes the bourgeois lives of three young teenage girls born in France of immigrant parents. At the crossroads of native and Western cultures, the unsolvable issue of identity leads to many dilemmas of belonging. Her



writing style, like Diome's, differs sharply from that of the first generation of post-independence women writers from Islamic cultures discussed earlier. For Diome and Diallo, their distance from their Islamic cultures is both physical and intellectual and they tend to consider themselves as international women writers per se. Living and writing in the West seems to have profoundly influenced their fiction, as has the experience of immigration, which is at the heart of their novels and casts them in a postcolonial world where their traditional Islamic cultures are less deterministic and not always relevant in their personal searches for meaningful lives.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Bâ, *Une si longue lettre*, Dakar 1979, trans. M. Bodé-Thomas, *So long a letter*, Oxford 1989.  
 M. Mbaye Biléoma [K. Bugul], *Riwan ou le chemin de sable*, Paris 1999.  
 B. Diallo, *Diasporama*, Paris 2005.  
 F. Diome, *Le ventre de l'Atlantique*, Paris 2003, trans. L. Norman and R. Schwartz, *The belly of the Atlantic*, London 2006.  
 M. Ndoye, *Comme du bon pain*, Abidjan 2001.  
 A. Sow Fall, *La grève des battû*, Dakar 1979.

MOUSSA SOW

### Turkey

During the Ottoman Empire's rapid Westernization campaign in the nineteenth century, Muslim women were able to access the public sphere as writers, becoming leading names in Ottoman and Turkish literature. In the late nineteenth century, women's access to public life as professionals and writers became a battlefield between progressive and more conservative intellectual men. Progressive male writers endorsed women's literary activities. For instance, in his biography of Fatma Aliye, the most prolific woman writer of the nineteenth century, Ahmet Mithat attempted to prove to Ottoman readers that being an "honorable" Muslim woman and a "writer" concomitantly was not an oxymoron. After the publication of the biography, Fatma Aliye, who used to sign her work anonymously as "A Woman" began publishing under her own name, setting a precedent to other women writers who followed suit. Until the advent of the First World War, predominant themes in women's fiction were women's suffering in polygamous or arranged marriages, or because of despotic male family members who impeded women's educational pursuits. Women fiction writers also criticized Orientalist representations of Ottoman women and family life in European fiction and travelogues, while providing "insiders' accounts" of domestic life.

The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 promoted women's attempts to gain access to the public sphere, allowing an increasing number of women writers to publish fictional works. During consecutive wars, the Balkan War, the First World War, and the Turco-Greek war, ensuing in the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire, and the concomitant rise of Turanism and Turkish nationalism, women writers, such as Müfide Ferit Tek and Halide Edib Adıvar, spearheaded the genre of national romances, depicting upper-class male and female protagonists, who suppressed all libidinal desires in serving their nation.

The first wave of feminism coincided with the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, and the instigation of the Westernizing (Kemalist) reforms of the 1920s and early 1930s. In 1934, the state granted political suffrage to women, using this as an excuse to close down women's organizations, on the grounds that they no longer had a *raison d'être*. In the ensuing years, women's fiction, in lieu of representing this state-struck blow to feminist activism, praised state feminism, as women wrote in a particular genre of "Republican romances." The leading writers of this uniquely female genre included Muazzez Tahsin Berkand, with 52 novels, followed by Halide Nusret Zorlutuna, Nezihe Muhittin, Peride Celal, Kerime Nadir, and Şükufe Nihal. In this fiction, the outward sign of modernization was Western-style dress, the most significant rituals were dances with jazz bands, where "modern" Turkish men and women could find the ideal atmosphere to flirt, and the ultimate goal was pursuing a national education. With the exception of sexual liberty, the petit-bourgeois Republican female protagonists of these novels were equal to their male counterparts. Being Muslim and practicing Islamic tenets were irrelevant to the everyday reality of the protagonists. Devoid of historical context and social problems, the novels set up a racial hierarchy between "modernized Turks" and "uncivilized Kurds." Becoming popular legends by the 1970s, these novels were adapted en masse for the local film market, Yeşilçam.

Undoubtedly, not all women writers advocated Kemalist reforms in their works. Several, such as Safiye Erol, Semiha Ayverdi, and Münevver Ayaşlı, strongly criticized the rapid secularization campaign of the 1920s and 1930s in their fiction, blaming these reforms for moral corruption in Turkish society. In *The Clown and His Daughter* (1935), which she translated into Turkish as *Sinekli Bakkal* (1936), Halide Edib Adıvar attempted to find an Islamic context for women's empowerment and liberation. Suat Derviş wrote moralistic social

realist novels into the 1970s, criticizing the class-biased structure of the Republic and Republican literature in her fiction.

The harbingers of post-1980 feminist literature were the 12 March novels (*12 Mart romanları*), written by women writers. Produced after the 12 March 1970 coup d'état, aimed at suppressing the leftist movement in Turkey, these social realist novels narrated the unjust imprisonment and state-inflicted torture of leftist intellectuals. Women writers, such as Füzûzan, Sevgi Soysal, Leyla Erbil, and Adalet Aġaoġlu not only narrated class struggle (like their male counterparts), but also questioned the previous accomplishments of a political and literary nature of their "elder sisters," and the "alleged gender equality" brought by state feminism.

In the aftermath of the 12 September 1980 coup d'état, which struck a severe blow to the leftist movement, Turkish society rapidly embraced the values of the free market economy. In this period, leftist fiction writers ceased to use social realism as a mode of literary expression, convinced that their political ideals were outmoded and incommunicable. Rather, these writers, and many more, turned to experiments with form in their fiction. Women writers such as Nazlı Eray, Pınar Kür, Latife Tekin, Perihan Maġden, Elif Şafak, and Aslı Erdoğan became leading names in the birth of the postmodern Turkish novel, ranging from science fiction, the fantastic, to magical realism. Coinciding with second wave feminism, women's fiction after 1980 also provided fertile ground for self-discovery and reflection, as most women writers addressed issues such as honor crimes, sexual violence, sexism in language and literature, and the critique of the leftist movement itself in its failure to address gender discrimination. Duygu Asena's pulp novels on these themes reached wide reading groups.

In the late 1990s, Islamist feminist novelists, such as Cihan Aktaş and Şerife Katırcı, depicted the "new Muslim woman" in their fiction, the well-educated and professional woman, veiled in order to be able to access the public sphere, while also being a good housewife, mother, and spouse. Islamist feminists were quite influential in their attack on moral corruption in society, commodification of the female body, and on pornography, all of which they claimed could be prevented by women's veiling and by adhering to the tenets of orthodox Islam.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

H. Adak, An epic for peace, in H. Edib, *Memoirs of Halidê Edib*, Piscataway, N.J. 2004. [Introduction to the reprint; the book was first published in 1926.]

- , Gender(ing) biography. Ahmet Mithat (on Fatma Aliye) or the canonization of an Ottoman male writer, in *Querelles* 10 (2005), 189–205.
- H. Edib Adıvar, *The clown and his daughter*, London 1935.
- , *Sinekli bakkal*, Istanbul 1936.
- A. Baykan and B. Ötüş-Baskett (eds.), *Nezihe Mubittin ve Türk kadını*, Istanbul 1999.
- M. Belge, *Edebiyat üstüne yazılar*, Istanbul 1994.
- S. Irzık and J. Parla (eds.), *Kadınlar dile düşünce*, Istanbul 2004.
- A. Mithat Efendi, *Fatma Aliye Hanım yabut bir muharrire-i Osmaniyenin neşetti*, ed. L. M. Galin, trans. L. G. Blake, Istanbul 1998.
- B. Moran, *Türk romanına eleştirel bir bakış*, 3 vols., Istanbul [1983]–1994.
- J. Parla, *Don Kişottan bugüne roman*, Istanbul 2000.
- Ö. Türkeş, Gündük bir edebiyat kanonu, in M. Belge (ed.), *Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce*, ii, A. İnel (ed.), *Kemalizm*, Istanbul 2001, 425–48.

HÜLYA ADAK

# Arts: Film Directors and Film Stars

## Arab States

Arab states were at first reluctant to admit women to the world of film, both in front of and behind the camera. Nevertheless, women soon supported and began working for the new medium. The speed of this development, however, differed considerably from one Arab region to another. Women's access to film making and the film industry has remained difficult as a result of weak cinematic infrastructures, except in Egypt; of moral reservations on the part of women's families; of male-dominated professional networks (except for television); and of producers who have been reluctant to entrust high budgets to female directors.

Although traditionally women were excluded from almost all public forms of entertainment, Arab women did author poetry, recite religious verses and songs (*madḥ*), and work as secular singers and dancers for weddings and other celebrations. Fields of partial or complete mimicry, such as storytelling (*ḥakī*), shadow play (*khayāl al-dīl*), comic sketches (the *muhabbazūm* in Egypt, known since the late seventeenth century), and the round theater of the marketplace (*masraḥ al-halaqa* in the Maghrib) were usually reserved for men.

The earliest female theater performers of the region appeared in the developing, European-inspired, classical Arab theater, and at the end of the nineteenth century were either Jewesses or Christian Syrians. However, Muslim women soon joined the numerous evolving troupes, and some of them, such as Fāṭima Rushdī during the late 1920s, headed their own troupes. In Egypt women even played a constitutive role for the development of national cinema. 'Azīza Amīr, Assia Dāghir, Fāṭima Rushdī, and Bahīga Hāfīz worked in the late 1920s and during the 1930s as performers, script writers, and directors, venturing their own money for their films. One of the first full-length Egyptian fiction films, *Layla*, was co-directed and produced by theater actress 'Azīza Amīr in 1927. Lebanese Assia Dāghir did the same with *Ghādat al-ṣaḥrā'* (The lady from the desert) in 1929, and she remained one of Egypt's most important producers until the 1980s. Others' contributions were more short-lived but not less important, namely those of Fāṭima Rushdī, Amīna Muḥammad, and the congenial Bahīga Hāfīz, a musical composer who in 1937

starred and directed the lavish costume drama (and nationalist allegory) *Layla al-Badawiyya* (Layla the Beduin).

However, this female presence ceased after the foundation of Studio Misr in 1934, along with the consolidation of the film industry. It took Egyptian cinema almost five decades to re-accommodate professional and prolific women on a larger scale. The year 1985 represented a kind of turning point. A total of three films by three different women were released: those of Nādiya Sālim, Nādiya Ḥamza, and, most important, Inās al-Dighīdī, with her social drama *'Afwan ayyuhā al-qānūn* (Pardon me law). Al-Dighīdī subsequently became the most prominent and most wanted Egyptian commercial female director, with more than a dozen popular fiction films – mostly family dramas, comedies, or thrillers. She has been followed since the mid-1990s by Sāndrā Nash'at, who has specialized in the entertaining, so-called “shopping-mall films.” Other female directors, such as Asmā' al-Bakrī, Hāla Khalīl, and Kamla Abū Zikrī, have managed to direct two films each since the end of the 1990s.

In general, women had easier access to less cost-intensive formats, including dependent professions such as editing, set design, and script writing, particularly after the foundation of the public Higher Film Institute in 1959. One of the first women to direct documentaries for television was Sa'diyya Ghunīm in 1961. Others followed, such as An'ām Muḥammad 'Alī, director of the spectacular war film *Al-ṭariq ilā Aylāt* (The way to Eilat, 1995) and the popular television serial *Umm Kulthūm* (1999). All sorts of formats – children's, developmental, and animation – were directed for the National Film Center, among others those by Farīda 'Arman, Mūna Muḡāhid, Firyāl Kāmil, and Nabīha Lutfī. One of the first independent documentary filmmakers was 'Aṭṭiyāt al-Abnūdī, who appeared in 1971 with *Ḥuṣān al-ṭīm* (Mud horse).

Numerous women have also become script writers for television. During the 1990s, Mūna Abū Naṣr launched one of the most successful animation series on television, *Bakkār*. Since the late 1990s, the field of documentary, short film, and experimentals has been characterized by immense diversity, fueled by the introduction of the less expensive digital format and the activities of a considerable

number of young women interested in independent film making. Halā Galāl, for example, head of the alternative production house Semat, is not only a producer for numerous female productions but also a committed documentary filmmaker.

Moralism and religiosity have become, in the wake of the new Islamism, an obstacle for female performers. During the late 1980s and until 1994, up to twenty-one actresses and at least two male actors decided to retreat from show business for religious reasons, including Shadia, Hudā Sulṭān, Shams al-Bārūdī, Suhayr Ramzī, Suhayr al-Bablī, and Madiha Kāmil. Nevertheless, the Egyptian film industry has enhanced some of the most glamorous stars, whose fame has extended beyond Egypt's boundaries. One of the first was the "Star of the Orient" singer, Umm Kulthūm, followed by the "Cinderella of screen" singer Layla Murād, who gave way to more seductive vamp figures, such as Hudā Sulṭān and Shadia, and the more girlish Lebanese Ṣabāḥ.

While female singers gradually disappeared from the screen in the 1960s, dramatic actresses such as Fātin Ḥamāma in the 1950s remained unquestioned stars of melodrama until the early 1990s. Ḥamāma was joined by the vamp figure of Hind Rustum and the gifted Su'ād Ḥusnī, who were later followed by Madiha Kāmil, Nādiya al-Gindī, and Layla 'Ilwi, actresses denounced as "vulgar." Numerous belly dancers established the fame of modern oriental dance via the screen, most notably Taḥiyya Kāriyūkā and Sāmiyya Jamāl in the 1940s and 1950s, while variety dancers such as Na'īma 'Ākif in the 1950s, Nelly in the 1970s, and Shariḥān in the 1980s enriched the local music-hall films and Ramadan television serials.

Female performers were usually unable to attain star status that extended to other parts of the Arab world unless they worked in the Egyptian film industry. The only exceptions were Lebanese singers Fayrūz and the less known Ṣahūrri, Qamar, and Nawāl Farīd, among others, who appeared before the outbreak of civil war in 1975 at a time when the Lebanese film industry almost overtook Egyptian production. Lebanese singers Asmahān (1940s) and Ṣabāḥ (1950s to 1960s), Algerian singer Warda al-Jazā'iriyya, and very recently Tunisian actress Hind Ṣabri came to fame through Egyptian films.

Tunisia has produced numerous well-trained and highly gifted actresses, despite the fact that Haydēe Chikly, who featured in the first two Tunisian films, the short *Zahara* and the full-length *Ayn al-ghazāl* (*The Girl from Carthage*, 1924), directed by her father Albert Chikly, could not obtain her

family's agreement to become a professional. After independence a vivid theater movement with dozens of partly experimental troupes has contributed to forming highly capable actresses who have enriched Tunisian cinema – among others, Mouna Noureddine, Jalila Baccar, Hélène Catzaras, Ghaliya Lacroix, and Amal Hdhili. In Algeria, which has no considerable theater movement, Kulthum, the leading player of the anticolonial *Rīḥ al-Aurās* (*Wind from the Aurès*, 1966), was one of the few North African performers ever assigned a role in a colonial European film before national independence.

Female actresses and directors in other film-producing Arab countries, such as Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, appeared after national independence, starting gradually in the 1970s when their home countries had secured a small but stable national production. In Palestine, Yemen, and Kuwait, however, not a single woman succeeded in directing a full-length fiction film, despite a number of remarkable female-directed short fictions and documentaries. In Iraq, only Khayriyya Manṣūr has so far been able to direct two full-length films. Other than in Egypt, female directors are often foreign educated and rarely manage to realize more than one or two full-length fiction films. This is particularly true for Morocco, with Farīda Būrqiyya having directed one film, and screenplay writer Farīda Belyazid three films. So far five Tunisian women filmmakers have managed to direct full-length fiction films, but like the most acknowledged former film editor, Moufida Tlatli, director of the European co-production *Ṣamt al-quṣūr* (*Silence of the palaces*, 1994), none was able to realize more than two films. Lebanon, a similarly small country, has already seen seven women directors, with two of them, Randa Shaḥal Dabāgh and Jocelyne Sa'ab, realizing three to four full-length films in succession (also foreign co-productions).

In general, non-Egyptian cinema has a stronger independent orientation that enhances individual and artistic outlooks. Directors in the 1970s and 1980s, such as Tunisian Selma Baccar with her film-essay *Fatīma 75* (1975) and Nējia Ben Mabrouk with *Sama* (*The trace*, 1982), Moroccan Farīda Būrqiyya with *al-Jamra* (*Charcoal*, 1984), and Lebanese Heiny Srour with *Layla wa-al-dhī'āb* (*Layla and the wolves*, 1984) displayed an aggressively feminist stance while more recent directors have been more interested in deconstructing gender roles or in developing a genuine film language: particularly Tunisian Kalthoum Bornaz with *Kiswa al-khayt al-da'i'* (*Kiswa or the lost thread*, 1997); Lebanese

Dima al-Joundi; Joanna Hadjithomas, co-director of *Al-bayt al-zahr* (Around the pink house, 1999); and Danielle 'Arbid with *Ma'ārik ḥubb* (In the battlefields, 2004).

Two of the only three female Algerian directors who have succeeded in directing a full-length feature film in Algeria with local funds, Ḥafsa Zinat-Koudil (1992) and Yamina Bachir-Chouikh (2002), were less concerned with film form than in their visual attacks on Muslim fundamentalism and its effects on women. The third, novelist Assia Djebar, made an exception with her highly experimental television film *Nūbat nisā' Jabbal Shimuwwa* (The Noubas of the women of Mount Chenoua, 1978).

In all these countries, the largest number of female filmmakers have joined the field of experimentals, short fiction, or documentaries: for example, May Maṣrī, Liyāna Badr, and 'Azza al-Ḥaṣṣan (Palestine); Wāḥa al-Rāhib (Syria); Fātima Jebli Ouzzani and Izza Genini (Morocco); Nadia al-Fani (Tunisia); Jamila Sahraoui, Nadia Cherabi, and Yamina Benguigui (Algeria); Rania Stephan and Olga Nakkash (Lebanon); and Nadia Fares, Tahani Rashid, and Safaa Fathy (Egypt) – to name only a few. Many of them are based abroad and have gained an international reputation in their respective fields.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *Ra'idāt al-sīnīmā fī Miṣr*, Alexandria 2002.
- C. Ayad, Le star système. De la splendeur au voile, in M. Wassef (ed.), *Egypte. 100 ans de cinéma*, Paris 1995, 134–41.
- A. Gabous, *Silence, elles tournent!*, Tunis 1998.
- R. Hillauer, *Encyclopedia of Arab women filmmakers*, Cairo 2006.
- J. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958.
- V. Shafik, *Arab cinema. History and cultural identity*, Cairo 1998.
- , Prostitute for a good reason. Stars and morality in Egyptian cinema, in *Women's Studies International Forum* 24:6 (2001), 711–25.
- United Nations, Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia, *Ṣūrat al-mar'a fī al-sīnīmā al-'Arabiyya*, Cairo 1985.

VIOLA SHAFIK

### Central Asia

The history of Central Asian film has been traced back more than 70 years for various reasons. While earlier Soviet perspectives emphasized the cultural links between Russia and Central Asia including early Soviet documentaries shot in Kazakhstan, more recent views take pride in their film's longevity. Nevertheless, the first documentaries had a dis-

tinctly socialist feel and almost exclusively addressed the creation of new rail links and economic ties. The Central Asian film studios that emerged in the 1920s and 1930s largely produced documentary films and newsreels. The Second World War sent shockwaves through Soviet artistic communities, but for Central Asia it presented a unique cultural opportunity. Writers, artists, and filmmakers descended on the region to escape the plight of Leningrad and Moscow. During the war, the Kiev, Leningrad, and Moscow Film Studios evacuated to Alma-Ata and created TsOKS, the Unified Central Film Studio. As Sergei Eisenstein completed his great epic, *Ivan the Terrible*, young Central Asian filmmakers gained firsthand experience. After the war, new studios emerged and regional film making reached a prolific new era in the 1950s and 1960s when Central Asian directors were given opportunities to direct their own films for their respective national studios. The relative lateness of women's directorial debuts is thus connected to the general delay in native film production.

Dinara Asanova (1942–85) is the first major female director from Central Asia. She was born in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan and acted in several films with the Kyrgyz Film Studio in the early 1960s. While working in Larisa Shepitko's *Heat* (1963), Asanova decided to become a director in her own right. She graduated from the directorial program at VGIK (the All-Russian State Institute of Cinematography), one of the world's premier film schools, in 1968. Her success opened the doors of study to a number of other women across the Soviet Union, including Elena Tsyplakova, Olga Mashnaya, and Marina Levtova. Her film making style was direct and rendered a harsh and complex reality to contemporary issues. She was particularly interested in the transformations of Soviet society within the frame of family dramas, such as *The Woodpecker Never Has a Headache* (1974), *A Strictly Personal Key* (1976), *The Wife Has Gone* (1979), *Brats, or Tough Kids* (banned, 1983), and *My Darling, My Beloved, My Only One* (1984). During her brief career, which was tragically cut short, she moved to Russia and became a director at the Leningrad Film Studio.

The next generation of female Central Asian directors, in the 1980s, was led by Mariam Yusupova. Born in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, she also graduated from the directorial program at VGIK. Her films explore questions of tradition and Islam within the context of the civil war that has ravaged Tajikistan since independence. She is best known for *The Time of the Yellow Grass* (1991), which anticipates the tragedies of Tajik civil war through

a blend of documentary and film fiction. The bulk of her directorial work, however, is documentary and she has gained some acclaim through her films, *A Few Days in the Life of Young People* (1982), *Assimilation* (1983), *The Window* (1989), *The Face* (1991), *Mission to Tajikistan* (1998), and *Mardikor* (2002). She is now a de facto director in exile in Moscow, like many other Tajik filmmakers, since it has become unfeasible to produce films in Tajikistan.

The new rising Kazakh star, Gulshat Omarova, won the “best female director” award at the 2004 Copenhagen International Film Festival for her directorial debut on *Schizo*. Evidencing transformation in post-Soviet film, her rise did not originate through the traditional path of VGIK but rather through her work as an actor and assistant in several films of Sergei Bodrov and Sergei Bodrov, Jr. As a protégé of Sergei Bodrov, who also co-wrote her first film, Omarova produced a sensitive coming-of-age story in the harsh and violent world of illegal boxing. Reminiscent of post-Soviet Russian crime dramas, her work avoids glamorizing violence, objectifying women, and using nihilism to render a love story poignant.

Writing screenplays for male directors is another noteworthy role that women played in the development of Central Asian film in the 1980s and 1990s. In particular, Leila Akhinzhanova has written or co-written numerous significant Kazakh films of the past generation, working with Ardak Amirkulov, Abai Karpykov, Darezhan Omirbaev, Ermek Shinarbaev, and Talgat Temenov. Moreover, Elena Gordeeva’s work with Amir Karakulov has also been vital to his directorial success. Given the limitations of post-Soviet film funding and its fewer opportunities, it has been difficult for women to procure funding for their new projects. As national governments increase their funding of state film studios, the trend initiated by Gulshat Omarova may change this constraint.

As film stars, Central Asian women have had a long history. From early Soviet “Oriental” dramas of the 1920s, to political documentaries of the 1930s, to the first national films of the 1940s and beyond, women have been encouraged to participate in the most useful tool of Soviet propaganda, film. It was particularly important to represent women without the veil and to demonstrate the advantages of modern health care, education, and employment offered by the Soviets. Dziga Vertov’s *Three Songs about Lenin* (1934) effectively manipulated documentary film to illustrate the success of the emancipation of Eastern women by showing the contrast between Uzbek women wearing veils and Kazakh women

who never wore veils. Progress in the eyes of the European audience was evidenced by differing cultural traditions. Little information is yet available on the earliest actresses from the region and those who participated in documentary films.

When regional cinema emerged in the 1960s, an entire generation of actresses surfaced as well. Klara Yusupzhanova (1940–2006), one of the first female leads, starred in *Heat* (Shepitko, 1963) and *First Teacher* (Mikhalkov-Konchalovsky, 1965), two films based on the novels of Chingis Aitmatov and directed by ascendant Russian directors. Natalia Arinbasarova, in a similar fashion, began her acting career in *First Teacher* and *Dzhamilia* (Poplavskaya, 1968) and continued to work well into the 1990s. From the 1960s to the 1990s, actresses Sabira Ataeva, Gulsara Azhibekova, Darkul Kuiukova, Tamara Shakirova, and Aliman Zhankorozova played frequent and diverse leading roles for their respective film studios.

The latest generation of actresses has suffered from the considerable decline of film production and the inability to make a career in acting. Smaller roles and a lack of genuine film stars mark this generation: Tinar Abdrazzaeva, Rokhsana Abuova, Gulnara Hakimova, Dana Kairbekova, Maya Nasirova, Gulnizat Omarova, Galina Shatenova, Saule Toktybaeva, and Tuti Yusupova. Recently, actresses have tended to have one or two film roles. Often personal ties to the directors and work without pay lead to these limited roles. As a result, there are few opportunities for professionals in Central Asian film today.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Abikeeva, *The heart of the world. Films from Central Asia*, Almaty 2003.
- G. Dönmez-Colin, *Women, Islam and cinema*, London 2004.
- L. Micciche, The cinema of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian Soviet Republics, in A. Lawton (ed.), *The red screen. Politics, society, art in Soviet cinema*, London 1992, 291–302.
- J. Radvanyi, *Le cinéma d’Asie centrale soviétique*, Paris 1991.
- D. Tasbulatova, The “women of the East.” The portrayal of women in Kazakh cinema, in L. Attwood (ed.), *Red women on the silver screen*, London 1993, 186–97.

MICHAEL ROULAND

#### Iran

Cinema was first introduced in Iran in 1900. The first film to feature a woman in a prominent role was released in 1933. The film was *Dukhtar-i Lur* (The Lor girl), the first Persian-language sound feature, co-directed by Abd al-Husain Sepanta and

Ardashir Irani. Sepanta is said to have had much difficulty finding an actress who would agree to play the female character. Finally Ruhangiz Saminazhad, the wife of one of the employees of Imperial Studio, the production company that made the film, agreed to take on the role. Even though she is said to have played the female character well, and the film proved to be a success, Saminazhad did not pursue a career in acting, primarily because of the social pressures that she had to suffer as a result (Mihraabi 1984, 29). Even though women continued to feature in many of the films that were made in Iran in subsequent years, cinema in general tended to be associated with immorality, and acting was not always deemed a respectable professional choice, especially for girls from the more conservative and traditional sectors of society. In view of such attitudes, cinema was not considered to be open to women, and it is no surprise that it was only in 1977 that the first woman filmmaker emerged behind the camera. Her name was Marva Nabili, and her feature film, *The Sealed Soil*, which was the story of an 18-year-old peasant girl trapped between cultural traditions and the modernization that confronted her village, was considered too controversial to be screened.

Ironically, it was in the aftermath of the 1978–9 revolution, and especially since the 1990s, that women have appeared in increasing numbers in leading roles both in front of and behind the camera. The restrictions and rules of modesty that were introduced in the early years of the revolution in order to create an “Islamic cinema” have paradoxically meant that cinema has gradually come to be seen as a “legitimate profession, open to women more than ever” (Naficy 2001, 190). As a result, more women directors and actors have been able to come to the fore without being stigmatized in society. And this increasing number of women actors and directors has in turn led to the production of a greater number of films featuring women as central characters. While by 2005 there was a “remarkable variety of actresses, whether in terms of age, appearance, generation, and social background, [allowing] filmmakers to find the best choice for the roles that they have in mind” (Hasani-Nasab 2004, 40), there were also more than a dozen well-established women filmmakers. Among them were Tahmineh Milani, Rakhshan Bani-I’timad, Zahra Mahasti Badi’i, Faryal Bihzad, Marziyah Borumand, Puran Darakhshandeh, Samira Makhmalbaf, Yasamin Maliknasr, Marziyah Mishkini, Kobra Sa’idi, Manijah Hikmat, Mahnaz Afzali, Solmaz Shabazi, Maryam Shahriyar, and Mahvash Sheikholeslam. That their numbers were on

the rise was underlined by a growing trend in the early 2000s, namely that of women actors turning filmmaker. Examples abound, although perhaps no case illustrates this better than Niki Karimi, the celebrated film star who has played the main character in many of Tahmineh Milani’s films, and who has begun to make a number of documentaries that deal in one way or another with women’s issues.

Documentaries aside, the films that have been made by women directors cover a wide range of topics, from the hardships imposed on women in a patriarchal setting, drug addiction, prostitution, and imprisonment to the challenges of love and relationships. While these films vary in theme and genre, what they have in common is that they each bring about a space, a forum, in which tensions, restrictions, and everyday simple pressures regarding women are laid out in innovative ways for all to see.

That since the 1990s, more women filmmakers have begun to reflect “women’s perspectives and experiences” (Dönmez-Colin 2004, 103) in unprecedented ways, and have gained recognition for it, is in part a result of an easing of censorship rules during the presidency of Muhammad Khatami (1997–2005). However, more importantly, it is evidence of the conviction by the filmmakers and their audience that women are an inescapable part of life, and in as much as cinema brings out the many ideals and aspirations of society, then no plot can be complete without them. In a setting where women are subjected to many inequalities before the law, Iranian cinema has thus taken on the task of being subversive. At the same time, it has come to mirror developments in society at large, and in a society in which an increasing number of women are becoming part of the workforce, where women represent more than 60 percent of the university students, and the first ever Iranian Nobel laureate is a woman, perhaps it would not be that strange if there were to be many more films and film directors dealing with women and women’s issues in the years to come.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Dönmez-Colin, *Women, Islam and cinema*, London 2004.
- M. Fakhr-Jalāli, Guftugū bā Firishta Šadr-‘Irfā’ī, bāzigar-i kāfa trānsīt. Kār-nāma-yi kāri-am rā bāvar dāram, in *Sharq*, 12 December 2005, 20.
- N. Ḥasani-Našab, Māhama khūbīm. Niḡāhī bah bāzigarī-yi zanān dar bist-u-sivvumīn jashnvāra-yi film-i fajr, in *Zanān*, February–March 2004.
- M. Mihrābi, *Tāriḡh-i sinimā-yi Īrān. Az āghāz tā sāl-i 1357*, Tehran 1984.
- H. Naficy, Iranian cinema, in O. Leaman (ed.), *Companion encyclopedia of Middle Eastern and North African film*, London 2001, 130–222.

## Sub-Saharan Africa

### BACKGROUND

The notion of African women in cinema in Islamic cultures takes into account the social, political, and cultural structures and histories of Africa south of the Sahara. It is viewed within the particular conventions of cinematic practices emerging in Africa since the start of an African cinema tradition. When reading African women in cinema through a lens of Islamic culture the most important factor to consider is that in the same way that there are diverse African cinemas, there is a plurality of African Islamic cultures that reflects the specificities of the African societies in which Islam is practiced. This includes most significantly pre-Islamic customs, traditions, and beliefs and the manner in which Islam has been integrated.

As elaborated in the book *Sisters of the Screen: Women of Africa on Film, Video and Television* (Ellerson 2000), the concept of “African women in cinema” incorporates television, video, and film, consisting of fiction, documentary, and reportage. In whatever form, the films largely focus on the social, political, and cultural realities of African societies. Lack of infrastructure and funding often drive many African women filmmakers to work and live outside the continent, thus broadening their scope to include issues that relate to their current realities, such as immigration and other specific situations that they encounter in their host countries. Nonetheless, the themes and issues are drawn from an African imaginary.

The common idea of cinema with the feature film as the main focus, projected on the big screen and viewed by large audiences in cinema houses, is not the reality of cinema in Africa – where alternative exhibition networks are required – and even less so regarding African women. Thus the phrase “African women of the moving image,” more appropriately delineates the diverse means and processes that comprehend their film making practices. While African women have achieved considerable visibility in the area of cinema, their evolution as film/video practitioners has been gradual and sporadic. Nonetheless, the emergence of African women in cinema corresponds to the beginning of African cinema in the 1960s as a corpus of African films emerged and an African cinematic practice took shape.

### CINEMA AND ISLAM: HARĀM OR HALĀL?

Amadou Hampâté Bâ (1967) recalls the first film screening in his native village Bandiagara, Mali in 1908, held by a European. The village ulema met

in order to prevent the projection of these moving images, which in their view were “satanic ghosts ready to trick the true believer.” Kadidia Paté, Hampâté Bâ’s mother, was among those who viewed these images with great suspicion. In 1934, though she remained under the 1908 interdiction of the marabouts of Bandiagara, to please her son she agreed to go to the cinema house. Her testimony is among the earliest discourses of an African Muslim woman regarding experiences of cinema. An astute cultural reader, Kadidia Paté likens the movie screen, which mediates the projection of images to guide the viewer, to the divine messenger who intercedes between God and his believers. Thus, Amadou Hampâté Bâ interprets his mother’s views through the Qur’ān: “It is not a certainty that God will speak; if it must be, it is by revelation, or through a veil, or a Disciple, and with the person’s permission the Disciple may reveal the message to God” (42:50–1). These interpretations by Kadidia Paté are in stark contrast to those prevalent at the time, which considered cinema to be *ḥarām*, and even more recently where the video cassette is viewed as “a symbol of cultural defiance of Islam” (Nyang 1993, 253).

Actresses from Muslim regions of Africa south of the Sahara confirm the apprehension concerning cinema within their social and cultural milieus, especially relating to their struggle to work and be accepted. This is particularly evident in the balance between compartment in relation to Islamic codes for women and the fictional world of cinema in which the filmmaker takes artistic license of representation. In the documentary *Al’lèssi*, Rahmatou Keita from Niger reveals the tremendous odds that pioneer actress Zalika Souley had to face in the 1960s during the emergence of cinema in Niger. The film contrasts the “bad girl” roles that Zalika Souley played with the pious, devout Muslim that she is in her personal existence. Many of the roles that women play strongly contradict the principles of a good Muslim woman. One classic example is Oumi, the flamboyant, spendthrift, Westernized, second wife of El Haji Abdoukader Beye in *Xala* (Sembene 1974), the extreme opposite of Awa, his devout and loyal first wife. Similarly, the film *Al’lèssi* (Keita 2004) juxtaposes the acts of a dutiful Muslim woman who shows abiding faith in God, with film excerpts of her diverse roles. As a cowgirl, she is a member of an entourage of men who commit acts of violence in the “African Western” *Le retour d’un aventurier* (Alassane 1966), filled with characters dressed in cowboy attire complete with horses and lassos. She kisses the male cowboy who rescues her, at a time when kissing in Niger was viewed as



*harām*. Nigerien actor/technician Boubacar Souna recalls the apprehension of actor turned filmmaker Djingarey Maiga in the role that required kissing, since, in his view, Islam condemned such a public display of affection. In her private life, Zalika Souley walked about Niamey, the capital, wearing jeans, attire which Rahmatou Keita describes as a provocation for insults and admonitions, even some 40 years later in the contemporary period (Barlet 2003). During a fit of jealous rage, Zalika Souley's character attempts to kill her co-wife in *Wazzou polygame* (Ganda 1970). In another film by Ganda, she plays the role of a woman gone astray (Saitane 1973). In the conservative environment of Niger, where people associated her screen character with reality, she was severely ostracized. The characters she portrayed in many films were considered *harām*: a woman publicly displaying intimacy, a murderer, and a loose woman.

Zalika Souley makes a distinction between her character on the screen and her personal life. She rejects the notion that Islam is against cinema but rather views it as straightforward and tolerant, complicated by people's own interpretations. In her view, she became an actress with God's blessing. There is a clear distinction between religion, the Qur'ān, and Islam, and earning a living (Keita 2004).

While her acting career was less prolific, Thérèse M'Bissine Diop from Senegal highlights a similar public mistrust and suspicion toward her in the 1960s. Women would turn away from her when she passed by. While her film characters were not viewed negatively, the reaction came from her willingness to be displayed publicly on screen. Her own mother shunned her after the release of the film *La Noire de...* (Sembene 1966).

#### ISLAM, CULTURE, AND FILM MAKING PRACTICES

It is worth noting that documentaries, which have been the major genre of African women, focus on specific issues that directly relate to African contemporary life in general, and often on the condition of women, such as women's roles, women and the law, health, AIDS, agriculture, women and war, and literacy. The implication of religious laws and edicts or religion as an inherent part of society is the focus in films such as *Women of Niger* (Folly 1993).

African women filmmakers from countries with majority Muslim populations such as Chad, Mali, Niger, and Senegal have been generally secular in the treatment of themes in their works as compared, for instance, to the Senegalese patriarch of African cinema, Ousmane Sembene. His films vari-

ously include representations of Islam: the mosque, the muezzin call to prayer, the actors or passersby in some form of religious practice, which may include the five prayers throughout the day or an appeal to Allah during the course of conversation. Sembene also challenges certain Muslim contradictions, strongly mocking the imam and marabout, or parodying the foibles of polygamy in his classic film *Xala*. In *Ceddo* (1976), controversial at the time of its release, Sembene raises the issue of how Islam may be used for political power and a tool of mystification to oppress the masses. In practice, women and their condition in Senegalese society hold a prominent place in his work.

African women in cinema generally work within a local context, as television producers and makers of short film documentaries and reportage; these works are more likely to focus on local specificities and are not generally disseminated for wide-ranging consumption. Filmmakers from majority Muslim populations, who have continental or international recognition such as Zara Yacoub (Chad), Ouméma Mamadali (Comoros), Kadiatou Konaté (Mali), Miriama Hima (Niger), Rahmatou Keita (Niger), Safi Faye (Senegal), Zulfah Otto-Sallies (South Africa), or Anne-Laure Folly (Togo) whose interest in women's issues spans the continent, highlight the role of culture in the political, social, and religious spheres of African societies. As Islam has been absorbed into African cultures at different times and in different ways, existing parallel to both traditional and colonial-inherited cultural, social, and political systems, film themes reflect these multivalent characteristics. Separating Africa into either Islamic or Christian religions overlooks the many traditional spiritual belief systems throughout the continent that co-exist with the two monotheistic religions that came to Africa much later. These indigenous religions, deeply ensconced in African societies, are evident in the fiction and documentary films.

Senegalese Safi Faye, pioneer filmmaker and anthropologist, draws from the cultural origins, myths, and traditions of Senegal, especially its rural life. With a keen interest in her ancestral roots in the Serer region, she examined the religious beliefs of the Serer as the subject of study for her advanced degree. While Islam is the dominant religion of Senegal there is a notable interreligious character, as Muslims live side by side with Catholics, and indigenous belief systems are an integral part of the culture.

Similarly, Nigerien Mariama Hima works at the intersection of film and ethnology. While she has a visible profile, which included the post of Ambas-

sador of Niger in France, she recalls the difficulties of playing an active role in cinema as a woman in Nigerien society in the 1970s. In addition to the inherent constraints placed on women in a Muslim society, she observes a double colonization, one stemming from the colonization of Africa by Europe and the other “a masculine colonisation in relation to women” (Givanni 2000).

Anne-Laure Folly from Togo explored traditional practices of sorcery in her first film, *Le gardien des forces* (1992), while most of her subsequent works feature women from all sectors of African societies, such as *Femmes aux yeux ouverts* (1994), which navigates through the countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, and Senegal. The film examines the condition of women in diverse contexts; some confront deep-set traditional customs that may be detrimental to women; while others find their place in modern African institutions. Her film *Femmes du Niger* (1993) explores the experiences of Nigerien women under Islam as they rally for the right to vote and organize against the joint forces of fundamentalism and tradition.

Malian animation filmmaker Kadiatou Konaté highlights the primacy of African cultures in relationship to religion, thus emphasizing that Islam is experienced in different ways, according to cultural specificities. At the same time, Kadiatou Konaté observes that as a filmmaker, there are restrictions regarding Islamic dress codes for women, which inhibit the freedom of movement that she needs in her work. On the other hand, she points out that Islam does not prohibit women from being filmmakers (Carré 1996).

In *Sidet* (1991), Ethiopian filmmaker Salem Mekuria examines the experiences of both Muslim and Christian women from Eritrea and Ethiopia in a refugee camp in Sudan. Thus the film highlights the fact that while Ethiopia has a long history of Christianity, more than 30 percent of the population is Muslim.

Ouméma Mamadali's debut work, *Baco* (1995), co-directed with Malagasy veteran media producer Kadire Fidaali, is a fiction film that explores the quotidian experiences of the small island of Comoros – Muslim, polygamous, and matriarchal – as the men are confronted with the democratic practice of voting, especially when a woman is elected. Ouméma Mamadali emphasizes the co-existence of traditional customs and Islam, especially as it relates to women's power under a traditional matriarchal system.

Zara Mahamat Yacoub describes her role as a filmmaker as a duty to communicate and inform, thus to make films that probe issues that are gener-

ally not dealt with. Her reason for producing the tele-film *Dilemme au féminin* (1994), a multi-layer docu-drama about female excision was to debate the issue from religious, cultural, and medical perspectives; however, the Muslim Brotherhood of Chad ultimately condemned it and she was banished.

Female genital cutting is not a Muslim practice, though it is often associated with Islam. Zara Yacoub stresses the importance of informing the dominant Muslim population of Chad that female genital cutting is not sanctioned by the Qur'an and is a pre-Islamic practice. It highlights the fact that it is not an edict of Islam, but rather a cultural construct deeply rooted in tradition. Similarly, Malian actress, filmmaker, and activist Fatoumata Coulibaly has become the symbol of resistance to the practice of female genital cutting, and militates on- and off-screen for its eradication. Her forceful role in *Moolaade* (Sembene 2004) catapulted her ongoing advocacy to a more prominent visibility.

Ivoirien Naky Sy Savane, also an actor in *Moolaade*, has also been a visible advocate for the eradication of the practice. The granddaughter of a notable imam and raised in a conservative Muslim family, she has defied all expectations of her family and works as an actress in both the theater and cinema. Her roles have been diverse, reflecting her own desire to see realistic, strong representations of African women. Her roles in the award-winning film, *Au nom du Christ* (1993) by Roger Gnoan Mbala, which explores the rise of religious cults and, like Sembene's *Ceddo*, the mystification of religion, and in *La Jumelle* (1998), by Lanciné Diabi, which is based on indigenous spiritual practices, highlight her versatility as an actress as well as the diversity of religious practices of Côte d'Ivoire.

#### IDENTITIES

South African Zulfaah Otto-Sallies draws attention to the emergence of identities as a category of focus in Africa cinema studies. As Africans traverse the frontiers through immigration or are born outside the continent, as first-generation diasporans, or as other ethnic groups born on the continent assert their African-ness, multiple identities take shape and definitions of “African” transform.

South Africa is home to approximately 500,000 Muslims, generally located in the Cape Town region. The majority of this Muslim population is of South and Southeast Asian descent, whose ancestors were brought as slaves in the eighteenth century by the British and Dutch, although East African Asians were later also part of this forced displacement. Their descendants intermarried among themselves

and with neighboring peoples and created a distinct Muslim community.

Zulfah Otto-Sallies's short fiction film *Raya* (2001) and documentary *Through the Eyes of My Daughter* (2003) reveal the complexities of identities of a new South Africa that strives to represent the multi-layered society of ethnicities and cultural practices. More specifically, they explore intergenerational conflicts and attitudes as an older Muslim generation confronts the challenges of a Westernized modernity in which a new generation has been born.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES (FILMS)

- M. Alassane, *Le retour d'un aventurier*, 1966.  
 L. Carré, *Mon coeur est témoin*, 1996.  
 L. Diabi, *La jumelle*, 1998.  
 A.-L. Folly, *Le gardien des forces*, 1992.  
 —, *Women of Niger*, 1993.  
 —, *Femmes aux yeux ouverts*, 1994.  
 O. Ganda, *Wazzou polygame*, 1970.  
 —, *Saitane*, 1973.  
 R. Keita, *Al'lèssi... une actrice africaine*, 2004.  
 O. Mamadali, *Baco*, 1995.  
 R. G. Mbala, *Au nom du Christ*, 1993.  
 S. Mekuria, *Sidet*, 1991.  
 Z. Otto-Sallies, *Raya*, 2001.  
 —, *Through the eyes of my daughter*, 2003.  
 O. Sembene, *La noire de...*, 1966.  
 —, *Xala*, 1974.  
 —, *Ceddo*, 1976.  
 —, *Moolaade*, 2004.  
 Z. Yacoub, *Dilemme au feminine*, 1994.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Africultures*, Islam, croyance et négritude dans les cinémas d'Afrique, 47 (April 2002).  
 I. Amadiume, Sexuality, African religio-cultural traditions and modernity. Expanding the lens, Africa Regional Sexuality Resource Centre, <<http://www.arsrc.org/downloads/amadiume.pdf>>.  
 A. H. Bâ, Le dit du cinéma africain, in *Premier catalogue sélectif international de films ethnographiques sur l'Afrique noire*, UNESCO Catalogue, Paris 1967, 9–12.  
 M. Bâ, *Une si longue lettre*, Dakar 1980.  
 O. Barlet, Entretien avec Rahmatou Keïta, in *Africultures*, 2 June 2003, <[http://www.africultures.com/index.asp?menu=revue\\_affiche\\_article&no=2919](http://www.africultures.com/index.asp?menu=revue_affiche_article&no=2919)>.  
 J. Binet, Le sacré dans le cinéma négro-africain, in *Positif* 235 (October 1980), 44–9.  
 C. Bop, Islam and women's sexual health and rights in Senegal, in *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights* 2:1 (2005), Article 3, <<http://www.bepress.com/mwjhr/vol2/iss1/art3/>>.  
 M. B. Cham, Islam in Senegalese literature and film, in *Africa* 55:4 (1985), 447–64.  
 B. Ellerson, *Sisters of the screen. Women of Africa on film, video and television*, Trenton, N.J. 2000.  
 J. Givanni (ed.), *Symbolic narratives/African cinema. Audiences, theory and the moving image*, London 2000.  
 F. Hussain, Introduction. The ideal and the contextual realities of Muslim women, in F. Hussain (ed.), *Muslim women*, London and Sydney 1978, 1–10.

- P. Mbow, Droits humains et religions. Autour de la problématique femme et islam, Université Cheikh Anta Diop, Dakar, Senegal 2002, <<http://www.codesria.org/Links/conferences/gender/PENDA.pdf>>.  
*Muslim Women Studies*, <<http://muslimwomenstudies.com/>>.  
 S. Niang, *Littérature et cinéma en Afrique francophone. Ousmane Sembène et Assia Djebar*, Paris 1996.  
 S. S. Nyang, Islamic revivalism in West Africa, in J. K. Olupona and S. S. Nyang (eds.), *Religious plurality in Africa. Essays in honour of John S. Mbiti*, Berlin 1993, 231–72.  
 E. H. Shohat, Post-Third Worldist culture. Gender, nation and diaspora in Middle Eastern film/video, lecture in the Cinema of Displacement series, Center for Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Los Angeles, May 1995.

BETI ELLERSON

## Turkey

Film was introduced in Turkey by Westernized urban bourgeois intellectuals in cities such as Istanbul and Izmir. Many of them were educated at foreign private secondary schools in Turkey, but most of them were educated in the traditional Muslim curriculum as well. Muslim urban middle-class women were also educated, but they were not supposed to work outside the home. Especially a career in theater or film was not seen as appropriate for an honorable Muslim woman of this social class. Actresses were seen as similar to prostitutes.

In urban Turkey at the end of the nineteenth century women in the public sphere were separated from men. Theater, and later film, performances were held for men and women separately. The big cities, such as Istanbul and Izmir, were cosmopolitan societies with representatives of many different religions and ethnicities: Spanish and Italian Jews, Armenian and Greek Christians, and Arab, Persian, and Balkan Muslims from all parts of the Ottoman Empire. Non-Muslims played an especially important role in the development of theater and later film.

At this time, it was forbidden for Muslim women to perform in theater or film; most of the theater and early film actresses were thus non-Muslims. In 1923, when the Turkish Republic was established, Atatürk personally took care that a law was passed allowing women to perform. Bedia Muvahhit, wife of the famous theater actor Muvahhit Bey, was one of the first Turkish women who performed in a film (Akçura 1993, 27–31). She played the leading role of Ayşe in *Ateşten Gömlek* (The shirt of flame, dir. Muhsin Ertuğrul, 1923), an early Turkish feature film, based on a novel of Halide Edip Adivar, one

of the first Turkish female novelists (Scognamillo 2003, 48). After 1923, the number of Muslim female actresses in film and theater grew rapidly. The first actors in Turkish film were all stage actors. When the theater was closed in the summer, they had time to make films. All films in this period were produced by Muhsin Ertuğrul, the great stimulator of the Turkish theater as well as Turkish film. Many stage productions and novels were turned into films (Özön 1995, 21-4).

After 1939, Ertuğrul's influence decreased and others started to direct movies. Films were no longer filmed as stage productions, but the possibilities of the medium were slowly discovered. Turkish cinema was inspired by Hollywood cinema. Film was so popular in Turkey at this period that when the first film star, Cahide Sonku (1916-81), appeared in the first Turkish village film, *Aysel, Bataklı Damın Kızı* (Aysel, girl of the house with the swampy roof, dir. Muhsin Ertuğrul, co-starring Talat Artemel, 1934) (Scognamillo 2003, 59), wearing a special headscarf, this became high fashion. Sonku founded her own film company in 1950 and between 1951 and 1956 directed three films (Öztürk 2004, 46-61). Before 1980, seven women took up directing; however, only two of them directed more than a few films, Bilge Olgaç (1940-94, *ibid.*, 74-87) and Birsen Kaya (b. 1943, *ibid.*, 88-108).

All female directors of this period came from upper middle-class families; some of them had finished university. In the period when they directed films, most of them were well-to-do. All of them, except one, had children and several marriages and relationships. Most female Turkish directors did not have familiar or intimate relations with men within the cinema business when they started directing. Most of them were actresses and directors at the same time. Several of them started their own companies in order to direct their own films. These first Turkish female directors had to penetrate a male-dominated film industry. Olgaç and Kaya could only succeed by making the same kind of films as their male colleagues: second rate violent anti-female adventure films (Öztürk 2004, 157-9). At the start of her career, for Olgaç movie making was work and the proposition that film could be art was not an issue (*ibid.*, 77-8). In the 1970s and 1980s she turned to social realist films: *Linç* (Lynching, 1970); *Açlık* (Famine, 1974); *Bir Gün Mutlaka* (One day by all means, 1975, based on a scenario of Yılmaz Güney). In the 1980s she turned to feminist film, with *Kaşık Düşmanı* (Spoon enemy, 1984); *Gülüşan* (1985), *Gömlek* (Shirt, 1988), *Yarın Cumartesi* (Tomorrow Saturday, 1988) (*ibid.*, 74-87).

During the most productive years of the Turkish film industry, the 1960s and 1970s, four women dominated the scene. Hülya Koçyiğit (b. 1947) played the delicate, vulnerable, sympathetic young girl or young woman (Scognamillo 2003, 200); Filiz Akın (b. 1943) was the pampered, teasing, defiant city woman (*ibid.*, 325); and Fatma Girik (b. 1943) impersonated the sensitive, honest girl or woman with a male way of behavior (*ibid.*, 222). In the 1980s, no longer young, they turned to their roles as mothers and all of them worked for television. The most famous was (Sultan) Türkan Şoray (b. 1945) (*ibid.*, 294-5). She made her own set of conditions for participating in a film. Her acting style was stereotypical and melodramatic; in the 1980s she became more natural. From 1972 to 1981 she directed four films in which she herself played the title role. In the 1980s Müjde Ar (b. 1954), the new star, fitted in the more realistic films of that era. In the 1980s and 1990s, Turkish film production decreased under the influence of the availability of foreign (American) films on the market, the development of television and video, and the more restrictive political climate. Actresses in popular television series and soaps replaced the film stars, although many actresses work for both media, among them Selda Alkor (b. 1943), Şerif Sezer (b. 1943), Zuhâl Olçay (b. 1957), Nurgül Yeşilçay (b. 1976), and Özge Özberk (b. 1976).

After the military intervention of 1980, the regime forced Turkey to become less politically polarized. Cheap adventure and sex films disappeared. Male and female directors made films about the position of women in Turkish society. These could concern the problems of Anatolian women such as polygyny, marrying off, and chastity, or the problems of urban intellectuals such as relationships, the combination of work and raising a family, and the discovery of female sexuality (Öztürk 2004, 163-5, 197-8).

It took until the 1990s before the number of female directors and the percentage of their films increased. Of the 521 films made between 1990 and 2003, 30 were directed by women; 14 female directors made their first film in this period. Many of these female directors wrote their own scenarios. Most of them worked under a producer, mostly with support from the Turkish Ministry of Culture, Turkish television companies, or Eurimages, the Council of Europe fund for film production, which Turkey joined in 1990. Two of them felt nevertheless obstructed and founded their own production company. Since the revival of Turkish cinema from the second half of the 1990s onwards, Turkish female directors have made all kinds of films. But in contrast to the 1960s and 1970s, when they had to survive in a

male dominated film production world, Turkish female directors have made films with a female touch, whatever that may be. Strikingly, their films deal with political issues such as the history and position of the Kurdish minority (*Güneşe Yolculuk*, Journey to the sun, Yeşim Ustaoglu 1999, *Büyük Adam Küçük Aşk*, Big man little love, Handan İpekçi 2001), and the Armenian minority (*Salkım Hanımın Taneleri*, Mrs. Salkım's diamonds, Tomris Giritlioğlu 1999) (Öztürk 2004, 199–201, 371–7).

The Uçan Süpürge (Flying Broom) foundation formed an important stimulus for the development of the position of women in Turkish cinema from 1988 onwards. Among other activities, they publish a magazine, maintain a website, and from 1998 onwards they have organized a yearly film festival.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Akçura, *Bedia Muhabbit. Bir Cumhuriyet sanatçısı*, İstanbul 1993.  
 A. Dorsay *Sümbül sokağın tutsak kadını*, İstanbul 1998.  
 —, *Sinema ve Kadın*, İstanbul 2000.  
 G. Dönmez-Colin, *Women, Islam and cinema*, London 2004.  
 N. Özön, *Karagözden sinemaya. Türk sineması ve sorunları*, Ankara 1995.  
 S. R. Öztürk, *Sinemanın "dişil" yüzü. Türkiye'de kadın yönetmenler*, İstanbul 2004.  
 G. Scognamillo, *Türk sinema tarihi*, İstanbul 2003.  
 Uçan Süpürge, <[www.ucansupurge.org](http://www.ucansupurge.org)>.

PETRA DE BRUIJN

# Arts: Folk Dancers and Folk Singers

## Afghanistan

Afghan women's dance and traditions appear to have evolved in two broadly distinct gendered contexts: female venues, where no men (apart from ritual personalities such as the bridegroom) would normally be present, and professional arenas, where men would be entertained as patrons.

Dance and music traditions have been severely disrupted since the pro-Soviet coup d'état of 1978, and at this point we do not know the exact damage to female performance traditions. Women certainly felt the effects of injunctions by mullahs and resistance leaders, who argued that it was sinful to dance and play music when martyrs were dying in the name of Islam. Later, under Islamist governments (especially the Taliban regime), music censorship reached serious proportions.

### FEMALE VENUES

Afghan girls and women have strong traditions of performance for their own private entertainment. Performance at life-cycle events has been particularly important since it is conventionally accepted that the bridegroom's mother and sisters have a duty to enliven weddings with dancing and music.

### *Dancing*

Amateur dance performance has been a strong feature of Afghan women's culture. Various different regional styles are recognized, and solo dancing is generally important. *Logari*, the solo dance of the southern Logar region, is particularly well known, characterized by momentary breaks where the dancer holds a coquettish pose. Some women's dances are wittily mimetic, such as the Herati "kite-playing dance" (*kaqazbadbazi*), which copies the pulling actions of boys' kite-flying.

At celebratory ritual events women perform the anti-clockwise circle dance, *'atami*, which is considered the national dance. Its rhythmic cycle is 14 beats, with a hand-clap to the center on the first beat, and an outward gesture on the eighth beat.

### *Singing*

Women and girls perform a variety of local traditional songs, as well as popular songs heard on the radio or television. Female vocal performance

is usually group-oriented, with several voices supporting a lead singer.

Love is the most common theme of songs in Afghanistan, and women's own songs may focus on romantic love or love for members of the family. The emotional bond between mothers and daughters is especially emphasized in bridal songs and laments. Girls' bridal songs express the bride's conventional reluctance to marry, combining filial piety with a muted protest against the marriage system. Simple texts (sometimes in dialogue form) voice girls' anxieties about crucial changes in kinship relationships that occur at marriage. Bridal laments praise the bride, mourning her departure from home and asserting bitter-sweet visions of romantic love.

In southeastern Pashtun areas women compose two-lined verses known as *landai*. Their main poetic topic is love, and they sometimes challenge Pashtun codes of honor, even glorifying adulterous passion over loveless marriage.

All over Afghanistan women sing lullabies, improvising at the cradle. The poetic focus is usually devotional, calling on God to lull the child into a relaxed sleep, and praying for a bright future. The experience of regularly hearing lullabies is the foundation for infant musical enculturation.

### *Instrumental music*

The frame drum (*daireh*) is specifically associated with women and girls, who use it as an accompaniment to dancing, singing, and bridal processions. Before the 1980s, most households possessed a drum, but (as a result of war and social upheavals) today this is less common. Sometimes a metal tray or washing bowl acts as a substitute. Group hand-clapping is also a common rhythmic accompaniment to female dancing and singing. In northern Afghanistan women play the mouth harp (*chang*, or *chang ko'uz*).

### PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Persian miniature paintings show women dancing, singing, and playing a variety of instruments in court entertainments.

In more recent times, professional female dancers and singers performed in urban theaters for male audiences. From the late 1950s, professional female

singers gradually gained popularity and acceptance on the radio. Several were permanently employed at Radio Afghanistan, where they received training and rehearsed and performed newly composed songs. In 1992, with the advent of an Islamist government, theaters were closed, and women were forbidden to sing or dance on the radio and television. This prohibition was only partially lifted in 2004, when – controversially – women’s singing was again occasionally broadcast on the radio.

In some parts of Afghanistan professional female bands act as ritualists at women’s parties connected with marriage. The female bands of Herat are notable for their use of the harmonium and tabla as well as the *daireh*.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- V. Doubleday, Afghanistan. Music and gender, in A. Arnold (ed.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, v, *South Asia. The Indian subcontinent*, New York and London 2000, 812–16.  
 —, *Three women of Herat*, London 1990, 2006 (rev. ed.).  
 H. L. Sakata, Hazara women in Afghanistan. Innovators and preservers of a musical tradition, in E. Koskoff (ed.), *Women and music in cross-cultural perspective*, Urbana and Chicago 1989, 85–95.

VERONICA DOUBLEDAY

## The Caucasus

### INTRODUCTION

Located between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea, at the crossroads of Europe and Asia, the Caucasus is home to many nationalities and dozens of separate languages and dialects from three entirely distinct language families. Confronted with this bewildering linguistic abundance, medieval Arab geographers referred to the region as *jabal alsina* (the mountain of tongues). Both Shi’i and Sunni populations live here.

Music, dance, and poetry are so deeply rooted in the traditions of the Caucasus that they are virtually inseparable. Poets are honored and their poems are often sung; dances are frequently accompanied by song. Songs are used to celebrate, to mourn, and to heal; dances can express joy and as well as prepare warriors for battle.

### WOMEN SINGERS AND DANCERS IN LITERATURE

Song and dance have long played a central role in the communal life of the people of the Caucasus. In *The Book of Dede Korkut* – a legendary bard – the tales describe the lives of the Oghuz Turks who inhabited lands in and around present day Azerbai-

jan. Women appear as dynamic characters. They challenge men to contests of skill in horsemanship, archery, and wrestling; some even take up arms to rescue a kidnapped child. Medieval epics and *dastans* focus primarily on men but some internal references suggest accomplished female musicians could ably take up a *saz* or *tar* and sing back a witty reply in verse challenge to a male *ashuq* (bard).

With the advent of Islam, women played a less public role and information on their creative lives is scarce. The famous female poet and musician Mahsatī Ganjavī was a contemporary of Azerbaijan’s national poet Nizāmī Ganjavī (1141–1209). In his epic poem *Haft paykar* (Seven beauties), Nizāmī described a princess who sang to King Bahrām Gūr. Other verses depict beautiful maidens dancing in a garden at night while holding candles. In another Nizāmī poem, a female slave named Fitna earns praise for her skills as a dancer and musician. She provokes the ire of the king when she upbraids him for boasting. Through her cleverness, Fitna avoids a death sentence and eventually wins back the king’s affections.

The court dancers of the town of Shamakha, once the residence of the Shirvan Khans, were known for their skill and celebrated throughout Asia Minor. In the 1840s, the Russian artist Grigorii Gagarin painted them in great ethnographic detail but by the time Alexander Dumas visited the town in 1858, only a few of these legendary dancers remained. He described their performance in *Adventures in Caucasia*.

### FOLK SINGERS

One of the major populations of the Caucasus are the Azerbaijanis. Their folk songs embrace the entire circle of life, from the proverbial cradle to grave, for it is women’s voices that both welcome a new child into the world and lament the death of a loved one. Although most Azerbaijanis are Shi’i, many of their rituals contain remnants of Zoroastrian and other pre-Islamic traditions. Maternity or birthing songs encourage a woman during all stages of labor and while the singers intone the *shahāda*, they also implore assistance from sacred spirits, including the ancestors.

Lullabies, with the common refrain of “lai-lai,” coax children to sleep. Women also sing posthumous lullabies for the deceased, echoing an ancient notion that death is a return to the Great Mother.

Some songs contain a magical intent, whether for fortune telling, or so-called “swing songs” thought to stimulate fertility as young girls swing back and forth. Others accompany the everyday tasks of rural life performed by women and girls – milking

livestock, churning butter, spinning yarn, ploughing fields, or tending flocks. Since their hands are occupied with tasks, women can often provide the rhythmic accompaniment from the noise generated by the work itself, from the squirting sound of milk hitting the sides of a bucket, to the stirring of the butter churn. Women's vocal music may also be accompanied by a frame drum, or by beating time on household items such as a tray or sieve.

Observed separately by men and women, traditional wedding celebrations, known as *toy*, provide the occasion for many songs. Sometimes the lyrics contain blessings for the young couple and wishes for the birth of many children from their union. Humorous songs mock mothers-in-law or playfully awaken the newlyweds on the first night after the wedding. Professional women musicians may be engaged to entertain at the female gatherings.

While communal songs are shared by all, the music of the *ashuq* requires special skill. Their unique genre is known as *mugham*. Celebrated throughout the Caucasus, the *ashuq* (literally "lover") holds great honor. These traditional, often itinerant, performers sang ancient poems and also composed new ones. According to G. I. Gurdjieff (1877–1949), some *ashuqs* at the end of the nineteenth century could recite entire passages from the Epic of Gilgamesh, suggesting connection to an oral tradition of 4,500 years, since the cuneiform tablets of the original Akkadian text were not fully deciphered until the beginning of the twentieth century.

The *ashuqs* regularly gathered for contests of skill, most notably in Karabagh. Male *ashuqs* are best known but gradually female *ashuqs* have become more evident on the public stage, competing with great success in international music festivals. *Mugham* singer Simara Imanova won the Grand Prix at the 1997 Sharq Taronalari (Melodies of the East) International Festival in Samarkand; Aygun Baylar won first prize at the same event in 2005.

Pari Ashiq (ca. 1811–35) is acknowledged as Azerbaijan's first great female *ashuq*. An organization created in the twentieth century and named in her honor, the Ashiq Peri Majlisi, became Azerbaijan's first ensemble of women *ashuqs* and poets. They encourage and promote this ancient art through study and also provide performance opportunities.

Like the *ashuq*, the *marsiya* singers are also specialized performers. They participate in funeral rites honoring the memory of the deceased. These professional mourners, known as *rovziyakhan*, are engaged to chant special prayers and hymns known

as *marsiya* – a term derived from the Arabic root *rathā*, meaning to compose or recite an elegy. The texts from some of these sacred psalms lament the death of Ḥusayn at Karbala.

In the nineteenth century, the poetess Khurshud Banu Natavan (1832–97) played an important role as a patron of the arts. Her salons were cultural gatherings for leading figures in the world of Azerbaijani art; she received Alexander Dumas as a guest during his travels through the Caucasus. Natavan's own poetry was used by *mugham* singers in their compositions.

Natavan's personal secretary was the father of Uzeyir Hajibeyov, Azerbaijan's first national composer. Hajibeyov's opera *Leyli and Majnun* was not only the first in the Muslim world, but the first built upon the basis of the *mugham* system. When the opera premiered in 1908, the leading female role was initially played by a man but Hajibeyov championed the cause of allowing women to appear on the concert stage. Later productions eventually featured female singers. Another of his operas, *Koroglu* (The blind man's son) contains an aria by a female *khananda*, or singer, featuring the characteristic vocal technique of *mugham* singers.

#### FOLK DANCERS

Populations in the Caucasus embrace dance as a manifestation of national identity. All of the four basic categories of dance in the Islamic world identified by Islamic cultural specialist Lois Ibsen al-Faruqi can be found in the Caucasus. These are circle, chain, or line dances; combat or war dances; solo improvisational dances; and ritual or spiritual dances.

Petroglyphs from Gobustan, an area southwest of Baku, date back from between 5,000 to 10,000 years or more. They include depictions of line dances, segregated by gender. Nearby, a large rounded stone known as the *gavul dash* (drum rock), creates musical tones when struck, causing speculation that it provided accompaniment for ancient circle dances. Throughout the Caucasus, circle dances are still performed and some dance educators claim that the Azerbaijani chain dance *yalli*, which exists today in over 100 variations, descended from prehistoric dances. *Yalli* is most typically performed by men but women, too, have round dances called *khalay*, done to women's singing.

The famous war dance of the Caucasus, known as *lezginka* and *gazaghi*, is performed by males, but women and girls know the steps and will sometimes dance it in imitation of the men. Solo improvisational dances can occur at both informal gatherings and communal celebrations when many people



dance to the same music at once but interpret it individually. A ritual form of movement, known as *zikr*, exists throughout the Caucasus. Men and women perform it separately.

Like folk music, folk dances are linked to seasonal festivities and community rituals. The New Year's celebration of Nevruz, observed at the spring equinox, was repressed under Soviet rule but the holiday now enjoys state support in independent Azerbaijan. Ancient rituals linked with Zoroastrianism, such as leaping over fire to ensure health and good luck in the coming year, are still widely practiced. Young girls mark the return of spring with a special dance carrying a platter of *samani*, the sprouted grain used to decorate the table at this time of year, often embellished with a lit candle at the center.

While certain dances are reserved for the young, others, such as *abayi* – characterized by a slow and stately tempo – are performed by the elders of the community.

Women and men traditionally celebrate weddings at separate gatherings. Special dances include the bride's dance *uzundara* (long valley) and *yuz bir* (one hundred and one), referring to the custom of including 101 decorated eggs in the bride's dowry. *Vagzali*, a dance which marks the bride's departure from her parental home, derives its name from the Russian term for the train station from which the bridal party departed, but the tradition clearly predates the railroad to a time when travel took place by other means of transportation.

Like the various song genres, folk dances of the Caucasus share links to women's daily tasks. These surface in the various items used in dance. In *nalbaki*, saucers and sewing thimbles are transformed into percussion instruments; the saucer is held in both hands and rhythmically tapped with a thimble on the middle finger. In a display of virtuoso skill, dancers perform with filled tea glasses balanced on the outstretched palms of their hands, carving huge spirals in the space around their bodies, even while kneeling and almost touching the floor with the upper torso. Handkerchiefs and shawls can also embellish movements. Dancers sometimes use their fingers to gracefully manipulate large veils attached to a hat or crown.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Akhundov, Shovkat Mammadova, audacious challenge. The first Azerbaijani woman on stage, in *Azerbaijan International* 5:4 (Winter 1997), <[http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/54\\_folder/54\\_articles/54\\_mammadova.html](http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/54_folder/54_articles/54_mammadova.html)>.
- A. Bitov, *A captive of the Caucasus*, trans. S. Brownberger, New York 1992.
- A. Dumas, *Impressions de voyage. Le Caucase*, Paris

- 1853; trans. and ed. A. E. Murch, *Adventures in Caucasia*, Westport, Conn. and London 1962.
- (trans.), *Tales of the Caucasus. The Ball of Snow and Sultannetta*, London and Boston 1895.
- J. Colarusso (assembled, trans., and annotated), *Nart Sagas from the Caucasus. Myth and legends from the Circassians, Abazazs, Abkhaz, and Ubykhs*, Princeton, N.J. 2002.
- G. G. Gagarin, *Le Caucase pittoresque, dessiné d'après nature*, Paris 1847.
- N. Ganjavi, *The Haft Paykar. A medieval Persian romance*, trans. and intro. J. Scott Meisami, Oxford 1995.
- G. I. Gurdjieff, *Meetings with remarkable men*, New York 1969.
- U. Hajibeyov, *Principles of Azerbaijani folk music*, trans. G. Bairamov, Baku 1985.
- A. Huseinova, unpublished series of interviews with with People's Artist of Azerbaijan, Yusif Gasimov, courtesy of Betty Blair, editor, *Azerbaijan International Magazine*, 3 December 2004.
- Y. Karny, *Highlanders. A journey to the Caucasus in quest of memory*, New York 2001.
- G. Lewis (trans. and intro.), *The book of Dede Korkut*, Harmondsworth 1974.
- , Heroines and other in the heroic age of the Turk, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, New York 1998, 147–60.
- F. Maclean, *To Caucasus, the end of all the earth. An illustrated companion to the Caucasus and Transcaucasia*, London 1930, repr. 1976.
- T. Mammedov (ed.), *Singers of Garabagh* [in Azeri], Baku 2005.
- I. Naroditskaya, Azerbaijani female musicians. Women's voices defying and defining the culture, in *Ethnomusicology* 44:2 (Spring–Summer 2002), 234–56.
- A. Ohanian, *Die Tänzerin von Shamakha*, Berlin 1925.
- Qadınlar Azərbaycanın musiqi həyatında/Women in Azerbaijan's music* [in Azeri and English], Baku 2004.
- A. O. Senarlan, Women ashugs debut in U.S. San Francisco World Music Festival, in *Azerbaijan International* 12:4 (Winter 2004), <[http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai124\\_folder/124\\_articles/124\\_ashug\\_pari\\_majlisi.html](http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai124_folder/124_articles/124_ashug_pari_majlisi.html)>.
- , Ashug Pari Majlisi. Women performers of legend and folk poetry, in *Azerbaijan International* 12:4 (Winter 2004), <[http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai124\\_folder/124\\_articles/124\\_ashug\\_minstrels.html](http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai124_folder/124_articles/124_ashug_minstrels.html)>.
- , Discoveries. The poet minstrels of Azerbaijan, in *Azerbaijan International* 12:4 (Winter 2004), <[http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai124\\_folder/124\\_articles/124\\_ashug\\_minstrels.html](http://www.azer.com/aiweb/categories/magazine/ai124_folder/124_articles/124_ashug_minstrels.html)>.
- L. Tolstoy, *Hadji Mur'ad*, trans. A. Maude, London 1912; repr. New York 2003.

#### MUSICAL RECORDINGS

- Ensemble Jabbar Karyagdy, *Rast destagh. Azerbaijan music*, vol. 2, Pan Records 1994.
- Uzeyir Hajibeyov, *Leyli and Majnun*, Azerbaijan International 2001.
- Lok-Batan Folklore Group, *Music of Azerbaijan*, Arc Music 2001.
- Uzundara, *Ancient wedding dance music of Azerbaijan*, Pan Records 1997.
- Various Artists, *Women's love and life. Female folklore from Azerbaijan*, Pan Records 1997.

## Central Asia and Iran

Cultural expressive performances in music and dance among women in the Islamic Middle East and Central Asia constitutes such varied practices that it is difficult to make hard and fast statements concerning such a vast region. Nevertheless, one can make several general observations: 1. There exists, in general, a vast difference between rural and urban genres, and the manner and degree of women's participation in those genres. Some overlap exists in these expressive forms, such as the *zar* ceremony (see later), which can occur in both the countryside and in urban areas. 2. Because of general attitudes concerning proper behavior within an Islamic context many events in which dance and music are performed take place in segregated spaces. For example, in many places until the bride and groom are united, separate ritual and celebratory events occur for women, and separate ones for men. 3. Women's participation in these activities sometimes constitutes a separate, gendered form of expression, such as special genres of songs or dances like the *bāzihā-yi namāyishī* (see later), which only women perform. 4. Women in many urban areas frequently serve as professional musicians, particularly for social events attended exclusively by women. Among such groups of professional entertainers there exists a hierarchy in which the highest, most respected performers consented to perform only for, and in front of, women. If they perform before male audiences, they insist on having screens placed in front of them so that they can avoid the male gaze. Women professional entertainers who performed in male space were and still are considered to be prostitutes (Doubleday 1988, Sakata 2002). 5. In Islamic contexts the question of the propriety concerning a Muslim singing, playing a musical instrument, or dancing looms large in daily life. Both historically and today this issue forms an important discourse with both clerical and laic participation. For this reason the professions of musician, dancer, or public entertainer, especially if female, rank among the lowest occupations. This derives from the fact that if a female danced or performed in front of men not properly related to her, she was historically and still today is viewed as invading male space and causing *fitna* (sedition, tearing apart the social fabric). Professional dancers and musicians, both male and female, are frequently linked to prostitution (Baily 1983, Mashhun 2001, Mernissi 1975, Shay 1999). Historically, during the Safavid period (1501–1722 C.E.), as well as recently under the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Taliban in Afghanistan, dance and

music activities were banned. Throughout the history of the Islamic Middle East and Central Asia individual rulers or clerics would issued religious decrees (*fatwa*, pl. *fatāwā*) against performing music and/or dance; sometimes these bans have been partial, that is certain genres of music or dance were permitted, and sometimes, as under the Taliban, the ban was total.

### RURAL VILLAGE AND TRIBAL MUSIC AND DANCE

Folk dance and song research in most of the areas under discussion is in its infancy or non-existent. Only in portions of the former Soviet Union, such as Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Armenia has systematic research been carried out by trained researchers. In Iran, ethnomusicologist Mohammad Taghi Masoudieh has written several outstanding regional music studies, but no scholarly studies of rural tribal and village dance traditions exist in published form. Only Hamada's exemplary study of the dances of the Bojnurd Kurds (Khurasan province, Eastern Iran) is available in his unpublished thesis (1978). Excellent studies of music and musicians have been conducted by Baily, Doubleday, and Sakata in Afghanistan, but dance remains almost completely undocumented, and to date no published scholarly and systematic descriptions of dance in any rural area of Afghanistan exist. Because of the complex political history of this vast region, the bibliographic information is fragmented and appears in a wide variety of languages.

More frequently than in urban areas, women and men in tribal and village settings participate in dance and music activities together. This is because in small communities in which everyone knows everyone else, inhabitants have continuous face to face contact, and they are frequently related. Besides this, the heavy work requirements, especially among tribal women, make veiling and other forms of avoidance between the sexes impractical. Women participate in certain dances in which men also take part, but they generally dance next to only those men who stand in proper kinship to them. This occurs more frequently in the dances in which the dancers manipulate scarves – *dastmāl-bāzī*, *chūbi* or *chūpi* (stick) – and other dances in the southwestern areas of Iran such as the tribal areas of Fars inhabited by the Bakhtiyārī, Qashqā'ī, Lurs, and other tribal groups, and among the Kurds of Khurāsān province (Hamada 1978, Mortensen 1993, Zendehdel 1998). The Kurds, Lurs, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and Assyrians of western and northwestern Iran and the neighboring Caucasus region participate in dances in which a

number of handholds are used (Lisitsian 1958, 1972, Hasanov 1988, Mortensen 1993). Men and women sometimes dance together, but no fast rule exists, since men and women frequently dance in segregated lines and even segregated locations. In those situations in which strange men attend a celebration as guests, the women dance in separate spaces or refuse to dance at all. There also exist highly gendered rhythmic activities, such as *chub-bazi*, stick dancing, a form of martial art in which only men participate. Rhythmic use of short sticks while dancing constitutes one of the most popular forms of folk dancing for women as well as men throughout the region from eastern Iran, Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

In many areas of Afghanistan, Iran, and Central Asia men and women perform folk dancing only in segregated spaces. In such cases, for example the Pashtun group dance *atan*, men's and women's variations of the dance may differ to some degree, with some gendered versions such as the *atan* in which the men spectacularly whirl and rapidly gyrate their heads. This variant is performed outside with unlimited space, an option not available to female dancers. However, in the Afghan diaspora in the United States, men and women perform solo improvised dancing at weddings and other celebratory occasions together in the same space, a major change from former practices in the homeland (Doubleday 1988, Sakata 1989, Shalinsky 1995). Throughout the region, separate genres of folk singing such as lullabies, laments, and work songs are performed by women, and special songs for young girls exist, although music and dance repertoires frequently overlap with male practices (Blum 1972, Sakata 1989, Beliaev 1975).

Certain manners and customs also occur in specific regions and no one knows the origins of these unusual events. For example, in the village of Afus, located outside the town of Daran in Isfahan province in central Iran, the women have a special day, *hukāmat-i zan* (the government of women) in which the male and female village elders select a *hakīm* (governor) from among the women. She must be well-spoken, commanding, and popular; her selection as *hakīm* confers great honor on her family. On a prearranged day in late spring the women eject the men and boys from the village and the men go camping overnight in the nearby mountains. The women hire a group of professional female musicians, invite women from neighboring villages and towns, and sing and dance and serve their guests tea and sweets throughout the entire day. The first dances are performed by the older women, considered masters of the local

dance techniques and then the "governor" invites the younger women to participate (Sarmadi 1971, Zendehtdel 1998).

In general, professional musicians, sometimes gypsies (*kawli*) attached to a specific tribe, accompany celebratory events throughout many rural areas and these are exclusively men, including boy dancers (Mortensen 1993 refers to these itinerant performers as *luti*). In some regions, such as the Hazarajat in Afghanistan, women rarely play "serious" musical instruments, which are reserved for male performers (Sakata 1989). The social rank of professional musician is often considered dishonorable and these rural musicians constitute almost a separate caste and often have a secret language (Mortensen 1993).

Dancing throughout the whole region is associated with happy events such as weddings and circumcision ceremonies, never with religious or sad occasions. Nevertheless, pictorial depictions on funeral steles and travelers' accounts provide evidence for dancing as part of funerals in Luristan, a unique practice in the Islamic world of the Middle East. Clearly this is most likely a pre-Islamic custom, and Muslims frequently exhibit shocked reactions to the idea of dancing in the context of a funeral. (Mortensen 1993).

In addition to dancing, singing, and music at festive events, other devotional and curative events primarily for women utilize percussion instruments and clapping, singing, and music, and making patterned rhythmic movements that are, crucially, not conceived of as dancing (Shay 1995b). In certain areas, such as Kurdistan, women Sufis participate in devotional practices requiring patterned rhythmic movement and chanting the *zikr* (a repetitive form of devotional chant), in order to enter into trance and ecstatic states.

The exorcistic *zar* cult and ceremonies are found along the large geographic region east from Pakistani and Iranian Baluchistan, the Persian Gulf region of Iran, throughout the Arabian Peninsula, East Africa, Egypt, and North Africa and a similar ritual, *le'b guati*, is performed in Iranian Baluchistan (Adra 1998, During 1986). The content, duration, specific curing and movement activities, and other aspects of performance vary considerably throughout the region, but several activities and elements are common to all of the ceremonies. Due to familial or marital problems, afflicted women frequently suffer states of depression that manifest themselves as physical or psychological illnesses. The *zar* ceremony, which also to a considerable degree constitutes an enjoyable social event, permits the afflicted individual to find a "cure" and

provides a means to reintegrate into society. These ceremonies consist of the playing of special melodies and/or rhythmic patterns performed to summon the malevolent spirit that possesses a particular individual, most often a woman, but occasionally men can be patients as well. Each spirit, sometimes referred to as a *jinn*, enters the ceremony in response to the particular piece of music associated with it. When the *jinn* appears, it enters the body of the afflicted person who, after moving to the music, enters into a trance. The *khalifa* or *baba* or *mama zar*, or other leader who directs the ceremony sometimes also functions as a musician, and can be either male or female. The musicians in the ceremony know the various melodies and rhythms required to summon the spirit in possession of the patient. The patients, in the words of various writers (Adra 1998, During 1986) “dance” to the music in the beginning of the ritual, but when the spirit enters the body, they begin to shiver, and show other physical signs of possession that may include screams, shouts, trembling, convulsions, and other grotesque movements, that should give pause concerning the correctness of scholars and other writers who label *zar* ceremonies as dance activities (Shay 1995b). As part of the ceremony, the leader of the ceremony frequently enters into a trance and bargains with the malevolent spirit to leave the patient. The spirit never entirely leaves, and the bargain made between the *zar* leader and the spirit is for the duration of a year, or several years; thus the ceremony must be repeated after the allotted time. The bargain is made through gifts, which the afflicted individual retains, and the family of the afflicted person must frequently alter their behavior toward the person as part of the bargain. Animal sacrifice is often part of the ceremony.

#### URBAN MUSIC AND DANCE ACTIVITIES

Urban music and dance performance activities differ from performances in the countryside. In contrast to the countryside in which group dances are the most prevalent dance form, the principal form of dance in the large cities and towns throughout this vast area, from Dushanbe and Bukhara, to Shiraz and Tehran, is solo improvised dance. Solo improvised dancing features two elements that aesthetically connect it with other forms of cultural expression: geometrical shaping and patterning that link it to calligraphy and architectural decoration, and improvisation, which links this dance genre to indigenous Iranian theatrical practices and classical music performance techniques (Shay 1997). Solo improvised dance is an abstract form, and although performers frequently use miming elements, these

miming movements are not standardized, as in the classical Indian dance genres, *bharata natyam* or *kathak*, but rather they are individually created by each performer. In other words, the frequently graceful articulations of the hands and fingers do not carry special meanings in the manner that Indian classical *mudras* do, but are unique to each individual performer. Although it is sometimes difficult for the casual observer to discern the form and technical elements in this tradition, the genre exhibits considerable form and shape (Shay 1999, Ameri 2003). Solo improvised dance constitutes a continuum of performance practices, with regional stylistic peculiarities, along which performance levels range from amateur to highly skilled professional.

In urban settings, happy occasions such as weddings and circumcision ceremonies require dancing, which is widely perceived as expressing a participant’s joy. In more traditional families the women dance and sing more frequently and separately from the men. Highly religious individuals often do not dance under any circumstances and sharply condemn those who do, especially members of their own family. Men occasionally are moved to dance in public spaces such as tea houses or army barracks, but this is somewhat infrequent. Children are encouraged by their doting elders to dance at both informal parties and more formal celebrations such as wedding parties. Solo improvised dance constitutes a folkloric genre: it is learned from elders. Dancing constitutes a primary source of entertainment and cultural expression for girls of all ages. Closely related girls will often practice many hours to perfect the *raqs-i ayna* (the mirror dance) in which the two dancers attempt to exactly mirror and imitate each other’s movements. A favorite party game through much of this region is *raqs-i mujassama* (the statue dance) sometimes called *raqs-i mat* (the “freeze” dance) in which the dancer must freeze in a pose when an abrupt pause in the music occurs.

Over the past 50 years, many girls have avidly learned solo improvised dancing from viewing films and television broadcasts, thus *raqs-i Gūgūshi*, named for Googoosh, the famous Iranian popular singing star, developed as young girls attempted to emulate the movement practices of their movie idol. Women who are excellent dancers frequently teach their girl children to dance as a social skill. In more Westernized homes, in which guests may include male friends not properly related to the women present, a great deal of restraint in the performance of the dance can occur. In the kind of choreophobic setting that characterizes much

of this region, in some families when a young girl reaches puberty, her mother or another female relative will discourage her from dancing in public as “the first step to prostitution” (Shay 1999). They caution her that if she dances in the offensive or aggressive manner that was often encouraged when she was younger, she will not find a suitable husband. In mixed settings, both men and women, but especially women, feel constrained to perform in a dignified manner so as not to attract negative attention and gossip. Upper-class individuals often avoid dancing in any public space for fear of being regarded as frivolous.

Generally in informal segregated settings, and particularly in mixed contexts, participants in events in which dance occurs follow an unspoken set of rules that can be likened to the rigorous system of formal behavioral politesse known as *tā'āruf* (Beeman 1986). This generally takes the form of the hostess begging and coaxing her guests, one at a time, to dance. Each woman, or man, is reluctant to be the first to rise and dance because they fear that people will think them forward (*pur riū*) (Shay 1999). The hostess must exhort the guests several times before the individual will rise and dance, disclaiming any skill or knowledge of dance with the comment: “I don't know how to dance,” even though everyone present knows the individual may be an enthusiastic, highly skilled dancer. After considerable exhortation, the guests begin to freely express themselves through dance.

A form of folkloric cultural expression, unique to the Persian-speaking world and created and performed exclusively by women are the *bazi-ha-yi namayishi* (theatrical plays or games). This term was coined by the late Iranian folklorist, Sayyid Injavī Shīrāzī (1973), who collected the lyrics of several of them, with regional variants from all over Iran to characterize these hugely popular forms of female urban expression. The women who perform them are frequently related and constitute a *dawra*, a social circle that exchange frequent visits. The women perform in a rhymed, rap-style, accompanied by singing, clapping, playing on the *dāireh* (frame drum) or even pots and pans, and occasionally musical instruments. One or more individuals initiate the proceedings by dancing (after much exhortation by the hostess) in the center of a dance space in which the participants sit in a circle. The solo individual, often a skilled performer, will mime and dance a series of “plays” (*bāzī-ha*), which cover in content issues of particular interest to women: a straying husband (*Fatmih Khānum*), birth of an illegitimate child (*Khālīh raw-raw*), mother-in-law woes (*Abji gul bahār*),

illicit seduction (*kīyieh*, *kīyieh dar mizaneh*, *'amu sabzī furūsh*), among other topics. As the soloists perform, the other members of the party serve as a response chorus. The important aspect of these games, which reflect the subordinate and repressive lives women frequently endure, is that the underdog always wins: the wife wins back her husband, the daughter-in-law prevails over the mother-in-law. This all female environment permits women to act in a sensual and outrageous manner that is not permitted in any other social situation, and thus provides an important psychological function. Everyone, including the servants, is expected to participate in the games, and in this respect the *bāzī-ha* constitute a highly democratic social environment (Safa-Isfahani 1980, Shay 1995a).

#### PROFESSIONAL PERFORMANCES

There are two important elements to stress regarding professional solo improvised dance:

1. The dancing and music are generally learned in a folkloric style, namely through observation and practice, although some musicians learn their profession through more formal types of training (Blum 1972, Doubleday 1988). Thus, professional music and dance constitute a type of urban folklore.
2. Most traditional professional entertainers mastered a number of skills that could include playing a musical instrument, singing, dancing, acrobatics, and acting, among others. These groups were self sufficient in providing an evening of entertainment, in which improvisation constituted the underlying aesthetic. Historically, professional dancers exhibited spectacular acrobatic and athletic elements, but these athletic elements had largely disappeared by the twentieth century with the onset of Soviet rule in Central Asia and the modernizing projects of the Pahlavī dynasty, which undermined and discouraged the traditional support and patronage of professional entertainers and dancers (*muṭrib*) as backward and immoral. Instead they favored the establishment of Western dance genres such as classical ballet (Tkachenko 1954, Khaliqi 1974, Amiri 2003).

Nevertheless, dancing boys were a feature of the professional musical and dance performances in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and rural areas in Iran well into the late 1980s and later. In Afghanistan women were not permitted to perform in public spaces such as the theaters in Kabul and Herat until the late 1960s when the government tried to upgrade the status of singers and dancers, but the public continued to regard them as prostitutes, and Western researchers agreed (Sakata 2002). In several regions, such as Central Asia and Afghani-

stan, the powerful Muslim clergy historically prevented women from performing in public and no class of female performers developed in this area until the twentieth century. In India and Pakistan, a professional caste of prostitutes, known as nautch dancers, continue to perform for large audiences of males in the red light districts of larger cities, and a special caste of castrated males known as *hijras* perform women's dances and music for ceremonial and celebratory occasions, and they are also considered to be prostitutes. A portion of their repertoire parallels the *bāzī-ha-yi namāyishi* described earlier (Merchant 1983, Nanda 1994).

By contrast, in Iran women formed their own bands of professional performers. The women's and men's *muṭrib* (entertainer) troupes were separate and only the lowliest of the women's troupes performed before men, and prostitution was widely presumed to be an aspect of their scandalous existence. In the early nineteenth century, in Tehran the two most popular women's dance and music troupes, which performed at the court, were named for their leaders: Master (*ustad*) Mina and Master Zuhreh. The number of female musicians and dancers in the Qājār court exceeded 50 performers (Fāṭimī 2001). Because the profession of professional entertainer was considered immoral and dishonorable for Muslims, the performers often came from ethnic minorities such as Armenians and Jews. During the Pahlavī period the old class of *muṭribs* that performed for the upper classes had largely disappeared and their repertoire could only be found in low-class cafés and the red light district. The large film industry that flourished during the Pahlavī period in Iran commoditized a highly debased form of solo improvised dance performed by scantily clad dancers, which poisoned the already choreophobic atmosphere by spreading negative images to the point that one of the first acts of the new theocracy was to close down all dance activity, including the national folk dance ensemble and several ballet companies.

Unlike Persian, Uzbek, Tajik, Azerbaijani, and other classical musical forms found in this region, with the exception of Uzbek, no variant of this dance tradition can be called "classical" (Amirī 2003). For purposes of this entry "classical" music and dance may be characterized as having a named, standardized vocabulary, formal learning techniques and classes, and an academy. The only exception to this characterization is the historically recent development of a "classical" dance form in Uzbekistan under the aegis of the Soviet government. This newly created classical dance genre was constructed from a combination of the basic

movement repertoire of the former professional boy dancers (*bachib*) who plied their trade in cities like Bukhara, Samarkand, and Herat, with large dollops of Western classical ballet. The establishment and construction of a classical Uzbek dance genre began in the 1940s and currently has a fully codified movement vocabulary that is taught in an academic fashion (Doi 2002, Shay 2005). Bahor, the most famous of the state-supported Uzbek companies performs almost exclusively the new classicized tradition, rather than any folk traditions. The Bahor dancers are exclusively female, while the musicians are male.

Iran, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and several Arab nations established national state-supported folk dance companies based more or less on the popular Moiseyev model of highly theatricalized character dance (Shay 2002). The Iranian company, the Mahalli Dancers, was closed down by the Islamic Republic, and all dance activities were banned, a ban that has been increasingly relaxed toward segregated folk dancing, although recent performances of solo improvised dance have been closed down, and the performers imprisoned (Dareini 2004).

Through the political turmoil that characterized much of this region over the past decades, dance, by being forbidden by the authorities, now constitutes a space of resistance; videos shown on diasporic Iranian television shows and in the Western media describe and show crowds of young people who frequently perform solo improvised dance as an act of defiance (Sciolino 2000).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Adra, Zar, in S. J. Cohen (founding ed.), *International encyclopedia of dance*, 6 vols., New York 1998, vi, 444–5.
- A. Amirī, Raqs-i 'amīyānih-yi shahrī va raqs-i mawsūm be kilāsik-i Irāni. barresi-i taṭbiqī dar hawzih-i Tih-rān, in *Mahur Music Quarterly* 20 (Summer 2003), 51–74.
- J. Baily, *Music of Afghanistan*, Cambridge 1988.
- W. Beeman, *Language, status, and power in Iran*, Bloomington, Ind. 1986.
- V. Beliaev, *Central Asian music. Essays in the history of the music of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.*, trans. M. Slobin and G. Slobin, Middletown, Conn. 1975.
- R. S. Blum, Music in contact. The cultivation of oral repertoires in Meshed, Iran, Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois 1972.
- A. A. Dareini, Iran dancer detained after performance, in *Guardian*, 25 December 2003.
- M. Doi, *Gesture, gender, nation. Dance and social change in Uzbekistan*, Westport, Conn. and London 2002.
- V. Doubleday, *Three women of Herat*, London 1988.
- J. Durning, Emotion and trance. Musical exorcism in Baluchistan, in M. Catton and N. Siegel (eds.), *Cultural parameters of Iranian musical expression*, Redondo Beach, Calif. 1986, 36–46.

- S. Fātimī, Mutrib-ha, az Safaviyih ta mashrutiyat, in *Mahur Music Quarterly*, Part 1, 3 (Summer 2001), 27–39; Part 2, 4 (Autumn 2001), 39–54.
- G. Hamada, Dance and Islam. The Bojnurdi Kurds of northeastern Iran, M.A. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles 1978.
- K. Hasanov, *Old Azerbaijani folk dances* [in Azeri], Baku 1988.
- A. al-Q. Injavī Shīrāzī, *Bāziha-yi namāyish. Shāmil-i bist bāzi-i namāyishi bā rivāyat-i mukhtalif-i ānhā*, Tehran 1973.
- R. Karimova, *Ferghana folk dances* [in Russian], Tashkent 1973.
- , *Khorazmian folk dances* [in Russian], Tashkent 1975.
- , *Bukharan folk dances* [in Russian], Tashkent 1977.
- F. Karomatov and N. Nurdzhanov, Musical art of the Pamirs [in Russian and Tajik], ii, Moscow 1986.
- R. Khaliqi, *Sar guzasht-i mūsīqi-yi Īrān*, Tehran 1974.
- S. Lisitsian, *Old Armenian folk dances and theatrical presentations* [in Armenian], 2 vols., Erevan 1958 and 1972.
- G. Malgari, Pashtun nation *aten* and folk dances [in Pashtun], Kabul 1973.
- H. Mashhun, *Tarikh-i mūsīqi-i Īrān*, Tehran 2001.
- I. Merchant, *Courtesans of Bombay* (film), India 1983.
- F. Mernissi, *Beyond the veil. Male-female dynamics in a modern Muslim society*, New York 1975.
- I. D. Motensen, *Nomads of Luristan. History, material culture, and pastoralism in western Iran*, London and New York 1993.
- S. Nanda, Hijras. An alternative sex and gender role in India, in G. Herdt (ed.), *Third sex, third gender. Beyond sexual dimorphism in culture and history*, New York 1994, 373–418.
- N. Nurdzhanov, Entertainments and folk theatre of the Tajiks of Kartegin and Darvaze, in *Tajik Folk Art*, Bulletin 3 (1965), 113–52.
- K. Safa-Isfahani, Female-centered world-views in Iranian culture. Symbolic representations of sexuality in dramatic games, in *Signs* 6:1 (1980), 33–55.
- H. L. Sakata, *Music in the mind. The concepts of music and musician in Afghanistan*, Washington, D.C. and London 2002.
- , Hazara women in Afghanistan. Innovators and preservers of a musical tradition, in E. Koskoff (ed.), *Women and music in cross-cultural perspective*, Urbana and Chicago, (1989), 85–95.
- M. Sarmadī, Dihkadah-i afus, in *Hunar va Mardum*, new series 112/113 (1972), 28–32.
- E. Sciolino, *Persian mirrors. The elusive face of Iran*, New York 2000.
- A. Shalinsky, *Long years of exile. Central Asian refugees in Afghanistan and Pakistan*, Lanham, Md. 1994.
- A. Shay, Bazi-ha-ye namayeshi. Iranian women's theatrical plays, in *Dance Research Journal* 27:2 (1995a), 209–44.
- , Dance and non-dance. Patterned movement in Iran and Islam, in *Iranian Studies* 28:1/2 (1995b), 61–78.
- , In search of traces. Linkages of dance and visual and performative expression in the Iranian world, in *Visual Anthropology* 10 (1997), 335–60.
- , *Choreophobia. Solo improvised dance in the Iranian world*, Costa Mesa, Calif. 1999.
- , *Choreographic politics. State folk dance companies, representation, and power*, Middletown, Conn. 2002.
- T. Tkachenko, *Folk dance* [in Russian], Moscow 1954.
- H. Zindah'dil, *Ustān-i Fars*, Tehran 2001.
- , *Ustān-i Chāhār Mahāl va Bakhtiyāri*, Tehran 2001.
- , *Ustān-i Isfahan*, Tehran 2001.

ANTHONY SHAY

## Eastern Europe

Oral traditional ballads and lyric songs, the genres usually performed by female Muslim singers in Eastern Europe, cast a light on circumstances of everyday living and family affairs from a woman's perspective. At the same time they reveal the compositional patterns that are in some ways typical not only of these shorter forms but also of the longer epic songs customarily sung by men. Thus while on the thematic level women's songs reflect a female experience of the world, on the formal level they are very much a part of a broader tradition of oral performing.

Out of several folk oral traditions existing among Muslim people of Eastern Europe, the one recorded in Bosnia and Herzegovina is possibly the best documented and, as a result, has received most attention from scholars. These materials, collected in 1935 by Harvard scholars Milman Parry and Albert Lord and their local assistants, comprise approximately 11,000 ballads and lyric songs that were written down, and an additional 250 songs that were recorded along with interviews with their female singers. A volume based on these songs published in 1951 includes selected texts and musical analyses by Béla Bartók. As a result of the growth of literacy later in the century, as well as to the war that led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, this tradition is nearly extinguished.

Despite the fact that the Bosnian folk heritage has occupied the scholarly community more than that of other Eastern European Muslims, the songs of Bosnian women were, until recently, overshadowed by research on men's epic songs. Thus even in a folk practice that has long been a focus of scholarly activity, and on the basis of which Parry and Lord defined their famous "oral formulaic theory" (Lord 1960, 30–67), women's contributions remained relatively unknown. This problem is even more evident in terms of the other Muslim groups in Eastern Europe, in whose published collections of oral poetry little effort has been made to specify the name of the performers or to make a clear distinction between men's and women's songs. This calls for further research, although in areas ravaged by war, where prolonged unrest and the dislocation of the local population have harmed

the transmission and survival of oral songs, some of the information may be permanently lost.

It must be emphasized that part of the difficulty in making Muslim women's folk songs available to any outside community lies in the fact that there is rarely a "performative" aspect to their singing, as is the case with men's songs. Women habitually sing their songs while taking care of household chores, tending to children, or working on the land. Thus they sing to entertain themselves or members of their own household, and not for strangers. Men, on the other hand, often perform their songs in a public setting (a coffee place, a gathering at someone's house, in a village square or at a cattle fair) and they do so for an audience which may include just about anybody. Unless a researcher becomes a part of the community or delegates the task of collecting songs to a more educated member of the community, it may be quite difficult, if not impossible, to obtain women's songs in more traditional environments. Second, as the Balkan example indicates, the sheer length and exposure that the men's songs receive tends to make them more visible than the shorter, less boisterous genres usually explored by women. In contrast to men's songs, which can run to thousands of lines, women's songs are considerably shorter: lyric songs may consist of a mere handful of lines, while ballads usually comprise anywhere from approximately 20 to 200 lines. It is rare, though, to find among long epic songs the type of subtlety and emotional engagement that is common in songs performed by women. Indeed it is in the nature of the ballad and lyric song genres to focus on the intimate, personal sphere and to explore the more emotional, reflective aspects of human existence.

From a thematic point of view, women tend to sing about all important phases of human life: from birth, to falling in love and marrying, to various issues associated with marital life, including childbearing, jealousy, love, infidelity, physical abuse, infertility, and family disputes, to death. If one takes into consideration the largest groups of Muslim people in Eastern Europe – Volga Tatars, Bashkirs, Bosnian Muslims and Albanians – one sees immediately that the focus of women's songs in all these different oral traditions is the subject of weddings. This is hardly surprising since the marriage celebration appears to be the most significant event in many traditional communities. It is also a stage for re-establishing old ties and forming new ones among members of a village. Songs from this category can be further divided to reflect different stages of a typically rather involved and lengthy ceremony, but many of them tend to share a sad

tone used to describe the girl's departure from her parents' home and her entrance into the world of adulthood. A number of these songs clearly have the ritual of initiation tied to them. Some ethnic groups have specific genres devoted in particular to wedding topics, most notably the Bashkirs with their *senliu* or laments of a bride, and Bosnians with the *kolo* songs that accompany the circular dances often performed, among other occasions, in connection with marriage festivities.

Although thematically belonging to the wedding cycle, some of the songs are not necessarily performed during the wedding celebration itself, such as those that lament an unwanted marriage. Songs describing the hardships of married life constitute another especially prominent group; these include an array of subgroups, but often center around the topic of an abusive husband and an evil mother-in-law. It would be wrong to say that no heroic deed is ever described in a song performed by a woman. On the contrary, as is particularly well documented in the Bosnian tradition, women occasionally give their characters the role of a hero and even describe female fighters. But rather than focusing on a lengthy list of heroic accomplishments, the female heroes tend to occupy themselves more with the emotional aspects and implications of such undertakings.

And yet, while there are many differences between men's and women's songs, there exist also numerous similarities stemming from the same cultural, religious, and historical denominators. While the songs of the Balkan female singers are predominantly decasyllabic, like those of male singers, the other Muslim groups of Eastern Europe show more diversity in terms of syllabic scheme (regardless of the singer's gender), and at best one can conclude that the tendency in their songs is quasi-isosyllabic. The formulas employed in women's songs are constructed on the same principle as the ones in the men's songs. Moreover, all the genres draw often from the body of shared formulas that are then applied (with modifications, as necessary) to a specific situation. Similarly, there are themes (that is, rounded segments of the plot; cf. Lord 1960, 68–98) that appear in both long heroic genres sung by men and women's shorter lyric genres, indicating that the basic compositional elements of oral genres in verse are interchangeable. It is noteworthy, however, that while Christian female singers in the Balkans would sometimes venture into singing epics, there is no record of their Muslim counterparts doing so. This is true even in cases where they were quite familiar with epics through having lived in a household in which men (usually a father or grandfather) regularly performed these long songs.



Among Tatars, by contrast, it has been observed that the *bait* (a type of narrative song that focuses on the text rather than the tune) is performed by both male and female elders.

The use of formulas, formulaic patterns, and transposable themes allows the singer to extemporize. With the exception of those lyric songs that are occasionally performed in unison and – owing to their brevity – are memorized, narrative forms such as the ballad are usually composed during the singing event itself. As a result, even multiple performances by the same singer will differ, sometimes only in terms of the formulaic language, at other times also on the level of the entire plot or the way the themes are combined in a given song. In a tradition that is still active and in which singers do not rely on memorization, there will thus be no two songs that are the same. Rather, there exists a number of variants or multiforms, with virtually every performance of a song yielding a new version. This type of composition allows the more gifted singers to come up with new songs or to elaborate older ones using the repertory of formulas and themes that already exist in the oral heritage of a given ethnic group. As the tradition starts to die out, this tendency becomes less and less visible and the songs appear to be less varied. While a considerable amount of variance existed in women's singing in the Balkans in 1935, this cannot be said for what is left of the Bosnian tradition now. Recent scholarship on Albanian wedding songs has also noted a significantly decreased level of improvisation.

Because of consistency in the use of oral traditional language, many of the formulas preserve ties with concepts and beliefs that reach back centuries and often have direct connections with the realm of the mythological. Women's ballads and lyric songs are also a source of ethnographic, linguistic, and cultural information about a particular ethnic group. As one may anticipate, the singing mode of women's traditional songs in Eastern Europe varies considerably – from Albanian three-voice polyphonic singing, to the rather melodious diatonic vocal performances of Bosnian Muslim women (who sometimes accompany themselves with a *tevsija*, a shallow pan the revolving of which makes the voice reverberate; this way of singing has also been documented in Albania), to the pentatonic melodies of Muslim women living in the Volga region.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

B. Bartók and A. B. Lord (eds.), *Serbo-Croatian folk songs* [in Bosnian and English], New York 1951.

E. Dheri, M. Daiu, and A. Mustaqi (eds.), *Folk love songs* [in Albanian], Tirana 1965.

—, *250 folk wedding songs* [in Albanian], Tirana 1966.

A. Kharisov (ed.), *Bashkir folk heritage* [in Bashkir], i, *Songs*, Ufa 1974.

I. B. Munaev and A. V. Prelovskii (eds.), *Chechen folk poetry in the nineteenth and twentieth century records* [in Russian], Moscow 2005.

L. Vikár and G. Bereczki (eds.), *Tatar folksongs* [in Tatar and English], Budapest 1999.

N. T. Zaripov et al. (eds.), *Bashkir folk heritage* [in Russian], 11 vols., Ufa 1987–2004.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

M. P. Coote, Women's songs in Serbo-Croatian, in *Journal of American Folklore* 90:357 (1977), 331–8.

—, On the composition of women's songs, in *Oral Tradition* 7:2 (1992), 332–48.

H. Krnjević, *Oral ballads of Bosnia and Herzegovina* [in Bosnian], Sarajevo 1973.

—, Notes on the poetics of Serbo-Croatian folk lyrics, in *Oral Tradition* 6:2/3 (1991), 174–85.

Y. R. Lockwood, *Text and context. Folksong in a Bosnian Muslim village*, Columbus, Ohio 1983.

A. B. Lord, *The singer of tales*, Cambridge, Mass. 1960.

—, *The singer resumes the tale*, ed. M. L. Lord, Ithaca, N.Y. 1995.

M. Nigmedzianov, *Folk songs of the Volga Tatars* [in Russian], Moscow 1982.

J. C. Sugarman, *Engendering song. Singing and subjectivity at Prespa Albanian weddings*, Chicago and London 1997.

P. A. Sultangareeva, On the characteristics of the genre of *senliau*, in L. G. Barag and N. T. Zaripov (eds.), *Bashkir folklore. Research of the recent years* [in Russian], Ufa 1986, 40–54.

A. Vidan, *Embroidered with gold, strung with pearls. The traditional songs of Bosnian women*, Cambridge, Mass. 2003.

AIDA VIDAN

## The Gulf and Saudi Arabia

In Saudi Arabia and the Gulf countries women have traditionally been musically active in a variety of events, such as birth celebrations, harvest festivities, the return of men from the sea, healing rituals, and special occasions associated with the Islamic year. Today's musical activities are most commonly associated with wedding and engagement parties where all-female guests are often entertained by an all-female music ensemble. An average woman will attend dozens of such parties a year, and depending on the season or the Islamic calendar, sometimes a few a week. It is at these nighttime celebrations that women partake in long-standing music and dance traditions, and in doing so, forge ties with their community, seek prospective marriage contacts, and publicly represent their family or tribe.

The Arabian Peninsula is home to many regional styles, thus the music played and the type of per-

formers hired depend on locale as well as the status or character of a family. The traditional wedding performers are *taqqāqāt*, female musicians who sing and play frame drums. They are mostly of African descent and historically were considered to be of a low social status. *Taqqāqāt* singers and drummers are the preferred ensemble for families that adhere to strict Wahhābi/Salafī Islamic practices, which frown upon melodic instruments. Other families may hire *taqqāqāt* who perform with an added electronic keyboard (*org*) or lute (*ūd*). In large Westernized Saudi cities like Medina and Jeddah and Gulf countries like Kuwait, there is a greater variety of types of wedding party music, including pop recordings played by disk jockeys and bands with modern Arab singers, both male and female. An all-male ensemble might be welcomed in the female wedding hall along with male guests, but this is usually only found among wealthy or Westernized families. Other times there is a compromise, thus both *taqqāqāt* and popular musicians will perform in one evening, and if there are male musicians present, they are seated in an adjoining room, never to see the female guests, as their sound is electronically piped into the wedding hall.

Regardless of the type of celebration or family situation, there will be much dance as this always accompanies women's musical activities. The women are on display for one another and, through dancing, a woman can present herself and, consequently, her family. The younger women are often observed closely by the older women who may be seeking a wife for a son; therefore, care must be taken with appearance as well as with steps.

The basic dance step of Arabia is considered uncomplicated and is even enjoyed by children. It is based on an uneven shuffle, rhythmically imitating a walking camel, and since it is so old and common it is usually not designated with a specific term – it is just “dancing.” However, it has been referred to as *khalījī* (Gulf) or Kuwaiti. These identifiers are more common beyond the Gulf, for instance, in the west coast Hijazi cities, apparently to distinguish the dance from the many different ones brought by foreign pilgrims to Mecca over the years. Also at wedding parties, for one or two songs, participants will dance in an Egyptian belly dance style known in the Peninsula simply as *‘Arabī* (Arab) or *Miṣrī* (Egyptian). But this is only danced to pieces with an Eastern rhythm, usually from the “Cairo Hit Factory.” Although celebrations last for several hours, the average young woman will usually dance to no more than ten songs, since dancing more is considered crass and showy. Saudis are traditionally known for their love of dancing and tend to

partake in dance more so than those of the Gulf. In general, Saudi dance is slightly slower and has more fluid upper body movement than dance in the Gulf area.

Along with popular Peninsula and pan-Arab songs, a few pieces of more traditional music will be heard and danced to in a typical evening, especially *sāmri*. *Sāmri*, the premiere ancient genre of the harsh central Najd region of Saudi Arabia, has spread throughout the large Saudi nation and even into Kuwait and the Gulf with modifications. It is sung by both men and women, but with nuanced stylistic differences in regard to melodic phrasing, textual accent, and tempo; for example, in general, women's *sāmri* is faster because of the focus on celebratory dancing, although more mature women often insist on a slow deliberate tempo for *sāmri*, which is an older style. The oldest forms of *sāmri* are *sāmri* proper and *sāmri ḥūṭī* which are in a stately triple meter. In the Saudi Najd these are still the only *sāmri* forms recognized, while countries in the Gulf, in addition to the Najdi *sāmri*, include *sāmri naqūz*, *sāmri dūsari*, and *sāmri al-mithawlith*.

A *sāmri* can be distinguished by its rhythmic mode (*īqā‘*). *Sāmri ḥūṭī* is in a slow 6/4 meter calling for subtle distinctive movement. *Hūṭī* derives from a root meaning to encircle or enshroud, which is fitting since *sāmri* in the desert was often performed by women in a circle or semicircle with featured dancers in the middle. The *sāmri* forms that hail from the Gulf lack the core triple rhythmic mode. These include *sāmri dūsari*, a duple meter dance named after the region of south-central Saudi Arabia, the Wadi Dawasir area. Many people in the Gulf, for instance the ruling families of Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar, have ancestors from this area and they historically have performed *sāmri dūsari*. *Sāmri al-mithawlith*, found in Kuwait and Bahrain, is actually a dance step rather than a musical form. The name derives from the “triangular” foot pattern that is performed by the female dancer. It is sometimes done to a fast duple meter. *Sāmri naqūzī*, in a duple meter, comes from the verb to leap or jump, likewise fitting since *naqūzī* dance often employs quick skipping movements.

At weddings in Kuwait, one will find women's *khammāri*, a dance that represents a slow presentation of oneself. The dancer will often dance to the *sāmri ḥūṭī* rhythm, although the dance also has been done in a rhythmic mode known in Kuwait as *khammāri*. The dancer is completely covered, her head and face enshrouded in a large sheer veil known as a *tūr*. She will very slowly dip down before the senior women who are seated in the front row closest to the dance floor. The dancer

will sometimes move the *tūr* shyly to one side, partially revealing her face. Her eyes are downcast as she unhurriedly nods her head to the left and right in respect. *Khammāri* is a term used for something that is covered and slowly stewed or fermented, like yogurt. The *khammāri* dancer, likewise, begins cloaked and ever so patiently and deliberately reveals herself.

Far more robust is the *badawī* (Beduin) dance, which is also known as *faras* (mare). This is actually a battle dance, the female counterpart to the male *arda* sword dance. The women dance quickly with other family or tribal members, one foot leading continually, charging straight ahead like a galloping horse. Each dancer might extend her arm and goad on the audience with an outstretched hand waving forward in a challenging way. When one group is finished, those from another tribe or family accept the challenge and take the floor, responding with the same dance in turn.

*Badawī*, like all the dances, serves to showcase young women as prospective brides. Thus, Arabian wedding parties are clearly entertaining and social events, but they also serve a significant practical function as an initial impetus for forging marriages, uniting families and sometimes tribes.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- M. Akeel [Tuha], Old songs in old nights, in *Arab News*, 25 December 2004.  
 L. Urkevich, field recordings and interviews with Jamel Ahmed, Fāṭima al-Qarz'ī, Saja al-Raf, 'Amal Khuḍīr al-Fāmdī, Firqa al-Baha, Firqa 'Ummfayṣīl, Saudi Arabia, February–March 2006; Jāsim Harban, Bahrain, September 2005; Mona Tālib, Sulayman Qaṣār, Kuwait 2004–6.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Gh. Dikan, *Tablil al-īqā'āt al-kūwaytiyya fī al-ughniyya al-sha'biyya*, Kuwait 1995.  
 J. Harban, *al-Dūr wa-al-firqa al-sha'biyya*, Bahrain 2005.  
 J. Lambert, The Arabian Peninsula. An overview, in *Garland encyclopedia of world music*, vi, *The Middle East*, New York 2002, 649–61.  
 P. Rovsing Olsen, *Music in Bahrain*, Moesgaard, Denmark 2002.  
 F. Tayash, Sameri tradition and zār dance in Saudi Arabia, in *al-Ma'thūrāt al-sha'biyya*, Doha, Qatar 1988, 23–36.  
 L. Urkevich, Saudi Arabia, in S. Sadie (ed.) and J. Tyrell (exec. ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, London 2000<sup>2</sup>.

LISA URKEVICH

## Morocco

Since earliest times, Moroccans seem to have been impelled to dance. When babies cry, for instance, the first reaction on the part of women in order to calm them is to put them on their backs or chests and dance. Many short songs and stories are taught to little children during the “baby dance.” It may be said that Moroccan children are first introduced to language, attitudes, and values through dance and song.

Most outdoor dances are organized by women and performed by both men and women. For example, the Imazighen (free people, masc. sing. Amazigh, fem. sing. Tamazight), who are the indigenous Moroccans known in Western parlance as Berbers and in Arabic as *Barbar* (or *Barabira*), perform the *abwāsh*, *ahidūs*, and *tarrāgt*. The *abwāsh* consists of one line of men and another of women, who bring their dance near a group of musicians playing drums and string instruments close to a fire. As the dance reaches its climax the two lines form a circle around the musicians and the fire. Women may repeat verses after men, or they may create their own to be repeated by men. Most of the sung poetry is about love, patriotism, pride, and hospitality, and sometimes dancers enumerate exploits of their tribes and leaders.

*Ahidūs* is an Amazigh dance performed in the central mountains of Morocco in which men and women dance in couples in a circle around a central fire. Dancing side by side, the couple cross their arms in such a way that women take each other's hands while the men, who are between them, play the *tallunt* (or *bendir* in Moroccan Arabic), a kind of circular low-rimmed drum made of wood and goatskin. The men and women sing poems about love, nature, war and peace, and tribal exploits and sometimes mock other tribes or people who do not want to join the dance circle.

The *tarrāgt* is a Tamazight dance mainly performed in the Amazigh regions of Marrakech. It consists of a procession in which the family (of a bride or a woman in labor) bring presents for their relatives that they display on their heads, dancing and singing until they arrive at their destination.

Arab outdoor dances include the *gadra*, the *haytī*, and the funeral *mandba*. The *gadra* is an African dance performed mostly in the southwest of Morocco. Its name is borrowed from an instrument made of a big, round clay pot covered with camel skin. It consists of a circle of men and women gathered around two or three musicians, who may be men or women, though people prefer the lead musician to be an older woman, regarded for her

knowledge of rhythms and measures. Men and women sit on a carpet or directly on sand, and from time to time one or two women will stand and start to dance. When a man joins the dancers, it generally means that he is publicly showing an interest in the woman he is dancing with. The *haytī* is another Arab dance mainly performed in the plains of the Gharb (northwest Morocco) within the triangle between Fez, Rabat, and Wazzan.

The *mandba* is a kind of mourning dance performed by four to five professional women (*nad-dābāt*). One of them makes music with a drum and sings of the qualities of the dead person while the others stand in the courtyard of the funeral house and start to punctuate her song with a violent tap dance. The female relatives of the dead person cry, scream, and claw their cheeks to shed blood around. This dance is becoming increasingly rare as a result of education and exposure to mass media. It was performed mainly by Arab women in the Hawz area, between Marrakech, Essawira, Casablanca, and Bani Mallal until the 1960s, but is no longer found in Morocco.

These kinds of outdoor dance, along with many others performed indoors, are perpetuated particularly by women because dance is one of the few forms of expression that cultural norms allow them. In tradition and custom, women have always been considered as having secondary status and as people to be controlled and exploited.<sup>1</sup> Because of these customs, women in Morocco still have a higher rate of illiteracy than men, especially in rural areas.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, women, no matter what their educational level, have traditionally been forbidden to express themselves overtly outside, sometimes even inside, the home.

As a reaction to such constraints, women remain closely attached to all kinds of dance: first, to free themselves, if only momentarily, from customs that, in the name of decency and respect for the community, limit them throughout their lives; and second, to perpetuate dance not only as an expressive outlet but also as an exceptional framework within which to display their talents, arts, and bodies.

During research into Moroccan dance, the present author was unable to discover the real genesis of any particular dance, but it is women who perpetuate most of them as leaders or performers and all of them as organizers. For example, in order to mark the approach of Ramadan (the month of fasting in which all able Muslims around the world are required to abstain from food and drink from sunrise to sunset) women, especially urban ones, organize celebratory *Shā'bāna* during the last half of *Shā'bān*, the month that precedes Ramadan. Espe-

cially in the old large cities such as Fez, Meknes, Rabat, Sala, and Marrakech, women organize parties to share henna, cookies, beverages, and the joy of dancing. During Ramadan, women celebrate the "first fasting" of young girls following their first menstruation as a sign of the girls' readiness to take part in adult religious practices. On the 26th of Ramadan, women spend much of the night singing to their little children, applying henna, giving them toys and cookies, and telling them stories, all this after they have exhausted themselves dancing.

On 'Īd al-Fiṭr (the first day after the end of the month of Ramadan) and 'Īd al-Aḏḥā (Holy Day of Sacrifice, Lamb Feast, which falls on the tenth day of the month Dhū al-Ḥijja, the eleventh month of the Hijrī year), women, sometimes in the company of men, organize a party to bring the family together and share the joys of life. Sufi women, whether within or outside the group of their sect, organize their own *milūdiyya* (celebration of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday) two weeks before and during the whole month of Milūd. Milūd (or Mulūd) is the Moroccan name for the third month of the Hijrī year, Rabī' al-Thānī. Many weeks before Milūd, Sufi sects start to prepare for this event by traveling to cities and villages to collect money and goods before gathering at the main shrines (*zāwiyāt*), where they spend the whole month of Milūd worshipping, dancing, and falling into trance states. On the 12th of Milūd, beginning at dawn, women go to rooftops and start ululating to simulate the announcement of the Prophet's birth, after which they prepare the feast for the entire family.

In this month, many *zāwiyāt* (religious institutions, generally run by Sufi sects) celebrate the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday by worshipping and performing many kinds of *hadra*, a Sufi trance dance in which dancers transcend their bodies to the extent they no longer feel them and may do things that normal people cannot do, such as eating live scorpions and snakes or hitting their heads hard with heavy and sharp knives, daggers, or axes.

However, the most spectacular dancing event in the entire country remains 'Ashūrā, which is a celebration of the tenth day of the first month of the Hijrī year on the Islamic calendar. In Shī'ī nations, this is a day of mourning in memory of the assassination of al-Ḥusayn (grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad) by the Umawī Iraqi rulers in the eighth century. But in Morocco, where the population is Sunnī, it is a joyous day, especially for women and children. Dances and celebrations take place all over the country with rituals that differ from one region to another. Many socially

oppressive norms are broken by women on this day, such that they are encouraged to participate in this event either by the implicit or explicit agreement of men. Whatever may have been the basis of its introduction after the Islamic invasion, women succeeded in turning 'Ashūrā into a magical event for their own purposes. Women of all ages, social ranks, and professions, from urban and rural areas, participate by dancing, imitating animals, making music, preparing food and tea for dancers and audience, or just fueling the central fire around which the assembled crowd dance in ecstasy from sunrise to sunset. At midnight of the same day, a group of three to five women (generally *shuwwāfāt*, sing. *shuwwāfa*, women who play many roles, such as fortune-teller, magician, and sorceress) go up to the rooftops with 'Ashūr (a doll made of reeds and women's light scarves). They start dancing, brandishing the doll, while one of them murmurs, then chants mysterious words that call on God to grant their requests for health, wealth, and especially more control over men.

In the absence of any special occasion, women continue to practice social dance (as the local phrase has it, *ysūsū lhamla*, to flick off stress) by creating an afternoon gathering called 'ashwī or 'ashwiyya, in which they share cookies, beverages, cosmetic recipes, and, of course, dancing. Only open-minded men are invited to participate through the acceptance of the women. Before the day of 'ashwī, women prepare cookies and snacks, decorate their hands and feet with henna, and go to the *ḥammām* (public bath) where they indulge in a variety of body cleansing and purifying practices. It is customary for women to dress up for the occasion, and they often hire an orchestra consisting only of female musicians, but generally they make their own music and songs. The celebration usually starts around three in the afternoon, ending around eight, hence its name, 'ashwī, borrowed from 'ashwiyya (afternoon).

During the colonial period, dance was an important means for preserving tradition, heritage, and customs from alteration or replacement by foreign influence. It was a method of resistance to the acculturation that was planned by French colonists and adopted by the native elite. Lièvre (1987) studied Maghribi dance "as an element of identity, cultural and body language, and as human groups' reflection from which they spring." She was keen to show that "dances (in terms of form and function) derive from relationships of men/women, religious and historical influences, and attitudes towards sexuality.... In return, their study clarifies in an original way all factors of social organization."

We can observe, therefore, that dance in Morocco has mostly been the prerogative of women of all categories, along with illiterate and half-literate men. Literate and highly educated men, especially members of the elite, have always tried to avoid any overt involvement in dance. Highly educated women, especially those educated in French and Spanish, prefer particular types of indoor social dance, and while they may also participate in some Sufi dances, they never participate in the more traditional outdoor dances. Instead, they are keen to learn foreign dances, either from the East (the oriental belly dance in particular) or the West (especially ballet, salsa, and tango).

#### NOTES

1. In rural areas and among the urban lower class, some think it best for a girl to marry during puberty. In the Sahara, girls can be married at the age of nine, and in some tribes, people engage their girls as early as the first year after birth. This practice has been prohibited by the Mudawwana (civil code) since 1957, but such early marriages still take place.

2. According to UNESCO, illiteracy among women was 63.9% in 2000 and 58.5% in 2005, nearly double the rate among men (38.2% in 2000 and 34.5% in 2005) (UNESCO 2002).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. al-Jirārī, *Shūrā 'inda al-Maghārība*, Rabat 1999.  
 UNESCO, Literacy and Non-Formal Educator Sector. Institute of Statistics. UNESCO 2002. See the website at <www.unesco.org>.  
 V. Lièvre, *Danses du Maghreb d'une rive à l'autre*, Paris 1987.  
 al-H. Waggāg, *Dūr al-ḥadīth fī al-'ālam al-Islāmī*, Agadir 1990.

FATIMA CHEBCHOUB

### The Ottoman Empire

It is difficult to document historically the scope of folk dance and folk music genres in the Ottoman world or to classify them. As in many other empires, the Ottomans had a complex demographic and geographical structure, in which many folk forms emerged and circulated through diverse multiethnic and religious communities. Even if one focused mainly on Muslim communities, regional differences would vary greatly. Generally, locality and class were the main elements creating boundaries between performance genres.

The Ottoman Empire differed from its European counterparts in the way its court ceremonials and entertainments were organized. Ottoman courtiers, for example, would not dance in imperial festivities or in public entertainments in the palace. In contrast to what was recorded about palace performances, however, documentation of folk musical

and dance forms was very poor and rare. In those cases where such documentation is available, it is even harder to trace women performers in their particularities. Because the Ottoman palace and the European courts operated in different ways, the boundaries between folk and elite genres as well as performers were rather vague. For example, in contrast to European courtiers, the Ottoman elite framed “dancing” as an entertainment that only the lower classes provided to the elite.

Folk performances, whether music or dance, could take place in religious and secular domains as segregated activities. The exception was in Alevi communities, an unorthodox Islamic sect widely dispersed throughout Anatolia. In the practice of the *cem* ritual, men and women of a village would gather to perform a *semah* in the accompaniment of a folk singer, usually male. “To turn *semah*” (*semah dönme*), as Alevis called it, referred to a circular group movement where men and women whirled together. Looking at the strong folk song tradition among Alevi women singers in the Republican era, one can assume that this tradition goes back in time, mostly transmitted through oral tradition rather than in written documents like the folk song and poetry books called *cönks* or other such medieval manuscripts.

Segregation was more widespread in settled communities than among nomad communities throughout Anatolia. In towns or villages, men and women usually gathered in separate places for entertainment. Although folk musicians perhaps enjoyed a wider acceptance, dance performers were not a highly valued group. Male dancers performing in public entertainments, however, was a widespread practice. Professional male and female dancers, usually of non-Muslim origin, were organized under elaborate guild systems (the *kols*) and performed in large cities of the empire, in the coffee houses, in the mansions of the elite (the *konaks*), and at the imperial festivals and palace performances.

Dance and music in Ottoman elite circles were well-documented in the imperial festival books called *surnames* in the form of miniature paintings. There, the dancing boys (the *köçek*s) were usually depicted in groups of four, six, or eight, holding wooden sticks in their hands, extending their arms upward, and moving their hips from side to side. Very often, grotesque dancers would accompany them in a form of ridicule that increased the competence in performance among rival groups. These miniature paintings, however, gave lesser space to women though it is known that professional women dancers (the *çengis*) also performed, especially in the harem performances of the palace, in

the *konaks* of the elite, and at times in provincial hostels (And 1976, 1982).

The harem was an important school for women of imperial descent and for concubines. Many were trained in music, played instruments, composed, and performed. Painters of the imperial studios depicted them in independent miniatures for special albums or as the heroines of storybooks. Harem performances also fascinated Western travelers, officials, ambassadors, and their wives, who illustrated or narrated them on many occasions. Although Western observers gave detailed descriptions of the professional urban dancing in the Ottoman world, their writings were often biased. Many did not like the ribald or grotesque humor of the Ottoman professional dancing, found the music intolerable, or could not decode the dramatic elements that surrounded the dance events. Although informative in visual and descriptive images, both the *surnames* and the foreign observers’ accounts had their shortcomings. Neither fully delineated the nature of the Ottoman professional dancing as a “structured movement system” with its own units, differences in style, and significance for its audience and its community (Kaepler 1985).

While professional dancing was being performed in elite urban settings, both the Muslim and non-Muslim communities performed their own regional dance and music in small towns and villages on such occasions as weddings, spring festivals, and farewell gatherings for soldiers’ departures for military service. Most women’s folk music and dance performances took place on the henna night (*kına gecesi*) during wedding celebrations. Ottoman records also reveal cases in the provinces where women performers danced in “disrespectful” male entertainments in remote public places such as mills or hostels.

As for the nomadic Yörük culture, where minstrels had an important place, there are records that women minstrels performed in the Çukurova area (Çukurova Üniversitesi 2006). In any case, the teaching of music in the Ottoman world included master–apprentice relationships and group performances, where documentation was based on memory rather than on written notations (Behar 1998). Regional dances, which the elderly transmitted to younger generations of the community, became in the late nineteenth century the basis of the “national” repertoires of folk dance and music in the newly rising nation-states after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

For the Muslim Ottoman world, documentation of these kinds of regional dances was almost nonexistent until the nineteenth century. The discovery

of dance as a symbol of national identity came in the early 1900s with the writings of Rıza Tevfik and Selim Sırrı Tarcan. In 1900, Rıza Tevfik's article, "Memalik-i Osmaniye'de raks ve muhtelif tarzları" (Dance and its various forms in the Ottoman countries), gave a genre-based overview of regional dances from the Balkans, the Aegean, and the Black Sea region. It drew attention to regional dances as expressive forms of particular cultures, and described them and compared them with European dance genres.

Selim Sırrı Tarcan, who was sent to Sweden in 1909 by the Young Turk government, studied the physical training of Swedish folk dancers. Tarcan was impressed with the way Swedish folk dances had been stylized, and, on his return, choreographed a dance called *Tarcan Zeybeği*, a gentrified version of the Aegean *zeybek*, originally a male genre. It was in fact a social dance envisioned to be performed by men and women as couples, and it was praised by Kemal Atatürk as a "civilized dance" to be presented to Europeans.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. And, *Turkish dances*, Ankara 1976.  
 —, *Osmanlı şenliklerinde Türk sanatları*, Ankara 1982.  
 C. Behar, *Aşk olmayınca meşk olmaz. Geleneksel Osmanlı Türk müziğinde öğretim ve intikal*. Istanbul 1998.  
 Çukurova Üniversitesi, ADANA tanıtım sitesi, 3 October 2006, Adana'nın Kültürü, <www.adana.cukurova.edu.tr/kultur.asp>.  
 A. Kaeppler, Structured movement systems in Tonga, in P. Spencer (ed.), *Society and the dance*, Cambridge and New York 1985, 92–118.  
 A. Öztürkmen, Modern dance alla Turca. Transforming Ottoman dance in early Republican Turkey, in *Dance Research Journal* 351 (Summer 2003), 38–60.  
 R. Tevfik, Memalik-i Osmaniye'de raks ve muhtelif tarzları, 1900, repr. in S. Evliyaoğlu and Ş. Baykurt, *Türk halkbilimi*, Ankara 1988, 105–12.

ARZU ÖZTÜRKMEN

### South Asia

In rural North India and Pakistan, Muslim women and men typically maintain separate music and dance traditions in their everyday lives. Men more often have opportunities to perform in professional groups that provide entertainment for patrons and public celebrations, and women's musical traditions are typically connected to life-cycle and calendric events in household and other small group settings. With the growth of the music industry, the fusion of musical styles, and the high value placed on media in both rural and urban contexts, more and more women have moved into the public arena with their music.

The religious and secular music of Muslim residents in northwestern regions of South Asia, including the Punjab regions in India and Pakistan, and in Kashmir, is characterized by its geographic relationship to Afghanistan and Iran. The Punjab region spans from India into Pakistan, divided with the creation of the Pakistan state in 1947 and further divided in 1971 when India and Pakistan formally split. Here professional and non-professional musicians are expected to provide music for a wide range of social events.

*Mirāsīs* and other professional musician groups of the Punjab in Pakistan and Rajasthan in India provide ensembles comprised of male and female musicians who are hired to perform at auspicious occasions and for entertainment at festivals and other public and private events. While women do play roles as musicians in some of the professional groups, their contributions are typically limited to vocal music. Nayyar (2000) reports that more often women in these regions perform informally in conjunction with social events including weddings where they sing songs (*gīt*) accompanied by the double headed *dholak* drum. Their songs include *māhiā* and *bolī*, both love songs with short stanzas performed by competing groups of women at weddings and festivals. Women also sing songs in conjunction with the marriage ceremony, including *mehndī* sung while henna is applied to the bride's hands, and *sēhra*, songs for the groom.

The Punjab in India and Pakistan is also known for the music and dance genre *bhangra*, the traditional group men's dance with *dhol* drum accompaniment that is now performed in South Asian communities around the world. Middlebrook (2000) reports that the dance was initially connected to the annual harvest festival (*baisākhi*), but today is found at a wide range of other celebratory and competitive events and has been adopted to generate syncretic music, and dances that fuse traditional *bhangra* with other popular musical styles in diasporic communities. The women's counterpart to this is the *giddhā* dance where groups of women form a circle and clap while participants move to the center to offer folk songs. This dance and a repertoire of songs are popular at wedding celebrations, where "a *giddhā* event" can be held at the bride or groom's house, and involves singing, socializing, and dancing. Songs include insult songs (*sitthni*) directed by the female relatives at the groom's family, including the mother-in-law. These help to smooth relationships among the guests, who represent members of both the bride's and groom's families.

In his research on music in Kashmir, Pacholczyk reports that women participate in both secular and

religious musical genres. The responsorial vocal genre *chakri* is sung at Muslim family and social events, where it functions both as secular entertainment and as ritual music in Sufi assemblies (*mehfil*). Women only perform *chakri* in secular contexts, including weddings and circumcisions. Women also participate in a religious version of *rūf*, performed during Ramadan. Women gather in neighborhoods during the evening to sing the Sufi-based lyrics of *rūf* and to dance. “They line up in two rows facing each other and sing antiphonally, with their arms draped on each other’s shoulders, rhythmically moving in small steps forward and back. Their singing is loud, in full voice, most of the women straining their voices and after some time becoming unable to sing anymore” (Pacholczyk and Arnold 2000, 684). Women in Kashmir also sing *nande baeth* during rice planting and harvesting, and *wanawun* at life-cycle events including weddings and funerals; both use an unaccompanied antiphonal singing style and dance movements like those used in *rūf*. The lyrics of *nande baeth* are typically connected to Sufism while the lyrics of *wanawun* are improvised and reference the current event.

Throughout the Islamic world, including South Asian Muslim communities, the mosque, shrines, and tombs are spaces for men’s religious activities, although women also identify spaces and circumstances for religious singing. In addition, the songs with mystical subject matter have also moved into secular spheres where they are performed by professional and semi-professional female singers in households and on radio, recordings, and television. While *qawwālī*, long identified as a men’s religious genre, is maintained in hereditary professional communities where it is sung by a group of men accompanied by drums and rhythmic hand-clapping, Abbas (2002) reports that women in India and Pakistan sing a related genre of Islamic mystical poetry, Sufiana Kalam, using more limited instrumental accompaniment. Characterized by its use of vernacular language with melodies drawn from indigenous folk material and popular media sources, it is typically sung by a solo female vocalist with choral accompaniment. Local and nationally known artists offer their communities Sufiana Kalam around birth, wedding, and circumcision celebrations. A few female performers, such as Abida Parvin, have adopted the men’s style of singing and choose at times to also sing *qawwālī*, which requires more rigorous musical training, using poetry of Sufi masters and offering improvisation in the style of the Hindustani vocal tradition.

Shī‘ī Muslims perform *majlis* (a commemorative ritual assembly) to celebrate their martyr Imām

Husayn, grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad. Taking place in designated spaces in the home or hall, the event, which includes devotional music and chest beating, is held separately by men and by women. Hegland’s (1998) research in Pakistan shows that women have adopted and adapted the non-liturgical event to provide a forum to share musical ideas and to demonstrate agency in an increasingly restrictive social environment. In Peshawar, women construct and attend a large number of rituals during Muḥarram and Safar in neighborhood homes where they sing mourning hymns (*marsia*), listen to a female preacher, beat their chests, and pray.

In another tradition that exists in conjunction with men’s practice, Sunnī women in India and Pakistan have adopted their own devotional assembly to celebrate the Prophet’s birth (*mīlād*), where they offer hymns of praise for the Prophet (*na’ats*) and in praise of God (*ḥamds*), and listen to lectures on the Prophet.

Throughout South Asia musical practices of Muslim women exist in secular and sacred contexts in the home and public social settings. While they play few musical instruments and their performances are often restricted to vocal forms and to certain social spaces, their traditions demonstrate their agency in a wide range of social spheres.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. B. Abbas, *The female voice in Sufi ritual. Devotional practices of Pakistan and India*, Austin, Tex. 2002.
- M. E. Hegland, Flagellation and fundamentalism. (Trans-)forming meaning, identity, and gender through Pakistani women’s rituals of mourning, in *American Ethnologist* 25:2 (1998), 240–66.
- J. Middlebrook, Punjab, in A. Arnold (ed.), *Garland encyclopedia of world music, v, South Asia. The Indian subcontinent*, New York 2000, 650–7.
- A. Nayyar, Punjab, in A. Arnold (ed.), *Garland encyclopedia of world music, v, South Asia. The Indian subcontinent*, New York 2000, 762–72.
- J. M. Pacholczyk and G. K. Arnold, Kashmir, in A. Arnold (ed.), *Garland encyclopedia of world music, v, South Asia. The Indian subcontinent*, New York 2000, 682–95.
- R. B. Qureshi, “Muslim devotional.” Popular religious music and Muslim identity under British, Indian, and Pakistani hegemony, in *Asian Music* 24:1 (1992/3), 111–21.
- R. Wolf, Music in seasonal and life-cycle rituals, in A. Arnold (ed.), *Garland encyclopedia of world music, v, South Asia. The Indian subcontinent*, New York 2000, 272–87.

JENNIFER C. POST



## Turkey

The collection of folk dances and songs has taken a central place in the making of a national culture in modern Turkey. In fact, this interest was rooted in the late Ottoman era, where intellectuals such as Ziya Gökalp, Selim Sırrı Tarcan, Fuat Köprülü, and Rıza Tevfik explored the importance of folklore in the establishment of a national culture. A variety of cultural institutions such as the People's Houses (1932–51) and the state television (TRT) conducted research and served the spreading of different local folklore genres nationwide. Following the newly established Republic's reform project, these institutions encouraged women's participation in public performances. In the field of dance, those dances performed by women or in mixed groups were promoted, as adding women dancers to men's dance genres elicited more public acclaim. While Republican women found a warm welcome in such state-controlled cultural institutions, traditional reservations about accepting women's public dance and music performance continued to prevail in other domains. Informal entertainment settings such as the *pavyon* or the *gazino* (the latter framed as more elite than the former) were male spaces, where music, oriental dance, and drinking coexisted. Working in those settings was usually considered a low-status job for women singers and dancers. These were also places where folk and popular genres that state cultural institutions did not approve of found a place for performance. *Pavyons* or *gazinors*, for instance, remained until the 1980s the only settings where belly dancing could be performed. However, traditional belly dancing, or the *oryantal*, was long forbidden on state television, and belly dancers were for a long time deprived of good standing, until the ground-breaking performance of Nesrin Topkapı in 1980 on TRT. The new popular musical form later named *arabesk* was another genre banned from TRT, a trend which ended with the transition to a multi-channel system in national broadcasting, a change which broke TRT's monopoly in 1990.

How women performed traditional music and dance under state institutions and in private domains – domestic and public alike – differed in a variety of ways. There were also differences between urban and rural practices. In music, there emerged two main genres in the cultural domain of the early Republican years. These were classical Turkish music (*Türk sanat müziği*) rooted in the Ottoman tradition of *makam*, and the newly promoted Turkish folk music (*halk müziği*), and they were often presented at the same performances.

Renowned women singers such as Zehra Bilir, Safiye Ayla, Hamiyet Yüceses, Müzeyyen Senar, Perihan Altındağ-Sözeri, and Neriman Altındağ Tüfekçi performed both folk music and classical Turkish music in their public concerts in cities and during their national tours. Many other women singers took part in the prestigious Yurttan Sesler Korosu, the national folk song ensemble, established in 1940 under Ankara State Radio, but also in other similar state-sponsored radio choirs under the local branches of the TRT. This tradition has often been criticized for having created a standard new musical form where folk songs were performed to the accompaniment of multiple instruments including the traditional string instrument *saz* and drums, and were stripped of their regional dialects. The state radio stations provided women singers a safe and respectable platform for singing, where performance were taken “seriously” as opposed to the *pavyon* or *gazino* entertainment activities.

In the field of traditional dance, a similar development took place, legitimating women's dance. Notable was the attempt of Selim Sırrı Tarcan, in the early Republican years, to create an urban social dance based on the traditional dance genre *zeybek*. Tarcan's gentrified version of *zeybek* was praised by Atatürk, the founding leader of modern Turkey, who requested him to include women in this couple dance, calling it a “civilized dance” that could be proudly exposed to “Europeans.” Tarcan's *zeybek* did not survive after his death, but a new form of folk dancing referred to as *folklor oynamak* emerged through a historical process between the 1930s and 1980s (Öztürkmen 2002). With the encouragement of state institutions such as the People's Houses, national schools, and universities, various regional dances collected from around the country began to be performed in urban settings. Folk dancing was seen as the representation of the richness of the newly built nation-state, and was thus an acclaimed dance genre for social and extra-curricular activities. It had a conservative structure that encouraged many parents to send their daughters to dance clubs. The fact that folk dance clubs had in general patriarchal managers with a protective attitude and that folk dancing, unlike many other dance genres, disguised the female body with layers of colorful peasant costumes, offered a safe venue to women to perform in public. Folk dancing was in fact one of the main settings where unrelated young men and women had a legitimate ground for dancing together. This form of folk dancing or *folklor oynamak* spread widely in urban locations, while traditional regional dances were also performed

at informal occasions such as weddings, farewell ceremonies for those beginning military service, or circumcision celebrations. Women's main performance of this kind has long been at the henna night (*kına gecesi*), usually held before weddings. During the henna night, women would get together to sing and dance following the decoration of the hands of the bride and guests with henna.

In both urban and rural practices, the impact of Alevi culture on women's performance in music and dance is notable. The Alevis, an unorthodox sect in Islam in Anatolia, has practices different from those of Sunni Islam. One main difference was that they did not use mosques as their religious shrines, but usually gathered in houses (lately in *cemevis* in cities) for their ritual, called the *cem*. The *cem* ritual is a non-segregated religious ceremony where men and women perform a ritual movement called the *semah* together. Although many Sunni communities despised the Alevi *cem* ritual for historical reasons (Öztürkmen 2005), Alevi culture formed one of the main pillars of the social and cultural transformation promoted by the Republican reforms, particularly in the areas of women's emancipation and secularism. That many women singers who performed under state institutions or at informal public events were of Alevi origin has been a fact often overlooked. Even in recent years, despite the increasing visibility of Alevi women singers on television and in the record market, the issue of identity remains a silent matter. The playing of *saz*, the main string instrument that accompanies Turkish folk songs, has also been a gendered issue. Many researchers observed that *saz* and *saz* playing have been part of the masculine domain where women players were not taken seriously (Stokes 1992, Bryant 2005).

Many different ethnic groups have also been engaged in folk dance or music practices. Kurdish, Circassian, Laz, and even Bosnian folk dance genres have for a long time formed part of the Turkish folk dance repertoire in folk dance clubs and schools. Among non-Muslim ethnic communities, Armenians have been organized since the 1970s to preserve their folk dance tradition under a company called Sayat Nova Choir (1972) and Maral Dance Company (1980). From the 1990s, musicians of Jewish and Greek origin have also begun to form ensembles, which connected very well to the rising world music movement.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- R. Bryant, The soul danced into the body. Nation and improvisation in Istanbul, in *American Ethnologist* 32:2 (May 2005), 222–38.  
 A. Öztürkmen, I dance folklore, in D. Kandiyoti and

- A. Saktanber (eds.), *Fragments of culture. The everyday life of Turkey*, London and New York 2002, 128–46.  
 ———, Staging a ritual dance out of its context. The role of an individual artist in transforming the Alevi *semah*, in *Asian Folklore Studies* (2005), 247–60.  
 M. Stokes, *The arabesk debate. Music and musicians in modern Turkey*, Oxford 1992.

ARZU ÖZTÜRKMEN

### West Africa

Not conceptualized as a separate genre, dance in West African societies reflects and responds to societal structures relating to status, gender, age, kin, and class. Within the dance, individuals negotiate their social place via bodily statements of performance quality and by applying the accepted rules for dance. Widespread acceptance and local interpretation of Islam have had varying effects on dancing in West Africa. Many of the distinctive features of West African indigenous life including dance are rooted in practices that predate Islam. Yet the long association of indigenous people with Islam has influenced various dance forms in West Africa. Most Muslim holidays are cause for celebration or relaxation and certain local repertoires have broadened to include songs and dances dedicated to Muslim leaders. Dancing and drumming amongst both men and women are generally absent during the holy month of Ramadan; however, the end of Ramadan is marked by the biggest Muslim festival day of the year, Tabaski, an important occasion for music and dance that is an official government holiday in countries such as Burkina Faso, Senegal, and Mali.

Throughout West Africa, dances mark a person's progression through life stages. Initiation, naming ceremonies, and marriage are three major life-cycle events in the lives of many West African women. These celebrations are typically held during the dry season and all feature dancing and drumming. Amongst the Mande in the Upper Guinea region, the Mandiani is the name of a dance traditionally danced by young girls, yet it also serves as a term for the young girl chosen for her dancing ability in a dance competition. The young girl remains a Mandiani until puberty, at which time another is elected in her place. Other dances in the region are associated with initiation into secret regulatory societies – groups limited in membership to adult women or men who have learned specialized knowledge – such as the Sande of Sierra Leone and Liberia. The Sande women's secret society guides girls in their transition to womanhood, including teaching them the discipline and refinement

required to dance properly. Traditionally, only the most gifted girls were chosen to continue “in the dancing” and to perform on public occasions, such as the visiting of dignitaries (Boone 1986). The Sande have the only important mask-wearing tradition in Africa exclusively reserved for women, the Sowo or Bundu masks. These solid wooden masks embody Soweï, the guardian water spirit, and fit over the dancer’s head, while her body is covered by a raffia costume. The mask embodies ideal feminine beauty: an elaborate hairstyle, a high forehead, small, delicate facial features, and voluminous neck folds, depicting the desirable full-figured woman.

Thus, despite at least nominal acceptance of Islam, dance in West Africa continues to provide an important means of communication between individuals, communities, and their ancestral spirits and/or god(s). Possession dances with socially significant curing and mental health functions are especially valued and are carried out by women in a number of Muslim societies; some are tolerated while others are frowned upon. For example, head dancing among the Kel Ewey Tuareg in Niger is a public forum staged by women and witnessed by men and women of all social classes. Likewise, the *n’deup* performed by the Lebu women of Senegal involves trance or spiritual possession and also provides a channel for communal healing.

Wedding celebrations and naming ceremonies are very elaborate events, which often provide a source of income for professional dancers employed as entertainers. Both types of public events also feature musicians who play a mixture of the local folk drumming and contemporary rhythms, leading to group singing and dancing. Often small amounts of money are given to or tossed at the feet of women dancers who demonstrate the most skill, finesse, and command of the rhythm. At many wedding celebrations, individual women will select and court male suitors through dance.

In various Senegambian, Malian, Mauritanian, Ghanaian, and Liberian societies, dance practices commonly follow set choreographic patterns around which variations are possible. One major recurring pattern is the circle, a spiritual and temporal symbol of life. The arc of the circle or the circle itself is the spontaneous arrangement in which the dancers, or the spectators around the dancers, form in the dance space. Within the dance, the movement phrasing of each dancer also involves a balance between repetition and variation. Yet these improvisations are always limited according to what is appropriate within a given cultural framework. This framework dictates the “rules” for the dance in terms of modality; participation and exclusions;

event, place, and time; stylistic components; and physical relation to the music. The differences in movements amongst various societies often reflect particular physical and cultural environments. Two Liberian peoples, the Vai and the Kran (each with some Muslim communities among them), have very different dance styles: the Vai dancers are noted for their rapid footwork while Kran dancers place emphasis on detailed shoulder movements and gestures that imitate the peacock. Young Vai and Kran girls accordingly learn and reflect these choreographies in their initiation dances.

Although originally not seen as a means of economic gain, by the turn of the twenty-first century many women well-versed in folk dance have responded to opportunities to perform abroad, either with national dance troupes or as solo artists, such as Coura Thiew of Senegal. Dancers migrate to capital cities not only for the prospect of employment in national dance companies but also to teach, perform on their own, and make contacts to relocate abroad. Guinea led the way shortly after independence with the nationalization of Les Ballets africaines, and was soon followed by Mali, Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria, and Liberia. These nationalized troupes have become world renowned through their international tours, attracting the best male and female dancers, singers, musicians, and acrobats in West Africa. Yet the transformation that occurs when village traditions are adapted for stage presentation to foreign audiences was, and still is, a major concern of folk dancers, national ballet choreographers, and cultural critics. This has been the case particularly as it relates to West African dance companies secularizing and popularizing rites of passage dances and dances of possession for an uninitiated foreign audience.

Young girls who are reared in a society in which dancing constitutes part of the living tradition of their lives continue to learn dances primarily in a one-on-one situation similar to the way in which they acquire language or learn childhood games, that is generally, but not always, in informal environments in a trial and error fashion. By contrast, the professional dancer in a national dance company consciously acquires a wide variety of styles and forms, which may not be native to her own specific region, from a teacher/choreographer in a studio or classroom environment. In the last two decades, dance companies in Ghana, Mali, Senegal, Nigeria, and Guinea specifically have acquired an increasing number of urban-born female dancers who have learned their repertoire in much the same way as the West African dance loyalists in the United States, Japan, or France. Hence, there

are an increasing number of dancers in the national ensembles who often do not know the participatory dance tradition upon which a specific choreography is based. Yet with the financial backing of their respective governments and foreign touring income, dancers, musicians, singers, and acrobats are paid as professional individuals, ironically performing folk dances that demonstrate local and national pride to the world.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. A. Boone, *Radiance from the waters. Ideals of feminine beauty in Mende art*, New Haven, Conn. 1986.
- E. Charry, *Mande music. Traditional and modern music of the Maninka and Mandinka of Western Africa*, Chicago 2000.
- J. L. Hanna and W. J. Hanna, The social significance of dance in black Africa, in *Civilisations* 21:2/3 (1971), 238-42.
- D. Heath, The politics of appropriateness and appropriation. Recontextualizing women's dance in urban Senegal, in *American Ethnologist* 21:1 (1994), 88-103.
- F. Keita, The true meaning of African dance, in *UNESCO Courier* 12:1 (1959), 18-23.
- P. Mark, Art, ritual, and folklore. Dance and cultural identity among the peoples of Casamance, in *Cahiers d'études africaines* 34:136 (1994), 563-84.
- J. V. O. Richards, Some aspects of the multi variant socio-cultural roles of the Sande of the Mende, in *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 9:1 (1975), 103-13.
- M. Sunkett, *Mandiani drum and dance form and aspects of African American aesthetics*, Pittsburgh 1993.
- A. Tiérou, *Dooplé. The eternal law of African dance*, trans. D. McMahon, Switzerland and Philadelphia 1992.
- K. Welsh-Asante (ed.), *African dance. An artistic, historical and philosophical inquiry*, Trenton, N.J. 1996.
- D. Williams, The cultural appropriation of dances and ceremonies, in *Visual Anthropology* 13 (2000), 345-62.

ESAILAMA G. A. DIOUF

## Arts: Performers and Performing Groups

### Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan is a part of the Caucasus where women have achieved remarkable success in the performing arts including singing, dancing, and playing instruments. This tradition goes back to antiquity and particularly flourished in the twentieth century. Two factors facilitated this process: the ideas of women's emancipation, important for Communist ideology, since from 1920 to 1991 Azerbaijan was a part of the Soviet Union, and the tremendous efforts of Uzeyir Hajibeyov (1885–1948), the Azerbaijani composer who personally encouraged women's attempts to break social and cultural stereotypes and become involved in public music activities.

A glance at the past reveals Mahsati Ganjavi, a twelfth-century poetess and musician who recited her verses accompanying herself on the *'ud*, a traditional plucked instrument. In the nineteenth century, Khurshud Banu Natavan (1832–97), poetess and ruler of the Karabakh district of Azerbaijan, established the *Majlisi-Uns*, a reputed public assembly where both male and female poets and musicians met and shared their mastery. However, by the early twentieth century women's artistic activities in Azerbaijan were confined to private houses and elite assemblies. Women were prohibited not only from performing on stage but also from sitting in public next to men. For this reason, men dressed as women performed female parts in the first Azerbaijani operas. In 1912, a young operatic singer, Shovkat Mammadova (1897–1981), who had just returned from her studies in Italy, gave a public concert in Baku where she performed pieces of Western operatic repertoire. The reaction of religious authorities and conservative circles was negative, and Shovkat even had to flee the city. However, this event marked the beginning of a new era: the era of Azerbaijani women on stage. Shovkat Mammadova later pursued a successful career, starring in productions of Western and national opera works as well as performing Azerbaijani folk songs, and so did numerous Azerbaijani opera divas, for example Fatma Mukhtarova (1893–1972) and Firangiz Akhmadova (b. 1928). Two sopranos, sisters Fidan Gasimova (b. 1947) and Khuraman Gasimova (b. 1959), achieved international success: Fidan won an award at the Viotti competition in Italy (1977);

Khuraman won the Grand Prix at the Maria Callas Competition in Greece (1981) and laureateship at the Tchaikovsky Competition in Moscow, Russia (1982).

*Khanandas*, traditional singers in Azerbaijan, have also been involved in opera, more specifically the hybrid genre of *mugham* opera where classical opera forms such as arias and ariosos were replaced with *mughams*. All *mugham* operas have extensive female parts; performers include Hagigat Rzayeva (1907–69), Rubaba Muradova (1933–83), Sara Gadimova (1922–2005), Gulkhar Hasanova (1918–2004), Fatma Mekhrliyeva (1926–2000), Zeynab Khanlarova (b. 1936), Gandab Guliyeva (b. 1947), Sakina Ismayilova (b. 1956), and Malakhanim Ayyubova (b. 1963). These singers, along with *khanandas* Shovkat Alakbarova (1922–93) and Tukezban Ismayilova (b. 1923), contributed to the field of popular music as well: a weighty part of their repertoire consisted of songs of Azerbaijani composers. Essentially, popular music in Azerbaijan has featured numerous female artists, such as Gulara Aliyeva (1933–91), pianist and composer, who founded and led the vocal and instrumental group, Dan Ulduzu, immensely popular in the country in the 1960–80s.

The first Azerbaijani ballerina, Gamar Almaszade (1915–2005) began her career in the 1940s, followed by Leyla Vakilova (1927–99), Rafiga Akhundova (b. 1931), and Tamilla Shiraliyeva (b. 1946). They were all involved in productions of Western and national ballets and established themselves as choreographers as well.

Amina Dilbazi (b. 1918), dancer and choreographer, is revered for incorporating folk dances in an academic format. Since 1959, she has led the female dance group Chinar, which is recognized nationwide and has toured abroad. Afag Malikova (b. 1947) also introduced a type of “academic folk dance.”

Female musicians have been dominant in the field of piano performing in Azerbaijan. Firuza Gajar (1889–1916), Khadija Gayibova (1893–1938), Nazira Shahmirza (1898–1990), Kovkab Safaraliyeva (1907–85), and Nigar Usubova (1914–93) were the first Azerbaijani women pianists to undergo professional academic training and they made numerous public appearances. In 1920, Gayibova came out with the challenging idea of an “Eastern

Conservatory” that focused on learning forms of traditional music with a small dose of Western training; she was also appointed the head of the Department of Eastern Music in the Ministry of Enlightenment of Azerbaijan. Under Gayibova’s patronage, the Women’s Music and Drama Studio was established in Azerbaijan. Gayibova became a victim of Stalinist repressions in the Soviet Union, and was arrested and shot. Kovkab Safaraliyeva established and served as the first director (1938–52) of the Bulbul Special Music School in Baku, considered the main starting place for music cadres in the country. The repertoire of Elmira Nazirova (b. 1928) combines her own works with piano masterpieces of Western music. Elmira Safarova (1934–1997), Farida Guliyeva (b. 1925), and Tamilla Mahmudova (b. 1931) also pursued productive concert careers. Many female pianists made remarkable appearances in the international arena, for example Adilia Aliyeva (b. 1950), who is the president of the International Adilia Aliyeva Piano Competition in Gaillard, France (since 1998) and the Director of International Higher Music Academy in Gaillard (since 2001). A number of female musicians were awarded laureateship at international competitions: Valida Suk-Rasulova (b. 1948) at the International Marguerite Long and Jacques Tibeault Competition in Paris, France (1975); Elvina Zeynalova (b. 1950) at the Viotti competition in Vercelli, Italy (1977) and the International competition in Athens, Greece (1978); Samira Ashumova (b. 1963) at the International Music Competition in Italy (1990); and Lala Mustafazade (b. 1965) at the International Albert Russell Competition in Epinal, France (1991).

Azerbaijani women made an important contribution in the development of other academic performing arts: Zara Jafarova (1929–2005) established an organ school, later represented by Tahira Yagubova (b. 1942) and Rena Ismayilova (b. 1950). Violinist Zahra Guliyeva (b. 1951) pursues a remarkable solo career and plays with various international orchestras. In 1965–93 the Women’s String Quartet earned a high reputation in Azerbaijan. Female performers on traditional instruments, such as Shafiga Eyvazova (b. 1947), playing the *kamancha*, a bowed string instrument, also contributed to the development of academic music by performing works of Azerbaijani composers.

Jazz, one of the most popular arts in Azerbaijan, features a number of female musicians. In 1970, Vagif Mustafazade, the founder of the original Azerbaijani style of jazz, known as jazz *mugham*, established the vocal group Sevil, which consisted of four women and existed until 1978. Later, the

first female jazz musician to earn wide international recognition appeared in Azerbaijan: Aziza (b. 1970), the daughter of Vagif Mustafazade, the pianist and composer, who now works together with the stars of contemporary jazz, such as Al Di Meola, John Pattitucci, and Chick Corea. Aziza’s numerous honors include Germany’s prestigious Phono Academy award; at the age of 18, she won third place in the Thelonious Monk International Jazz Piano Competition held in the United States.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Aliyeva, *Bellissimo! Fidan and Khuraman* [in Russian], Baku 2003.
- G. Almaszade, My life as Azerbaijan’s first ballerina, in *Azerbaijan International* 10:3 (2002), 56–9.
- B. Blair, Aziza Mustafa Zadeh. Jazz, mugam and other essentials of my life, in *Azerbaijan International* 4:4 (1996), 20–3, 71.
- M. Chaminli, *Shovkat Alakbarova* [in Azeri], Baku 1989.
- D. Danilov, *Shovkat Mammadova* [in Russian], Baku 1976.
- A. Elkhangizi, Gifted violinist Zahra Guliyeva [in Azeri], in *Musigi Dunyasi* 1/2 (2005), 221–2.
- A. Huseynova, Shostakovich’s Tenth. Azerbaijani link – Elmira Nazirova, in *Azerbaijan International* 11:1 (2003), 54–9.
- S. Kurochkina, *Story of the actress* [in Russian], Baku 2004.
- F. Laman (ed.), *Amina Dilbazi* [in Azeri], Baku 1999.
- Sh. Mahmudova, Sacred fingers [in Azeri], in Sh. Mahmudova, *Music palette*, Baku 2003, 70–4.
- A. Mailova, *Beginning and development of the performing activities of Kovkab Safaraliyeva* [in Russian], Baku 2003.
- W. Minor, Aziza Mustafa Zadeh. An unzipped soul, in *Jazz Forum* 130 (1991), 24.
- G. Mirza, First female pianists of Azerbaijan [in Russian], in *Azerbaijan IRS* 4/5 (2000), 143–8.
- I. Naroditskaya, Azerbaijanian female musicians. Women’s voices defying and defining the culture, in *Ethnomusicology* 44:2 (2000), 234–56.
- F. Rahmanzade, *Heart thrilled by songs* [in Azeri], Baku 1989.
- T. Seidov (ed.), *Outstanding representatives of piano culture of Azerbaijan* [in Russian], Baku 1988.

NIGAR AKHUNDOVA AND AIDA HUSEYNOVA

### Central Asia and Afghanistan

This entry covers issues of women’s performance in public and private settings in Central Asia and Afghanistan including performance on television and radio, in theaters and homes, at weddings and funerals, on state holidays, and at family celebrations.

The cultures of former Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan share many similarities ethnically, linguistically, religiously, and musically. However, in the past century, the two areas have diverged in the way that they interact with modernity. The principal

contrast between them involves the very salient issues of national identity construction following the collapse of the Soviet Union for Central Asia, and the rise and fall of the Taliban in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, there are many common elements and symbols in women's performances as well as the common roles that women play in performing music, recitation, and gender.

In an important sense women in Central Asia and Afghanistan are actively performing gender on a daily basis. They are constantly negotiating ideas of femininity as they intersect with discourses of national identity, traditional values, constructions of modernity, and religious ideals. Women's performances are often framed within a concept of "tradition," which locates them firmly in the private sphere, performing for family celebrations that often occur in the home. The twentieth century saw a rise in public performances for women in what became Soviet Central Asia. When women perform within a framed event during which they are labeled as a "performer," the issues of proper feminine behavior often come into focus. This focus arises from the manner in which performers either conform to notions of acceptable femininity or negotiate a space for performance that somehow subverts pervasive feminine norms as they apply to concepts of tradition or religious tenets.

This entry contrasts public performances, which are often mediated through radio or television, or distanced by the concert stage, and performances that center around the home and family events, like weddings, women's gatherings, and Qur'anic recitation.

#### WOMEN IN PUBLIC/MEDIATED PERFORMANCE

The history of Central Asian women in public performance is a relatively short one. There is little evidence of a push for women to enter the public sphere of performance during the period from Russian colonization in the mid-nineteenth century to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. From the 1920s, which saw the beginning of government campaigns for women to remove their veils and enter public life, there was a move to find women performers to represent Soviet Central Asia. Tamara Hanum is probably the most famous of these early performers; she toured the Soviet Union and abroad representing the "exotic" Central Asian woman. Afghanistan followed a different timeline. In the mid-nineteenth century, Afghans were not dealing with Russian colonization. Indian culture greatly influenced Afghan musical life at this time, since Indian musicians were invited to become court

musicians in Afghanistan. The drive for women to gain status in public life in Afghanistan came somewhat later. In the mid-twentieth century, women began singing and performing on state radio and television there, some before 1959, when public appearance without the veil became legal. Afghan women, especially in Kabul, became increasingly active in public performances until the Soviet invasion (Sakata 1983).

One aspect of the legacy of the Soviet Union in Central Asia is the presence of women in the media and public life. During the Soviet era, women gained notoriety on stage, radio, television, and film in a way that was previously inconceivable. A major aspect of Soviet ideology was gender equality in public life. Women were expected to take up their places beside men in the fields, in factories, and on stage. During the first half of the twentieth century, many folk dance troupes and folk orchestras were organized to tour throughout the Soviet Union. These touring groups featured women primarily as dancers and singers. Dance troupes and folk orchestras still exist in Central Asia today that acknowledge the heritage of these earlier troupes. The founding of touring musical groups after the Second World War gave rise to many important figures in women's public performance, such as Mukaram Turgunbaeva, Gulshod Ataboeva, and Viloyat Akilova. Akilova is an interesting case, since she is of Bukharan Jewish descent and comes from a family with a long legacy of performance. Historically, Bukharan Jews comprised a large percentage of professional musicians in Central Asia, since the status of music was suspect in Islam. Akilova, who continues to run dance groups in Tashkent today, is a reminder of this legacy, even though most of the Bukharan Jews emigrated during the Glasnost and post-independence eras. Turgunbaeva is most famous for her dance troupe Bahor (Spring), which toured widely during the glasnost era. She also standardized many Uzbek folk dances and adapted them for stage performance. Gulshod Ataboeva is also a dancer who began her career as a member of touring dance troupes after the Second World War. She was most famous for her performances of *lappar*, a dance performed while singing, which was adapted for the concert stage during the Soviet era.

Instrumental music was an area of public performance that women seemed less drawn to in the early Soviet period. Most of the famous female performers were either singers or dancers, although this has changed in recent times. Women have gained fame as performers in a variety of genres and roles including conductors of folk orchestras, musicians and singers of "traditional" music, such as

the Shashmaqom (classical music from the courts of Bukhara), and *bakhshis* (performers of epic and narrative songs). Firuza Abdurahimova, the conductor of the Sogdiana Folk Orchestra, is one of the most successful and famous figures on the folk orchestra scene in post-independence Central Asia. She was a student of A. Petrossiants, who headed the project of adapting traditional instruments of Soviet Central Asian Republics for the creation of folk orchestras, which began in the 1930s. Abdurahimova has continued working with folk orchestras and has been pivotal in establishing a place for folk orchestras in the post-Soviet era music scene. Historically, women have been thought to take a very limited role in the performance of “traditional” music. *Bakhshis* and court musicians were men, and as mentioned before, women’s performance focused on the home, and the only instrument that women played was the frame drum (*doira*). In the Ferghana Valley region, women also played the *dutar*, a two-stringed, fretted lute. Interestingly, the *dutar* has retained its association with femininity in professional music and many women have become professional performers with state-sponsored ensembles. The *doira*, although played by women in other settings, remains largely a male pursuit in public, professional spheres. Malika Ziyeva, a *dutar* player and teacher at the Uzbek State Conservatory, was the first woman instrumentalist to play in the state radio ensemble in the 1980s, even though women had been singing with that ensemble in years past. Women have made great strides in recent years as instrumentalists on other instruments, including the *chang* (hammer dulcimer), *rubab* (seven-stringed fretted lute), and most of the instruments of the Western symphony orchestra, though they tend not to play percussion or wind instruments in public.

#### WOMEN IN PRIVATE PERFORMANCES

Despite the active and productive public lives that women in Central Asia currently have, there is a very pervasive discourse stating that their lives and duties center in the home, in accordance with “tradition.” Gender separation is conceptualized as a very natural behavior that is chosen, rather than forced upon women. With the renewed push for adherence to “traditional” values that harken to a notion of a precolonial history, there is a resurgence of “traditional” *to’ys* (family celebrations). The most common occasions for *to’ys* are wedding ceremonies, but they are often held for births, circumcisions, and for minor milestones. Many *to’ys* are held with separate men’s and women’s celebrations. Women performers are

needed in order to entertain women when they have separate celebrations.

Another occasion that often requires women performers is the *gap* (regular gathering of friends). Both men and women hold *gaps*, but they are usually gender segregated. Women’s *gaps* are often held in their homes, though occasionally they may be held at restaurants (where men’s *gaps* are typically held). *Gaps* are usually attended by a cohort of people who went to school together or grew up in the same neighborhood. These women meet once a month to converse, eat, and relax. Women often sing and dance at these events and performers are frequently invited to entertain the women.

Wedding musicians in Central Asia are often conservatory-trained musicians who play at weddings to supplement their income as teachers or performers in state-sponsored ensembles. This, combined with the valorization of professional musicians by the Soviet government, means that professional musicians do not necessarily have the stigma of lower status that often occurs in other Islamic cultures, including Afghanistan (for a very detailed account of women’s wedding musicians in Herat, see Doubleday 1988). Nonetheless, in former Soviet Central Asia, there is a hierarchy of prestige within the music world. Performing at weddings is seen as less desirable than performing on concert stages and the radio, because of the late hours and the alcohol that is often present at wedding celebrations. Wedding performers in this region need a diverse repertoire, because the wedding celebration as it is currently practiced in urban Central Asia usually features modern songs and dances combined with traditional ones. Performers are expected to play traditional tunes such as *tan-ovar*, songs for specific rituals such as *kelin salom* (the greeting of the bride), and also to perform pop songs (usually accompanied by recordings).

Beyond the sphere of the *to’y*, women have also been called upon as professional mourners during funerals, to give prayers for healing, and for Qur’anic recitation. The ability to recite Qur’ān is thought to be an attractive trait for a woman and a sign that she is refined and “traditional” (two characteristics considered desirable in a daughter and a wife). Currently, there are women’s *madrasahs* (religious schools) in the Ferghana Valley that are drawing many students. Women are often called upon to read Qur’ān for other women who may need prayers, healing, or blessings on their home.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

R. S. Abdullayev, *The ceremonial music of Central Asia* [in Russian], Tashkent 1994.



- J. Baily, *Music of Afghanistan. Professional musicians in the city of Herat*, New York 1988.
- A. Djumaev, Sacred music and chant in Islamic Central Asia, trans. T. Levin, in A. Arnold (ed.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, vi, *The Middle East*, New York 2002, 935–47.
- V. Doubleday, *Three women of Herat*, London 1988.
- , The frame drum in the Middle East. Women, musical instrument, and power, in *Ethnomusicology* 43:1 (1999), 101–34.
- M. Jo'raev and O. Ismonova, *The meeting of the red flower* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1999.
- T. Levin, *The hundred thousand fools of God. Musical travels in Central Asia (and Queens, New York)*, Bloomington, Ind. 1996.
- H. L. Sakata, *Music in the mind. The concepts of music and musician in Afghanistan*, Washington, D.C. 1983, 2002.
- R. Sultanova, Music and identity in Central Asia. Introduction, in *Ethnomusicology Forum* 14:2 (2005), 131–42.

TANYA H. MERCHANT

### Egypt and Turkey (including Ottoman)

Known as *çengi* and *köçek* in Turkey, *ghawāzī* and *khawal* in Egypt, public performers have always occupied an equivocal position in their own cultural milieu as well as in Western cultures. Few professions during the Ottoman Empire evoked as much adoration and derision, desire and disapprobation. This ambivalent attitude toward public performers continues to prevail today in many cultures of the Middle East, and is generated in part by subjection to the Western gaze. For the European travelers who toured the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, few images imposed such a formidable confrontation with gender, race, and sexuality as the public performer. She was sought after, watched, studied, and made a prominent feature in Europeans' journals, memoirs, poetry, and prose. In these writings, the Western imperial sentiment revealed a profound ambiguity toward the dancers. Also important to note, however, is that this process of representation by the West for the West had some influence on the dancers' position in their own culture. European perception, validated by Western imperialism, interacted with indigenous views on the status of public performers, affecting their reception within their native environment. A further challenge to the European gaze was that the profession of public performers included men as well as women. With their sexist and patriarchal notions about women, European visitors to the Orient sought to reconcile the anxiety engendered by the spectacle by resorting to masculinist strategies of sexual conquest. Such strategies, however, were not possible in the case of male performers who engendered further

vilification of European sensibility and morals since the male sex of the performers violated European notions concerning the public performance of gender and the social codes governing the display of the male body. This entry offers some explication of the names used for dancers in Egypt and Turkey and examines some important moments in the history of public performers in Ottoman times, comments on belly dance, which many regard as the contemporary equivalent of public dances of the previous centuries, and discusses performance practices in the Turkish Republic.

#### ÇENGI, KÖÇEK, GHAWĀZĪ, AND KHAWAL

The appellations for dancers are culturally equivocal in Arabic and Turkish. *Khawal*, for example, is the Egyptian Arabic term for a male dancer. In his famous work, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, first published in 1836, Edward Lane informs us that the *khawals* had colleagues, the *gink*, who were generally Jewish, Armenian, Greek, or Turkish. What often inhibits critics, researchers, and scholars is that public performers (including the male dancers) were often available for sexual hire. In Turkey, male performers were known as *köçek*, meaning “little camel colt.” According to some sources (Jakob Salomo Bartholdy's account of his travels in Turkey from the early nineteenth century is one such source), the ethnicity of this class of male performers in the Ottoman Empire was made up again mostly of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, since a Turkish man would not deign to be a public performer. In both Turkey and Egypt the names once used for male dancers are now mostly derogatory and signify homosexuals. In Arabic *khawal* is clearly a reference to a gay man and in contemporary Turkey a *köçek* covers both transvestites and transsexuals.

Similarly, *ghawāzī*, the general term by which female dancers were known in Egypt during most of the nineteenth century, has now become derogatory as it implies an infamous and dishonorable woman of questionable morality. Providing explications for the origins or etymologies of the term *ghawāzī* has been an assignment favored by many researchers on Middle Eastern dance. According to some researchers, the term appears after the advent of Islam and its etymology can be traced to the Arabic *ghawa*, to be enamoured. A more popular assertion is that the *ghawāzī* were a special tribe that formed as a result of the Roma migrations from the Indian subcontinent. Interestingly, the school that wants the *ghawāzī* to originally derive from the “gypsies,” a term that is problematic, and fortunately almost obsolete, does not identify the male dancers

as also derived from the same “tribe.” Scholars and dance enthusiasts from the West invest the women dancers of the Ottoman past with a certain lore that speaks to the neo-Romantic imagination that wants the dancer of the East to be free of social constraints, and to exist in “unruly” margins that do not comply with social strictures. This is how the Roma were constructed in the popular European imagination when it was not busy constructing them as threatening and immoral vagabonds. However, in the local cultures as well the public performers were forced to inhabit an identity that seemed unattached, free from ordinary social constraints.

To complicate matters even more, the term *‘alma* (pl. *‘awālim*) seems to have become an adopted name for dancers, once the *ghawāzī* began to be subject to legislative constraints. The *‘awālim* were learned women singers who enjoyed great respect since their singing perpetuated an old oral tradition that might even be connected to the *qayna* (pl. *qaynāt*), the pre-Islamic slave singers. Apparently, the *‘awālim* sang behind a wooden lattice so they would not be visible, a custom that draws attention to visibility as engendering contamination. Hearing, on the other hand, classifies as a noble sense. Since the conflation of the terms *ghawāzī* and *awālim* might be related to Muḥammad ‘Alī’s prohibition in 1834 (see the section that follows), which forced *ghawāzī* to claim they were *awālim* so as to escape banishment, and with European demand for their services increasing, then the confusion over *awālim* and *ghawāzī* might also have relevant and interesting colonial underpinnings. The *‘alma* was able to sing and recite classical poetry and socialize with learned men. Her art implied a form of scholarship. She was also a courtesan and a gifted dancer.

#### HISTORICAL MOMENTS

In a footnote to his chapter on Egypt’s public dancers, Edward Lane informs us that in early June 1834, the city’s *ghawāzī* were exiled to Upper Egypt by Egypt’s pasha, Muḥammad ‘Alī, an Albanian-born soldier in the Ottoman sultan’s army (Lane 1966, 384). Muḥammad ‘Alī was motivated by a keen commitment to modernize Egypt and increase revenues. Examined in the context of colonial discourse, a non-Western ruler’s ambition to “modernize” his “Oriental” state is likely to imply some sort of genuflection to the imposition of the technological and cultural superiority of Western Europe. Indeed, he proceeded to make his reforms following the propositions of European advisors brought especially to lend their expertise in constructing

a new, Westernized, industrialized, and fortified Egypt. Nonetheless, as Leila Ahmed indicates, these developments “in their immediate impact, both Western economic advances and Muhammad Ali’s policies adversely affected some women, particularly lower-class urban and rural women” (1992, 131). However, Ahmed does not refer to the Cairene dancers, so their social position and the nature of their profession remain unexplored. Nevertheless, what emerges from Ahmed’s silence on the issue is that the fate of the *ghawāzī* became entangled in Muḥammad ‘Alī’s eagerness to acquire European technological means. The dancers’ banishment to Upper Egypt was, perhaps, a measure to alleviate the pasha’s embarrassment at his country’s popular arts and customs and appease the Europeans, since the poor impression that many foreign visitors claimed to have of the dancers had become legendary. By 1845, James Augustus St. John voiced a generally accepted opinion that “many travellers affect to have been much disgusted by the performances of the Ghazeeyeh” (1845, 270).

The opprobrium perceived by the Western gaze to mark the dancers’ movement scandalized some travelers and stimulated their negative accounts (voiced in tandem with indulgence in the pleasures of their performance), turning the dance into lascivious spectacle instead of an indispensable and beloved cultural institution. The *ghawāzī* were crucial at celebrations such as wedding parties, festivals, and circumcision ceremonies, where their artistic contribution was greatly valued. Sophie Lane-Poole, Edward Lane’s sister, visited Egypt in 1842 with her famous brother and attended the royal wedding of Muḥammad ‘Alī’s daughter, Zaynab. Lane-Poole, in a detailed record of her observations at the wedding, describes singing and dancing as such significant parts of the ceremony that performances lasted entire days for a whole week. This particular account is evidence of a recognized and widely accepted dance aesthetic in mid-nineteenth-century Egypt that determined the character of public dance performances (Fraser 2002, 37).

#### BELLY DANCING

Belly dance, *danse du ventre*, Middle Eastern dance, Oriental dance, and the Greek and Turkish *çiftetelli* refer to widely varying interpretations of a related dance idiom. In their representation of hybrid art forms, all these terms are, however, fraught with political problems that are quite telling in themselves. Belly dance, for example, relays a sad history since, along with *danse du ventre*, it evokes the immersion of an art form into a Western culture and its absorption into a male

heterosexist discourse. *Danse du ventre* denotes the French colonial conquest of Algeria and Tunisia as well as other regions of the Middle East, so it is redolent with imperial soldiers' heterosexual pursuit of hedonist fulfillment on colonized women's bodies. Such pursuit is what motivated the printing of postcards that Malek Alloula makes the subject of his anticolonial project *The Colonial Harem*. With regard to Oriental dance, this seems to be one of those interesting paradigms that conflate auto-exoticization and colonial dynamics. The English term is a translation of the Arabic *raqs sharqī*, which indicates that in the Arab world, especially in Egypt, this is a dance of the "East." This designation may result from an Arabic adoption of the European identification "Dance of the East," since this was the most widely experienced form of native dance in cafés frequented by Westerners who referred to it as such. *Raqş sharqī* and belly dance have come to be used interchangeably and both derive from the *danse du ventre* of the early Orientalists. The denotations of "belly dance," however, underwent a major transformation when it was appropriated by Hollywood as conjuring notions of exoticism, eroticism, and feminine mystic allure. In this appropriation belly dance lost much of its potential for female expression and psychic exploration in the kinaesthetic realm. Finally, Middle Eastern dance is vague and as a term too reliant on Western military provenance.

#### PUBLIC PERFORMANCES IN THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

Belly dance retains its great popularity and is often a favorite feature in Istanbul nightclubs and tourist venues across Turkey. Its reception as a solo, improvisational dance remains ambivalent despite the fact that its movement vocabulary is widely adopted when dancing at celebrations, especially weddings. It is important to note that folkloric groups and associations that promote the study and dissemination of the various Turkish traditions sometimes refuse to include it in their programs since there is a general discomfort with the way the solo dancer is displayed through the movement. Nevertheless, there are companies, including the Turkish State Folk Dance Ensemble, that include the *çiftetelli* in their repertoire, where it is often performed by a group of female dancers so as to neutralize the charge that an improvised, sensuous dance may generate. In such ventures, the dancers appear in orientalized costumes and dance in stylized sometimes balletic steps a version of the dance that is not improvisational and does not provoke with any undue sensuality.

This sanitization seems intended to remedy the Orientalist tensions often evoked by this dance, thus making it safe for consumption by Turkish and foreign audiences who do not wish to be assaulted by an extravagant and lurid demonstration of "Eastness" associated with a certain past that has no place in modernity and progress. Such rendering of traditional performance is also a reminder that all performance in Turkey today takes place underneath the stern gaze of Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938), the founding father and first president of the Turkish Republic. His vision of a unified and modernized Turkey with a strong national identity has left a legacy of strict policies regulating cultural practices. In his programs of reform, Atatürk tried to extinguish remnants of Turkey's Ottoman past and resurrect out of Ottoman ashes the secular, unified nation of Turkey, inhabited predominantly by a single linguistic and ethnic group. Artistic endeavor on the level of public dance performances is informed by and, in turn, informs Atatürk's vision in multifarious ways. The immensely rich traditions of the various regions that lie within the present geographical borders of the country are often presented by folk groups as various sides of a single "Turkishness." Loyal to "Turkism," the Turkish State Folk Dance Ensemble performs polished, stylized, and highly gender specific dances from various traditions. A popular approach in these performances is to fix traditional gender roles into an austere form that is never transgressed: the men embody gallantry, valiance, and physical strength while the women are modest but lively, demure yet eloquent.

Along with the *çiftetelli*, dances from Trabzon, *zeybek* from the Izmir region, and numerous other dances all meant to celebrate the colorful Turkish mosaic, performing groups also include *semah*, the ecstatic dance of Sufi worship. Atatürk banned Sufi religious activities in 1925 with the goal of secularizing the state and liberating it from the religious fetters of various groups whose existence threatened the homogeneity of the state he wanted to create. Nonetheless, *semah* did survive the prohibition and today provides a most intriguing, appealing, and sought after ritual-turned-spectacle. The Mevlevi and the Bektaşî-Alevi practise two of the best known forms of *semah* in contemporary Turkey but only the Bektaşî-Alevi include female participation.

The state's attempts to reconstitute folk culture so that it represents a core identity contrast with traditional performances that play an organic role in the lives of the various ethnic groups of the Republic. These vernacular performances continue to follow trajectories related to but not exclusively determined by the national agenda. For example,

although taboo by today's standards, the *koçek* performances of the Ottoman past survive in a generation of singers who defy sexual norms and play openly with gender. Most notable are Bülent Ersoy, a flamboyant transsexual singer, and the camp and well-spoken Zeki Müren, artists who disrupt norms and open avenues of artistic expression that lead away from the austerity of state policy, allowing audiences to imagine extraordinary possibilities, something that audiences have always expected of artists.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1966.  
 Lady M. W. Montagu, *Letters from the Levant. During the embassy to Constantinople 1716–18*, New York 1838, 1971.  
 G. de Nerval, *The women of Cairo. Scenes of life in the Orient*, London 1929.  
 J. A. St. John, *Egypt and Nubia. With illustrations*, London 1845.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam. Historical roots of a modern debate*, New Haven, Conn. 1992.  
 M. Alloula, *The colonial harem*, trans. M. Godzich and W. Godzich, Minneapolis 1986.  
 M. And, *Pictorial history of Turkish dancing. From folk dancing to whirling dervishes, belly dancing to ballet*, Ankara 1976.  
 M. Berger, The Arab danse du ventre, in *Dance Perspectives* 10 (1961), 4–43.  
 W. Buonaventura, *The serpent of the Nile. Women and dance in the Arab world*, London 1989.  
 A. Deagon, Feminism and belly dance, in *Habibi* 17:4 (Fall 1999), 8–13.  
 ———, Framing the ancient history of oriental dance, in *Habibi* 19:3 (July 2003), 32–41.  
 K. W. Fraser, Public and private entertainment at a royal Egyptian wedding. 1845, in *Habibi* 19:1 (January 2002), 36–8.  
 T. Janssen, Transvestites and transsexuals in Turkey, in A. Schmitt and J. Sofer (eds.), *Sexuality and eroticism among males in Moslem societies*, New York 1992, 83–91.  
 S. S. Karayanni, *Dancing fear and desire. Race, sexuality, and imperial politics in Middle Eastern dance*, Waterloo, Ont. 2004.  
 S. Murray and W. Roscoe (eds.), *Islamic homosexualities. Culture, history, and literature*, New York 1997.  
 K. van Nieuwkerk, “A trade like any other.” *Dancers and courtesans in Egypt*, Austin, Tex. 1995.  
 K. Özdemir, *Oriental belly dance*, Istanbul 2000.  
 S. Reinhertz, *Women called to the path of Rumi. The way of the whirling dervish*, Prescott, Ariz. 2001.  
 E. Said, Farewell to Tahia, in S. Zuhur (ed.), *Colors of enchantment. Theater, dance, music, and the visual arts of the Middle East*, Cairo 2001, 228–32.  
 M. A. A. G. Saleh, Documentation of the ethnic dance traditions of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Ph.D. diss., New York University 1979.  
 A. Shay, Turkish State Folk Dance Ensemble. The last of the great ensembles, in A. Shay, *Choreographic poli-*

- tics. State folk dance companies, representation, and power*, Middletown, Conn. 2002.  
 F. Steegmuller, *Flaubert in Egypt. A sensibility on tour*, London 1972.  
 M. Stokes, *The arabesk debate. Music and musicians in modern Turkey*, Oxford 1992.  
 J. E. Tucker, *Women in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Cambridge 1985.

STAVROS STAVROU KARAYANNI

## The Gulf and Saudi Arabia

The primary female entertainers in Saudi Arabia and the Arabian Gulf region are those in women's wedding ensembles, groups with usually 8–12 members (but sometimes over 20) who sing and play the frame drums (*tārāt*, sing. *tār*). In central Arabia (Najd), these performers are known as *taqqāqāt* (sing. *taqqāqa*) or in Gulf dialect, *ḍaggāgāt*. The term comes from the verb “to beat” which is fitting since *taqqāqāt* traditionally play only drums. Consequently, in Bahrain the word *al-ʿaddha* (counter) is often used as a title preceding the name of the band leader. In the Hijaz region of Saudi Arabia, along the Red Sea coasts, these wedding musicians are most commonly referred to as *mutribāt*, a term for professional “singers” found in other Arab lands. That those in the Hijaz use a pan-Arab term rather than the Najdi term for wedding singers manifests the significant foreign influence in the Hijaz-Mecca region.

Although still employed as a descriptor today, the word *taqqāqāt* is considered derogatory. Under Wahhābi/Salafi Islam, which frowns upon musical activities, an Arab woman of the Gulf or Peninsula would never become a wedding musician. Thus, most *taqqāqāt* or their ancestors were poor immigrants largely from Africa, although many in the Hijaz and United Arab Emirates came from Yemen. These wedding musicians, who lived modestly and survived on the largesse of their patrons, were considered low class, uneducated, and unsophisticated. Consequently, most wedding singers today prefer to be referred to as *mutribāt*, like the great singers of the Mashriq, not as “unrefined” *taqqāqāt* of the Arabian past.

The primary instruments of these singers are frame drums, that is, large tambourines without jingles. In Saudi Arabia the drums are of various diameters, but in the Gulf region, all drums are usually the same size and may have some small camel bells (*barashīm*) attached to the inside frame: this came from men's sea music traditions. Each group is usually comprised of members from the same family who learn their craft empirically, by rote.

This is understandable since musicians' children are regularly at performances and often heat the drums between songs so as to tighten the skin drum heads that loosen during play.

A soloist (*taqqāqa* or *mutriba*) is featured; she sings in a call and response pattern with the group. Sometimes she will play the *'ūd* (lute), or in recent decades, an electronic keyboard (*org*) has been added to the hand drums. More elaborate ensembles include a Western drum set and violins or the women singers might be accompanied by the playing of male instrumentalists who are in an adjoining room, their sound carried through speakers into the all-female wedding party. Increasingly, it has become common to forego all live musicians and hire a disk jockey who will play pre-recorded *taqqāqāt* and popular music. Disk jockeys can be male or female, but a male will not be permitted in the same room as female guests.

Along with party songs for dancing, frequently from the *khibtī* duple meter genre, *taqqāqāt/mutribāt* sing processional wedding songs known as *ziffā*, or in Kuwait and Bahrain these are sometimes referred to as *dezzā*. In earlier times *dezzā* and *ziffā* music was performed as the bride was escorted from her home to her marriage room, which was often part of the groom's family residence. As the musicians sing and play, the procession proceeds with female wedding guests joining in the singing and producing high-pitched trills known as *yebub*, *zaghārīd*, or *ghatārīf* depending on the locale of the event. Today, the *taqqāqāt* perform these processional pieces while accompanying the bride into the main celebration venue which can be a room in a private home or courtyard or, in urban areas, in a hotel or the many banquet halls constructed for such events.

In the second half of the twentieth century, people in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf adopted the Egyptian practice of having a *khūsha*, an isolated stage area with a chair for the bride. Once the bride is seated, the groom and his groom's men enter and they may be accompanied by an all-male ensemble of singers and drummers, but if not, the *taqqāqāt* will perform *ziffā*, or in the Gulf *dezzā* or *'ashūrī* for this procession. After a brief period in front of the guests, the bridal party departs, at which point, the musicians resume the stage from where they have been playing for a few hours before the bride entered. Throughout the night, often until dawn, the guests continue dancing to popular songs that often employ old Peninsula rhythmic modes or a few traditional songs.

*Taqqāqāt* have always been well paid for each event, that is, relative to their class, place, and time

in history, and they have been privately appreciated for their contribution to these culturally significant wedding parties. Over the years, some have gained substantial fame and their mere presence at a wedding manifests and contributes to the status of the family. Famous *taqqāqāt/mutribāt* of the 1960s and 1970s who are still recalled today include the Saudis Ibtisām Luṭfi, 'Itāb, and Tūhā. Ibtisām, who died in the 1980s, was of Uzbeki ethnic heritage. The blind singer-musician lived in the mountain Hijazi city of Taif. She was highly esteemed, the only female performer whose songs were ever broadcast on National Saudi Radio. 'Itāb, whose heritage is African, gained fame throughout many regions of the Arab world since she recorded in Kuwait at studios with a wide distribution. She eventually went to Cairo to run her own nightclub and now resides in the United Arab Emirates. Tūhā is still one of the most admired wedding singers of the Hijaz. She was born in the Eastern Province of Saudi Arabia, but it is believed that her heritage is Indian. She is noted as a gifted *'ūd* player and singer as well as composer. Indeed, the famous Kuwaiti artist Abdulla Rashid has recorded at least one of her compositions. More current notable Hijazi wedding groups include those of Shāfi'a, Tāhra, and Sāra 'Uthman. Although they are far from traditional, the Amasī group are also popular among the stylish youth. The ensemble is known for their state-of-the-art technical performances with a lead singer who will dance on the stage in a sultry Western pop style. They are all of Moroccan origin. Popular Saudi *taqqāqāt* in the Riyadh-Najdi region include the ensembles of Mūqī, Izbayīda, 'Anūd, and Nadība.

In Kuwait, 'Uda al-Muhni was a brilliant wedding performer who died in the 1980s. Likewise, 'Ā'isha al-Mūrta, a blind singer of great longevity, was also well esteemed. Fatūma, whose mother was a *daggāga*, is the leading female wedding singer today of traditional songs in Kuwait.

From Muharraq island in Bahrain are the famous groups of Khamīsa bint Rīḥan, Fāṭima al-Khaḍāriyya, and 'Ā'isha bint Idrīs. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, ensembles that date back many decades were active in the region of East Rifa, such as those of Umm Zāyed and Umm Rāshid. Manama island is home to the famous groups of Fayrūz and Sharīfa bint Ibrāhīm al-Qaysī.

Since the 1970s and the coming of oil wealth to the region, well respected singers of the Arab world have been hired to perform at the same events as the *taqqāqāt* and *mutribāt*. At the weddings of more wealthy families, it is common to hear famous pan-Arab singers such as Nancy 'Ajram and Elīssa. However, often favored are entertainers from the

Peninsula such as Nawāl from Kuwait and ‘Ahlam from the United Arab Emirates, who is from a family of *ḍaggāgāt*. Both singers perform commercial *khaliḥī* music.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- M. Akeel, Old songs in old nights, in *Arab News*, 25 December 2004. [About Tuha.]  
 L. Urkevich, field recordings and interviews with Jamel Ahmed, Fāṭima al-Qarẓī, Saja al-Raf, ‘Amal Khudīr al-Fāmdī, Firqa al-Baha, Firqa ‘Ummfaiṣīl, Saudi Arabia, February–March 2006; Jāsim Harban, Bahrain, September 2005; Mūna Ṭālib, Sulaymān Qaṣār, Kuwait, 2004–6.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Gh. Dikan, *Tablīl al-iqā’āt al-Kūwaytiyya fī al-ughniyya al-sha’biyya*, Kuwait 1995.  
 J. Harban, *Al-dūr wa-al-firqa al-sh’abiyya*, Bahrain 2005.  
 J. Lambert, The Arabian Peninsula. An overview, in A. Arnold (ed.), *Garland encyclopedia of world music*, vi, *The Middle East*, New York 2002, 649–61.  
 P. Rovsing Olsen, *Music in Bahrain*, Moesgaard, Denmark 2002.  
 F. Tayash, Sameri tradition and zār dance in Saudi Arabia, in Markaz al-turāth al-sha’bī li-Duwal al-Khalīj al-‘Arabiyya, *al-Ma’tburāt al-sha’biyya*, Doha, Qatar 1988, 23–36.  
 L. Urkevich, Saudi Arabia, in S. Sadie (ed.) and J. Tyrell (exec. ed.), *The New Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, London 2000, 324–8.

LISA URKEVICH

## Iran

Throughout Iranian history, the position of female musicians has constantly been challenged by conservative religious attitudes because of the belief that women and music have a great power over the minds of men. Female musicians, however, have been among the most important entertainers at courts from pre-Islamic times up to the beginning of the twenty-first century; their presence is well represented in Persian art and poetry.

While during the Achaemenid period (558–330 B.C.E.) female dancers, instrumentalists, acrobats and jugglers entertained guests at the *bazm* (feast) (Huysse 2005, 211, Melikian-Chirvani 1992, 95–6), the Sassanian period (224–651 C.E.) witnessed the flourishing of women minstrels. In the court, minstrels occupied an elevated status in the retinue and were represented in the class of courtiers along with scribes, physicians, and astronomers (Boyce 1957, 21).

Female musicians continued to enjoy an elevated status in the nomadic cultural tradition of the Persian dynasties of Turco-Mongol origin (eleventh–

sixteenth centuries), where women enjoyed an important place in social and political activities and, to a certain extent, even during the first century in which Shī‘ī Islam was instituted as the state religion by the Ṣafavids (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries). Female musicians and dancers, in fact, performed inside and outside the court (Matthee 2000, 139–40).

In the late Ṣafavid period, as the ‘*ulamā*’ gained more power with the enforcement of the Sharī‘a, Shāh Sulaymān (r. 1666–94) banned wine, dancing girls, and female musicians from his court. Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694–1722) subsequently issued edicts forbidding music and dance in all social gatherings (Babayan 1996, 117).

As music performances were gradually reduced to private and semi-clandestine events, solo singing accompanied by small ensembles became dominant. Furthermore, since the religious authorities forbade Muslims from practicing music, the profession became mostly monopolized by Jewish and Armenian communities (Loeb 1972, 3–15).

However, when the Qājār rulers (1779–1924) revitalized the *bazm* tradition, music flourished at the court of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh (r. 1797–1834) and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1848–96). The court of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh included two celebrated female troupes; one was led by Ustād (master) Mīnā and the other by Ustād Zuhra (‘Azud al-Dawla 1997, 46–7).

In urban settings, popular entertainers known as the *dasta-yi muṭrib* performed for all-male or all-female audiences. These troupes, composed of members who belong to an extended family named after their leader, could be all-male, all-female, or mixed; in the latter case the male instrumentalists were usually blind (Mu‘ayyir al-Mamālīk 1972, 39).

The introduction of Western music and the 1906 Constitutional Revolution brought new forms of expressions to a modernizing society. In urban settings, public concerts staged by women took place during soirées in the open-air “garden-parties” or in reception rooms. Reserved for an all-male audience, non-Muslim women were the only women permitted to attend (R. Khāliqī 2002, i, 320–1). Although Qamar al-Mulūk Vazīrī (1905–59) was the first female performer who, unveiled, held a public concert in 1924 (Z. Khāliqī 2000, 83–6), women were still veiled and segregated in public.

The economic and social changes that Iran underwent under Pahlavī rule (1925–79), along with the Western impact, favored improvements in the conditions of women (Keddie 2003, 91–2). The lifting of the veil by Riẓā Shāh in 1936 allowed for more open and public performances of women to take place. Many professional female singers

achieved fame thanks to recordings and radio performances. The last two decades of Muḥammad Rizā Shāh (r. 1941–79) – characterized by a rapid modernization and a preference for Western culture – saw the opening of Western style theaters and night-clubs, which became the principal venues for female professional entertainers. Women, furthermore, gradually began to perform all genres of music in public.

The return of Sharʿa and the Islamic codes after the 1979 Revolution changed the situation of women; women singing as soloists or dancing before audiences that included men were once again forbidden (Youssefzadeh 2000, 38–40). Although women were no longer present in the media and in live performances, the very intention of abolishing music in public life led to an increasing practice of music-making within the family circle, where women and men participated equally.

The election of President Khātāmī in 1997, who promised moderation and less social control over women, led to a revived official interest in music. Festivals are organized for all-female musicians and audiences. Thus, although female musicians continue to be the focus of religious and political debates, and their musical activities subjected to restraints, their status has notably improved.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. M. ʿAzud al-Dawla, *Tārīkh-i ʿAzudī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Husayn Navāʾī, Tehran 1997.
- K. Babayan, Sufis, dervishes and mullahs. The controversy over spiritual and temporal dominion in seventeenth-century Iran, in C. Melville (ed.), *Safavid Persia*, London and New York 1996, 117–38.
- M. Boyce, The Parthian Gosān and Iranian minstrel tradition, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (April 1957), 10–45.
- P. Huyse, *La Perse antique*, Paris 2005.
- N. R. Keddie, *Modern Iran. Roots and results of revolution*, New Haven, Conn. 2003.
- R. Khāliqī, *Sarguzasht-i mūsīqī-i Irān*, new edition (3 vols. in one), Tehran 2002.
- Z. Khāliqī, *Āvā-yi mihrabānī. Yādvāra-yi Qamar al-Mulūk Vazīrī*, Tehran 2000.
- L. D. Loeb, The Jewish musician and the music of Fars, in *Asian Music* 4:1 (1972), 3–15.
- R. Matthee, Prostitutes, courtesans, and dancing girls. Women entertainers in Safavid Iran, in R. Matthee and B. Baron (eds.), *Iran and beyond. Essays in Middle Eastern history in honor of Nikki R. Keddie*, Costa Mesa 2000, 121–50.
- A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, The Iranian bazm in early Persian sources, in E. Gyselen (ed.), *Banquets d'Orient*, Bures-sur-Yvette 1992, 95–118.
- D. A. Muʿayyir al-Mamālik, *Yādāsh-t-hāʾī az zindigānī-i khusūshī-i Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh*, Tehran 1972.
- A. Youssefzadeh, The situation of music in Iran since the Revolution. The role of official organizations, in *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 9:2 (2000), 35–61.

AMENEH YOUSSEFZADEH

## South Asia

Women in South Asia have contributed to the musical landscape in diverse social and musical settings in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Written and pictorial evidence from the sixteenth through the late nineteenth centuries indicates that women played significant roles in dance and music. A hereditary matrilineal tradition in music maintained into the twentieth century prepared Muslim and Hindu women performers in India to entertain men in royal and feudal courts and private gatherings (*mehfil*). Their performances involved vocal music and dance, often carrying an erotic theme, which they delivered by expressing lyrical meaning of poetry and song, developing melodic and rhythmic ideas, and using dance movements and gestures (*abhinaya*). Their primary music and dance genres included the vocal forms *thumrī*, *dādrā*, and *ghazal*, along with the dance form *kathak*. *Thumrī* and *dādrā* at that time were associated with love songs in which rhythmic elements were emphasized. *Ghazal*, which uses recited and sung Urdu and Persian poetry, was especially popular in the nineteenth-century courts. *Kathak*, adopted from a local storytelling tradition (*kathā*, story) and a Hindu temple dance practice, was fused with dances of Persian dancing girls in the Muslim courts. The professional women who performed *kathak* were typically skilled in both music and dance and were sometimes referred to as dancing girls or nautch girls (from *nach*, dance). Many of the female performers were also identified with the Urdu name for courtesan, *tawāʾif*.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, professional women were faced with changes in social and musical practices – affecting musical transmission and performance – that resonated throughout the twentieth century. There was widespread adoption of values expressed by European missionaries and British and South Asian social reformers who led campaigns to end professional women’s practices in music and dance. A developing educational system provided opportunities for women from a wider range of social classes (notably middle- and upper-class families) to study music and dance, leading to the increasing involvement of non-hereditary artists in performance. Finally, the development of widely successful film industries, the establishment of All India Radio and then Radio Pakistan, public theaters in urban centers, and local recording industries, gave both hereditary and non-hereditary women new opportunities for public performance. The musical skill demonstrated by professional women, along with their long-standing identity

as entertainers, gave them authority in these new contexts even while they were socially stigmatized during the twentieth century. At the same time, some non-hereditary musicians ultimately gained a degree of success in public performance that rivaled that of the hereditary musicians.

During the early twentieth century the musical genres women had been performing, including *thumrī*, *dādrā*, and *ghazal*, were identified with what became known as “light classical” music. The light classical style can be characterized by its dual connection with music of formal structures established and maintained in elite musical and social circles and folk styles that are found in more informal social settings. Until the mid-twentieth century, the so-called “high classical” musical styles, especially *khyāl*, were shared among male musical masters (*ustāds*) within a hereditary system (*gharānā*) that controlled the transmission of musical styles. Increasingly, female musicians sought and gained access to their systems and knowledge by associating with specific *ustāds* who could teach them *khyāl* in the style of their *gharānā* (a few women also learned an older musical form, *dhrupad*).

Among Muslim professional women, the most widely performed genre remains the Urdu *ghazal*. This poetic and musical genre was introduced to the region in the thirteenth century by Muslim conquerors and is historically associated with Sufi devotional genres. Using an expressed connection to the beloved, the poetry simultaneously links the listener to erotic, mystical and philosophical sentiments. It was thus popular in court settings, such as Lucknow, where the courtesan’s entertainment for their patrons was both erotic and intellectual. In some North Indian cities, notably Lucknow and Delhi, and especially among the Muslim elite, support for performances by *tawā’if* continued through the twentieth century. The women were invited to dance *kathak* and sing *ghazal* in private clubs; their renditions of Urdu poetry among members of the social and cultural elite made them “partners of the cultural elite, even as they remained socially inferior and apart from the domestic circle of their patrons’ families” (Qureshi 2001, 100).

One of the earliest singers to popularize *ghazal* was Begum Akhtar (1914–74), widely known in India, Pakistan, and the diaspora. Born into a hereditary musical family in Faizabad in Uttar Pradesh, her mother was the professional singer Mushtari. She moved to Calcutta where she experienced rigorous musical instruction, musical patronage, and opportunities for performance in public arenas including the stage, radio, film, and commercial recording. During the 1930s she was employed in numerous

north Indian establishments, from Kashmir to Rampur to Bombay (Mumbai), where she performed for patrons in elite social circles. Her public career was abandoned briefly when she married one of her patrons in the mid-1940s but she returned to public performance in 1949. Begum Akhtar recorded not only *ghazal*, but *thumrī*, *dādrā*, and other “light classical” forms. In the same era Malika Pukhraj, born in Jammu, was especially known for her *ghazal* as well. She was a court singer and companion of the Maharaja Hari Singh from age nine until eighteen, when she moved to Pakistan and continued to perform for many years. In the next generation, Iqbal Bano (b. 1938) was raised in Delhi but moved to Pakistan where she has been known for her *ghazals*, as well as *dādrā*, *thumrī*, and *filmī gīt* (film songs); Farida Khanum was born in Calcutta, raised in Amritsar, but also moved to Pakistan where she performed for many years. The recorded *ghazal* became a separate popular song genre that was connected to the film songs (recorded by playback singers) and to the recording industry (where female *ghazal* performers were heard on cassettes and then compact discs).

*Thumrī*, also historically associated with women’s performance traditions, emerged as a forum for expressing erotic and devotional ideas (connected to Krana worship) and was performed by courtesans in the court and private club setting during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the Muslim performers in the courts and on the public stage who contributed to the popularity of *thumrī* are women such as Begum Akhtar, Rasoolan Bai of Benaras, and Roshanara Begum, student of Ustad Abdul Karim Khan of the Kirana *gharana*. Throughout the twentieth century the genre gradually adopted a more sentimental identity and was subsequently appropriated by a wide range of performers, both women and men, who now sing *thumrī* in diverse settings in salons and concert halls and on commercial recordings.

The so-called “high classical” vocal forms in the Hindustani tradition, *khyāl* and *dhrupad*, are genres that both Muslim and Hindu female vocalists had to gain access to in the early years of the twentieth century by stepping outside their social place as professional singers of light classical music. They accomplished this as activist students and performers who sought *ustads* of the high classical tradition, and chose performing styles and venues that were known in these elite musical circles. Later, families of hereditary and non-hereditary musicians took the same stance, seeking teachers for their talented daughters. Among the Muslim singers who are especially known for their *khyāl*



singing are Roshanara Begum and, in a later generation, Parveen Sultana. Born in Assam, Parveen Sultana was encouraged by her musician father to sing. She studied in her home state and Bombay and has had an active performing career singing *khyāl* as well as film songs on the national and international stage, as playback singer, and on commercial recordings.

In the contemporary music scene today in India and Pakistan, music is often circulated through commercial recordings, radio, films, and television. Among the most popular musical forms for Muslim women to perform remain *ghazal* and *thumrī*. Both forms have been more widely adopted by men in recent years and have been adjusted by all to be used broadly in the contemporary musical and social scene, which includes a popular music industry that contributes to both film production and commercial recording. Recordings are influenced by South Asian film styles as well as international popular music, from United Kingdom-based bhangra to rock. In Pakistan, Abida Parvin (b. 1954) may be the most widely known female performer whose renditions of the devotional song genre *qawwālī* have moved women into another spotlight that was once exclusively a male domain. Born in Sindh, she studied with Ustad Salamat Ali Khan, and is known in Pakistan, and internationally through the media, not only for her renditions of *qawwālī* but also her *ghazal* and her *kāfi*, a Sindhi mystical poetic form that she performs in a popular style using harmonium and local drums.

For many women, the film and recording industries have replaced the patronage system of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that provided opportunities for them to perform professionally. The women who were able to maintain a degree of success as musicians during the twentieth century performed not only in private clubs in the early years and then on the stage, but also in the film industry. In both the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, their roles as playback singers and on commercial recordings have helped the public in India and Pakistan recognize their musical contributions first, and put aside the period when women's music was identified almost exclusively as a stigmatized profession.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- D. Neuman, *The life of music in North India*, Detroit 1980.  
 V. T. Oldenburg, Lifestyle as resistance. The case of the courtesans of Lucknow, in D. Haynes and G. Prakash (eds.), *Contesting power. Resistance and everyday social relations in South Asia*, Berkeley 1991, 23–61.  
 J. C. Post, Professional women in Indian music. The death of the courtesan tradition, in E. Koskoff (ed.), *Women*

*and music in cross-cultural perspective*, New York 1987, 97–109.

- , Women and music, in A. Arnold (ed.), *Garland encyclopedia of world music*, v, *The Indian subcontinent*, New York 2000, 407–17.  
 R. B. Qureshi, His master's voice? Exploring *qawwālī* and "gramophone culture" in South Asia, in *Popular Music* 18:1 (1999), 63–98.  
 —, In search of Begum Akhtar. Patriarchy, poetry, and twentieth-century Indian music, in *World of Music* 43:1 (2001), 97–137.

JENNIFER C. POST

# Arts: Poets and Poetry

## Afghanistan

Contemporary Afghan women's poetry is divided into two languages and two styles: Dari and Pashto and the *ghazal* (lyrical poem) and *landays* (the short ones, a series of couplets). Despite this linguistic and stylistic divide, the thematic content of the poetry remains the same as women articulate through a chain of laments in their native tongues a narrative of the last 40 years of war and gender oppression in Afghanistan.

A large volume of the contemporary poetry written by Afghan women in Dari is composed outside the borders of Afghanistan in neighboring Iran. Dari-speaking poets have adopted traditional Persian techniques of poetry writing and reciting. Women's poetry written in Dari is written in the form of the *ghazal* composed of *shers* (couplets). The style of the poem, *ghazal*, refers in Persian to the final cry of a hunted deer, an element that may contribute to the thematic value of Dari poetry written by women. Poetry written in Dari is primarily concerned with illicit and unattainable love, but can refer to either a divine or an earthbound love. Afghan women in exile use the *ghazal* form most frequently to express melancholy and yearning for their homeland, family, and identity. Dari poetry is particularly prolific amongst transnational communities.

Pashto women's poetry is traditionally recited as couplets or *landays*, with two verses comprised of between nine and thirteen syllables. The thematic content of Pashto women's oral poetry revolves around themes of honor, love, and death. The *landays* are often vocalized as a lament of the female condition within Pashto communities. Recurring themes, embedded within the aforementioned themes, include objection to the choice of spouse and to the condition of their gender rather than the illicit love of their Dari counterparts. At the time of the Soviet invasion, the semantics of poetry of Pashto women in exile changed to that of lamenting their tribal existence and the *landays* began to express themes of mourning the loss of their Pashto female identity in exile and patriotic sentiments.

The rise of the Taliban in the mid-1990s prompted Dari poetry to evoke themes of women's activism and outcries against the crimes of the Taliban against women. In particular, women poets wrote

in protest at the Taliban through such organizations as the Revolutionary Association of Afghan Women (RAWA) and wrote eulogies for female martyrs. During this period of Taliban rule women wrote and studied poetry in clandestine quarters designated as sewing schools, such as the Golden Needle Sewing School in Herat.

In this traditionally socially conservative society, poetry was not recited aloud by women until recently when post-Taliban radio began to broadcast short poems on women's radio programs in Kabul. Although poetry was a written art in Dari, selections of Pashto poetry were not recorded until the late 1980s. Despite these social developments, in the more traditional areas the intimacy and taboo of poetry remains unchanged, but in the larger urban centers this taboo is disappearing in the postwar process of reform.

Afghan women's poetry outside the borders of Afghanistan retains its central thematic powers in both Dari and Pashto, as it manifests itself as an intangible marker of identity in a country with a cultural landscape leveled by war.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Lawless, In memoriam, Nadia Anjuman, in *Poets Against War Newsletter*, 2006, <[http://www.poetsagainstthewar.org/newsletter/2006/news\\_lawless\\_1\\_06.asp](http://www.poetsagainstthewar.org/newsletter/2006/news_lawless_1_06.asp)>.
- S. B. Majrouh, *Songs of love and war. Afghan women's poetry*, trans. M. de Jager, New York 2003.
- Z. Olszewska, Stealing the show. Women writers attend an Afghan literary festival in Tehran, in *Bad Jens. Iranian Feminism Newsletter*, September 2004, <<http://www.badjens.com/afghan.lit.html>>.
- RAWA (Revolutionary Association of Afghan Women), Poems for Afghan women, 1995-2001, <<http://www.rawa.us/poems.htm>>.

ALEXANDRA SCHEHEREZADA JEROME

## Arab States

Despite the historical and social conditions that contributed to an almost total eclipse of women's poetic expression in the literary record as maintained in Arabic culture from the pre-Islamic era through the nineteenth century, with a few significant exceptions, women poets writing in Arabic have made tremendous strides since the dawn of the twentieth century in presenting their poetic

offerings in mainstream cultural forums, and contributing to a plethora of new and modern poetic currents in literary culture throughout the Arab world. This poetic expression by women has gone hand in hand with broader mainstream cultural expression of women's concerns in Arabic cultures. By no means, however, has this expression been uncontested, easily welcomed, or given the critical attention it deserves. To this day, the social circumstances of poetic literary establishments and of women's lives often continue to make it difficult for women to maintain their poetic production, and find avenues to present it for public consumption.

Beyond traditions of women's oral poetry, which certainly have roots extending back into antiquity, and the few surviving examples of women's literate poetry from classical traditions, there is very little poetry by Arab women on record to counterbalance the huge corpora of poetry attributed to men, comprising the main body of Arabic poetic literary heritage through the nineteenth century. While schooling and literacy for girls was exceptional in the late nineteenth century, some girls – primarily among social sectors of educated elite – received excellent educations in their homes. Some of these women became *littérateurs* in their own right, by the practice of writing extensively, and in some cases publishing their materials. The development of press media directed at women and the domestic sphere starting in the late nineteenth century, as well as educational reforms that allowed girls to get schooling, and the consequent increase in literacy among women all comprised the conditions which allowed for the possibility of women poets producing written publishable works. Among the pioneers of women's poetry from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were 'Ā'isha al-Taymūriyya (1840–1902) and Bāḥithat al-Badiyya (Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif) (1886–1918), both of Egypt, and May Ziadeh (Mārīya Ilyās Ziyāda) (1886–1941) of Palestinian origin, whose cultural and literary writings embraced numerous genres.

The record of modern women's poetry in the Arab world, however, must acknowledge some remarkable examples of women's poetic creativity, with a marked increase of poetic productivity after the Second World War, which continues to increase to this day. Fadwā Ṭūqān (1917–2003) and Salmā Khadrā' al-Jayyūsī (b. 1926) of Palestine, Rabāb al-Kāẓimī (b. 1920) and Lamī'a 'Abbās 'Amāra (b. 1927) of Iraq, and Jalīla Riḍā (1920–2001) of Egypt, have been important voices in literary spheres for better than half a century. It was Nāzik al-Malā'ika (b. 1922/3) of Iraq, however, who, along with Badr Shākīr al-Sayyāb, began the

Free Verse Movement in Arabic poetry, and set in motion major transformations in the world of Arabic poetry. Unlocked from the constraints of the traditional ode, several of these and other women have had long careers of poetry writing, entering into areas of expression of women's experience that had not been presented in print before. In many ways, this poetic work has gone hand in hand with the growth of critical discourse about women's role, status, and experience, and women's desires to be fully participating members of public society. While political poetry certainly has its place in the production of these poets, it is the personal material, the stuff of feelings, women's responses to love, family, motherhood, nature, social injustices, death, and illness which has caused the most controversy in the broadcasting of women's poetic voices – perhaps first and foremost because these voices broke the traditions and violated values of women's silence. In many ways, the work of these women paved the way for the women of subsequent generations. Often characterized as romantic poets, there is no doubt that some of these women were deeply concerned with political expression in their poetry. Both the nature of their poetic experimentation, and their political and social concerns made some of these women the object of stern criticism in literary, social, and governmental spheres.

The circumstances that contribute to poetic production improved for the subsequent generations of women, as schooling opportunities for girls spread throughout the Arab world in the middle decades of the twentieth century, allowing for marked increases in literacy rates among women. Among the following generations of women poets are Saniyya Ṣāliḥ (1935–85) of Syria, whose elegiac voice concerning her own approaching death from cancer is quite remarkable and exquisite; Zubayda Bashīr (b. 1938) of Tunisia; Ghāda Sammān (b. 1942) of Syria, who is perhaps best known for her short stories and novels; Ḥamda Khamīs (b. 1946) of Bahrain; and Su'ād al-Ṣabāḥ (b. 1941) of Kuwait, who, in addition to her decidedly feminist poetic expression, which sometimes raged against the social and literary restrictions on women, has been able to do much to give access to modernist and women's literature through her founding of a publishing house under her own name.

With few exceptions, critical reception in the Arab world of these and other women poets has been lukewarm at best, for the most part, often filled with criticism of their adherence or lack thereof to poetic principles that have been held as prescriptive in many schools of Arabic literary criticism. Indeed, this less than flattering criticism

has become part and parcel of the debate concerning the place of women poets in the larger literary canon, and has informed (with negative impact) the debate concerning the nature of women's literature in the Arab world. This is clearly the case even in some recent collections and studies of Arab women's poetry, such as that by Rajā Sumrayn (1990).

The next generation of women poets has suffered from both social and literary circumstances that made publication difficult and critical acclaim rare, but has also produced poets of tremendous power and determination who have insisted on making their poetic and critical voices heard, significantly broadening the audiences for Arab women's poetry. Many of these women continue to produce vibrant poetry while contributing to other fields of endeavor and Arabic discourse. Many of them participated in experiments with prose poetry, and occasionally colloquial poetry. These women include Laylā 'Allūsh (b. 1955) of Palestine, Zulaykha Abū Rīsha of Jordan, Fāṭima Qandīl (b. 1957) of Egypt, Ṣafā' Fathī (b. 1958) of Egypt, Maysūn Ṣaqr (al-Qāsīmī) (b. 1958), and Zabya Khamīs (b. 1958) of the United Arab Emirates. Khamīs has produced over ten collections of poetry in addition to important contributions to critical treatment of Arab women's poetry (for example Khamīs 1997a, 1997b). Other important poets of this generation include Nadā al-Hājj (b. 1958) of Lebanon, Nidā' Khūrī (b. 1959) of Palestine, 'Ā'isha al-Baṣrī (b. 1960) of Morocco, Nujūm al-Ghānim (b. 1962) of the United Arab Emirates, and Fawziyya Abū Khālid (b. 1959) of Saudi Arabia.

More recent women poets have appeared on the literary scene in the wake of these women, to violate even more social and literary taboos by dealing with issues and topics previously unheard of from women, including explicit explorations of illicit love, menstruation, abortion, domestic violence, exile (chosen or forced), mental illness, recent political realities, global economies, and lesbian imagery. These topics have attracted the attention of poetry enthusiasts and critics alike, while more traditional topics, which continue to be treated in poetry of all sorts, have received less attention. Among the most prominent of these women whose work has appeared since the beginning of the 1990s, are Īmān Mirsāl (b. 1966) of Egypt, whose disarmingly frank and chilling dissections of her poetic persona's experience have won her acclaim; Jumāna Ḥaddād (b. 1970) of Lebanon; Hudā Husayn (b. 1972) of Egypt, whose deceptively childlike expression is profoundly delightful; Suzān 'Alaywān (b. 1974) of Lebanon, who has been prolific in producing nine books of poetry since 1994; Zahra

Yusrī (b. 1974) of Egypt, whose sophisticated work has intricate and subtle psychological twists; and Ranā 'Abbās al-Tūnisī (b. 1981) of Egypt, whose very recent work exploring limits of depression has earned her well-deserved recognition both at home and abroad.

While there is little doubt that the major changes in Arabic poetry in the last century have some correlation to contact with and influence from Western literary traditions, it remains to be determined to what extent women's poetry has been influenced by Western literature and thought. There can be little doubt, however, that the idea of such influence has been a source of critique of women's poetic language and literary work. Some of the poets mentioned here have traveled and lived abroad extensively, or been educated in foreign language schools and universities. These women represent some of the poets who have surfaced with some prominence in the last few decades, while others not have enjoyed the same fortune or attention. It is clear, however, that the growth of women's voices in poetry has increased along with the increase in women's participation in all forms of cultural discourse. This has included the development of women's literary and theoretical journals such as *Nūr* (Cairo), started in 1994, concerned primarily with developing opportunities for publication of women's literature and critical apparatus appropriate to it, to fill in the critical gap in masculine-dominated critical and literary establishments. There has also been a marked increase in studies of Arab women's poetry, an increase which has marched hand in hand with the interest in women's poetry from students of Arabic literature from outside the Arab world. As in other areas of discourse, there is a gap between the nature of the critical recognition afforded these and other women in contemporary Arabic literary spheres and discourse, and the reception they have won among their readers in the West, where recent poetry of Arab women has found enthusiastic readers and students. Several studies and collections are samples of the works that witness these developments: Kamal Boullata (1978), Evelyne Accad (1988), Sihām Rashīd 'Uthmān (1998), Khāzin 'Abbūd (2000), Sa'ūd 'Abd al-Karīm 'Alī Faraj (2002), and Suleman Taufiq (2006). In-depth evaluation of the relationship of literary critical discourse and the consumption of Arab women's poetry across political and economic boundaries has yet to be done, not to mention the construction of a critical apparatus that can discuss the value of this poetry on the multiple levels in which it speaks – literary, aesthetic, social, political, and economic.

Furthermore, the developments in the poetry of Arab women has been intimately related to the contemporary diaspora, for many women of Arab origin, identifying themselves as Arab in relation to their country of residence and their country of origin, have produced poetic voices in other languages, in English, French, and German most prominently. Several of these women have been anthologized along with their Arabic-writing sisters by Nathalie Handal (2001). This phenomenon has been explored academically by Ahmad Zu'bi et al. (1999). Indeed, critical discourse has yet to satisfactorily grapple with the fact of the language choices made by contemporary Arab-identified women for their poetic productions, complicating the question of what constitutes Arab women's poetry in the first place.

A last factor which now has a major influence on the sphere of Arab women's poetry, production, and dissemination is the astonishing expansion of the use of Internet resources. While a number of the poets mentioned here can be found cited through Internet searches, it is among the younger generations of poets that the Internet has become a platform for mounting collections and sharing poetry. Some of these poets have their own websites, while others are included on ever growing web anthologies being posted by young Arab computer geeks dedicated to the construction of web archives for Arabic poetry and poetic history. Similarly, critical treatment of these women's poetry, while now well established in on-line resources and web-based sites for major paper publications throughout the Arab world, has yet to produce clearly defined critical means of articulating emerging values for poetry, for measuring the critical worth of some of these new productions, and for encouraging the production of Arab women's poetry which will have weight, depth, and acclaim comparable to the work of some of the major Arab male poets of our day.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- K. 'Abbūd, *Nisā' shā'irāt. Min al-Jābiliyya ilā nihāyat al-qarn al-ishrīn*, Beirut 2000.
- E. Accad, *Contemporary Arab women writers and poets*, Beirut 1985.
- K. Boullata, *Women of the Fertile Crescent. An anthology of poetry by Arab women*, Washington, D.C. 1978.
- S. 'A. al-K. 'A. Faraj, *Shā'irāt mu'āshirāt min al-Jazīra wa-al-Khalīj*, Jeddah 2002.
- N. Handal, *Poetry of Arab women. An anthology*, New York 2001.
- Z. Khamīs, *Ṣanam al-mar'a al-shīrī. Al-baḥṭh 'an al-ḥurriyya, wa-yaqzat al-unthā*, Nicosia 1997a.
- , *Contemporary Gulf poetesses. A feminist perspective, master's thesis*, American University in Cairo, 1997b.
- , *al-Kitāba al-mutakhayyal. Al-mahjariyya al-jadida* *wa-al-adab al-nisāwi. Al-halaqa al-naqdiyya fī mahrajan Jarash al-sabī' 'ashar*, 1998, Beirut 1999.
- Nūr*, journal, Alexandria, issues from 1994 onwards.
- A. Shahham, *Rebellious voices. Selections of poetry by Arab women writers in Jordan*, Amman 1988.
- R. Sumrayn, *Shī'r al-mar'a al-'Arabiyya al-mu'āshira, 1945–1970*, Beirut 1990.
- S. Taufiq (ed.), *Dinge, die andere nicht sehen. 20 Lyrik-erinnen aus dem arabischen Raum, eine Anthologie*, Basel 2006.
- S. R. 'Uthmān, *Shī'r al-mar'a al-Miṣriyya mundhu nihāyat al-ḥarb al-'alamiyya al-thāniyya*, Cairo 1998.
- A. Zu'bi et al., *al-Kitāba wa-al-mutakhayyal. Al-halqa al-naqdiyya fī Mihrajān Jarash al-Ṣābi' 'Ashar*, 1998. *Al-mahjariyya al-jadida, al-adab al-nisāwi*, Beirut 1999.

CLARISSA BURT

### Central Asia

Poetry has always been an integral part of cultural and social life of women in Central Asia and it maintains its prominence as a main vehicle for articulating their individual voices and experiences, as well as their perspectives on a variety of social and political issues. The Central Asian republics have produced a significant number of women poets whose work is widely popular among Central Asians and has been extensively published either in journals, poetry collections, and major literary anthologies. Their poetry reflects a diversity of themes and forms. These range from lyrical poems about first love and the beauty of spring to didactic political poetry expressing a range of themes from patriotic nationalism to dissent. The famous Uzbek poet, Oydin Hojjeva, has published several collections including *Panohim* (1998) and *Dostons* (1996), where she expresses her intense personal feelings in fluent lyric poetry. Halima Hudoyberdieva, whose first poetry collection *Ilk Muhabbat* (My first love) appeared in 1968, and has since published several poetry collections including *Muqaddas Ayol* (Holy woman, 1987) and *Saylanma* (Collection, 2000), writes on a diversity of themes, but is perhaps best known for her poems on women as individuals and in their roles as mothers, friends, and sisters. Another Uzbek poet, Gulchehra Nurullaeva, who began to publish her poetry in 1958, is well known for poetry expressing patriotic, nationalist, and political themes. The Tajik poets, Gulrukhsor, in her poetry collection *Rubi Bokhtor* (The spirit of the West, 1987), and Farzona, in her volume *Shabikhuni barf* (The surprise attack of snow, 1989), cover a diverse range, including both political and lyrical themes.

The nature of women's literary careers and the themes in their poetry have of course been shaped

by the intense ideological and political changes that occurred in Central Asia during the twentieth century. Most contemporary women poets began their literary careers during the Soviet period. Although Central Asian women – especially elite women – had always composed poetry orally or in private journals, it was during the Soviet period that Central Asian women from varied backgrounds first began to publish their works extensively in widely available literary journals, such as *Sharq Yulduzi* and *Guliston* in Uzbekistan, and later in literary journals mainly devoted to women's writing, such as *Saodat*. They also began to hold prominent positions as editors or editors-in-chief of literary journals as well as positions in literary organizations, such as the writers' unions that were established in every republic.

They started as well to publish their own separate poetry collections. While such literary and political organizations provided new venues for women's literary activities, they also facilitated ideological and political control by the state over poetic discourse. The Soviet authorities urged writers to address socialist and ideological themes, and strictly controlled and censored the content of their poetry. More importantly the Soviet state disrupted important continuities with the pre-Soviet literary past and traditions, especially the emerging female poetic tradition in the nineteenth century, which included important poets such as Anbar Otin and Dilshod, who worked within the parameters of male literary discourse while changing and subverting its themes and forms. Up until the late 1980s, many poets wrote poetry praising Soviet and socialist values and symbols. Eulogies to Soviet leadership or the Communist Party, the achievements of the revolution, and the emancipation of women were common and compulsory themes in the poetry of both men and women during this period. Such themes are particularly prominent in the early generation of Soviet poets such as Oydin Sabirova (d. 1958) and Zulfiya (d. 1996). For example, the popular Uzbek poet Zulfiya's poetry collections *Hayot Varaqlari* (Life pages) and *Qizlar Kosbugu* (Girls' song) include several poems devoted to emancipated women and their new roles in society. Some women poets such as the Turkmen poet Annasultan Kekilova, found ways to write poetry indirectly critical of Soviet authorities and their policies. Others turned increasingly to less obviously political lyrical poems. Zulfiya's work includes ideological poetry, as well as more personal lyrical poems using the forms and symbols of classical poetry and popular folk songs. Her poems are widely popular among Uzbeks. Similar forms of poetic expression

can be seen in the poetry of both Oydin Hojjeva and Halima Hudoyberdieva.

Although the Soviet period in many ways disrupted and cut connections with the premodern literary past, contemporary women poets nevertheless continue to draw upon a female written poetic tradition that has a long history in Central Asia. The poetry of nineteenth-century women poets provides creative inspiration for contemporary women writers. For example, there is an obvious influence of nineteenth-century women poets, such as Uvaysi, Nodira, and Dilshod, on the poetry of Oydin Hojjeva. Using rhyming couplets or quatrains, her poetry reflects intense personal themes including love, friendship, and loneliness. The poetry of both Hojjeva and Hudoyberdieva demonstrates their creative use of the metaphors, symbols, and allusions of classical love poetry in new ways to express a desire for personal and political freedom. They and other women poets use a wide range of poetic forms ranging from classical genres such as *ghazals* and *mukhammas* from the larger Chaghatay-Persian literary poetic traditions to modern free verse.

Another characteristic of contemporary women's poetry is its use of folk idioms and elements of oral poetry and songs. Central Asia has a long tradition of female oral poetry, which reflects women's creative use of language and popular idioms to articulate their feelings of love, disappointment, joy, or sexuality. Some of this poetry is bitter and direct; some of it makes use of humor. There is also a long tradition of poetry using sarcasm to criticize political and social circumstances. Some examples of such poetry are included in Jalalov's *Ozbek Shoiralari* (Uzbek women poets). This poetic tradition includes poems such as Saide Bibi's "Zolim Erkeklerden Feryad," (A cry from oppressor men) and Hediye Bibi's popular poem about her disappointment with her husband. Shukur Allah Kuli Kizi's (d. 1932) popular satirical poems written in the form of *qoshiqs* are excellent examples of the creative combination of aspects of folk poetry with classical poetic forms. Although appearing infrequently in poetry collections or academic literary anthologies today, this kind of poem continues to find its way into popular women's literary magazines, submitted by women from different villages or towns.

With glasnost, followed by the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the independence of the former Soviet republics, the tone and themes of women's poetry began to change. Some poets, such as the Uzbek poet Gulchahra Nurullaeva, renounced entirely the poetry they had written

during the Soviet period. Others began to write poetry about their experience during the Soviet period in a negative way, for example Hudoyberdieva's "Qizil toshlar" (Red stones). Anti-Soviet poetry, by both male and female poets, can be found in every republic. During the post-Soviet period (since 1991) both male and female poets have begun to write poems emphasizing indigenous national cultural values, the importance of their mother tongue, and indigenous and literary historical heritage. For example, Qutlibeka Rahimbayeva, in her collections *Uygonish Fasli* (Time of awakening, 1989) and *Ozodlik* (Freedom, 1997), expresses strong patriotic and nationalist sentiments. Similar sentiments can be found in the poetry of Halima Hudayberdieva and Gulchehra Nurullaeva. Through their political poems, women poets have also participated in political opposition movements. The Tajik poets Gulrukhsor and Farzona are especially known for their political poetry and activism.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- V. A. Abdullaev, *History of Uzbek literature* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1964.  
 M. Ahmadboeva, *Uzbek literature* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1985.  
 E. Allworth (ed.), *Central Asia, 130 years of Russian dominance. A historical overview*, Durham, N.C. 1994.  
 Farzona, *The surprise attack of snow* [in Tajik], Dushanbe 1989.  
 —, *The love verse* [in Tajik], Dushanbe 1994.  
 Gulrukhsor, *The spirit of the West* [in Tajik], Dushanbe 1987.  
 H. Hasanova, *Talented writer* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1968.  
 —, *Ambitions of fragile hearts* [in Uzbek], Tashkent, 1981.  
 O. Hojjeva, *Epics* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1996.  
 —, *My shelter* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1998.  
 T. Jalalov, *Uzbek women poets* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1980.  
 M. Kadirova, *The fate of human beings and people in the poetry of nineteenth-century Uzbek women poets* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1977.  
 — (ed.), *Dilshod and Anbar Otin* [in Uzbek] Tashkent 1994.  
 N. Kiliç-Schubel, *In search of her voice. Women poets in nineteenth-century Central Asia* (forthcoming).  
 R. Parfi (ed.), *Modern Uzbek poetry* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 2003.  
 T. Qahhar, *Anthology of contemporary Uzbek poets* [in Turkish and Uzbek], Ankara 1995.

NURTEN KILIÇ-SCHUBEL

#### East Africa: Swahili

Swahili poetry, in its many and various forms and genres, is at the heart of this urban and multi-ethnic, maritime, mercantile, literate, and Islamic East African culture. Swahili poetry is not only a

regular feature found in almost all Swahili newspapers; there is hardly any important event or social function in the society, whether secular or purely religious, in which poetry does not play a role. The fact that, up to the present, women do not play a central role in the descriptions, anthologies, and monographs of Swahili poetry, is due not only to male domination of performance and publication as well as of studies and analysis, but also to the fact that Swahili women poets themselves generally do not regard the possibility of being in the forefront of literary debate as proper or even desirable. Many women's literary compositions in whatever form – prayers, songs sung at weddings or religious festivals, poetic sayings and innuendos printed on Swahili women's clothing, long narrative poems containing over a thousand verses, or short poems as letters to newspaper editors – very often do not bear the signatures of the women who composed them; rather they are sent under someone else's name, a pseudonym, or even a nickname. Although many literary analysts and scholars acknowledge the central role of women poets in determining the content of poems, their production and preservation – including learning them by heart – hardly any of the many printed poetry collections, ranging from small volumes with a few poems to whole anthologies edited and commented on by scholars or literary critics, bear witness to the competence of Swahili women poets. Few women enjoy performing in the public arena or get the opportunity to do so. A further contributing factor to the anonymity of Swahili women's poetry is its primarily oral-aural character. Many poems are composed for performance on a specific occasion – a *maulid* celebration, a wedding, an initiation, a song contest, a political rally, a school graduation. The poem is memorized, performed, sung or recited, sometimes extended by improvisations – and not necessarily by its composer. Thereafter the poet's name is often unknown or simply not acknowledged.

A striking exception to the anonymity of Swahili women's poetry is the poem *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona* (Mwana Kupona's Poem). Composed in 1275/1858 by Mwana Kupona binti Mshamu for her daughter Mwana Heshima binti Sheikh, it is famous throughout the Swahili world. As the first English translation (1934) by Werner and Hichens puts it, it deals with "the advice of Mwana Kupona upon the wifely duty," though this interpretation of the main theme of the poem has been disputed. More importantly, however, is that, till today, this poem is memorized by many Swahili women and still plays a major role in contemporary poetry and even fiction. First and foremost, the 102

verses of *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona* constitute a religiously inspired poem, combining a long tradition of sacred verse with secular implications for day-to-day life. The didactic aims are elaborated in the context of praise to God, references to the life of the Prophet, and teachings of the Holy Qur'an. Such aims may still be found in modern Swahili women's poetry, such as in the two long poems *Howani Mwana Howani* and *Utenzi wa Mwana Kukuwa* by Zaynab Himid Mohammed (1918–2002), published shortly after her death. The language of these poems may have changed, but, as far as form is concerned, the poetic register, the prosody, rhyme, meter, and structure are remarkably similar to the era of Mwana Kupona.

Poetry is and always has been an integral part of religious functions and rituals in Swahili society. Swahili women generally observe these functions separately from men. During the celebration of *maulid*, of funerals, or of 'Id festivals, poems both new and old are performed, many of them composed by women. In addition, religious poetry in the form of *madua* (prayers), *kasida* (religious praise songs), and *magungu* or *mavugo* (songs during wedding dances) is both performed and composed at functions which are less formalized, functions whose practice may vary from place to place over the wide area of Swahili culture. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, poetry has been practised in women's associations and musical clubs (*taarab* clubs) by Zanzibari groups such as Shamsi Dhuha (Morning sun), Nuru Uyuni (Eye light), Sahib (Friend), Royal Airforce, and Navy. Members of these associations are engaged at weddings, poetry and song contests, picnics, and by savings clubs. As in other Swahili women's gatherings, spontaneous, improvised composition and performance of poems plays an important role, not only between competing groups, but as a measure of individual communicative skills. At a political level, women's topical songs may play an important role in campaigns for parliamentary elections.

Any type of verbal art or composition is referred to by the word *tungo* (sing. *utungo*). The Swahili word used for composing a poem or song is a metaphor, *kutunga* "stringing a necklace of pearls." The resulting "necklace of pearls" is the composed poem in which the words – like pearls – have been carefully strung together according to their size (rhyme), amount (meter), and color (language use). Despite some attempts at composing and promoting Swahili poetry in free verse, in which women were not involved, Swahili poetry is generally fixed in versification and according to genre, rhyme, and meter. The poet Ahmed Sheikh Nabhany distin-

guishes over 13 *babari* (genres), defined by length, versification, and specific patterns of rhyme and meter. The most frequently used genres are *utenzi*, pl. *tenzi* (mostly long, narrative poems; in northern Swahili *utendi*, *tendi* is used), *shairi*, pl. *mashairi* (relatively short quatrains about specific topics), and *wimbo/nyimbo*, plural *nyimbo* (songs, hymns). The choice of a specific genre depends not only on preferred patterns of rhyme and meter, but also on the theme or occasion for which the poem was composed. Usually the longer *utenzi* is chosen for epic, narrative poems, whereas the *shairi* is used more often for love poetry, satire, and for social-political criticism or riddles. The *utenzi* may have hundreds of verses (*ubeti*, pl. *beti*), written in Arabic script as one line, consisting of four hemistiches of eight syllables (*mizani*) each, the first three rhyming together (*kina cha kati*, inner rhyme) and the last syllable of the fourth hemistich rhyming throughout the poem (*kina cha mwisho*, end rhyme). Each verse of a *shairi* has four lines of 16 syllables each, each line divided into two hemistiches of 8 syllables each. Often the last line of a verse is repeated throughout the poem and functions as a refrain or chorus (*kipokeo*). Various rhyme patterns occur, though all hemistiches end in a rhyme. A *shairi* has between three and twelve verses though longer poems of this genre do exist. A *wimbo* has only three lines in a verse and differs from a *shairi* in the amount of syllables in a line, which may reach 16, and in the internal rhyme patterns.

Swahili poetry, with which many women concern themselves, often takes the form of a dialogue, the form being a question to be answered, an answer to an earlier question, a problem that asks for a solution, a prayer to be heard, or a riddle to be solved. Dialogue may also be a device which structures the poem itself, either with two voices debating a theme within the poem, such as the Zanzibari Juma opposing the British colonial, John, in Moza Ali's poem "John nipe haki yangu" (John give me my right), or by creating a dialogue between the poet herself and a specific object, as in Tatu M. Ali's "Ulimi" (Tongue), where she is attempting to control her tongue. Yet another technique is to formulate a contradiction either as a question to be answered or as a riddle. In her poem "Huyu zimwi ni mtu gani, ni mtu au shetani" (What kind of being is this ghost, is it a person or a devil?), Moza Ali compellingly poses the question as to the real character of the imperialist: is he a ghost, a monster or an animal, or is he the devil in person? Double entendre and ambiguity are at the heart of Swahili women's poetry, not only in the longer poems, but also in the innuendos of one or two lines printed on the



*kangalleso* wrappings, elements of women's clothing that are used in conveying messages to a friend, a neighbor, a member of the household, or even to the husband. This *jina* (printed one-line message on the cloth) embodies many characteristics of Swahili poetry so clearly that they may almost be called short poems. The message may be taken from the refrain of a popular song, showing the full prosody of the song's composition, or it may have been proposed to the producer or designer of the cloth, who gave one or more pairs free in return for the poet's skill. The ambiguity of the message allows both the sender and the receiver to distance herself from it.

The themes of Swahili women's poetry differ according to the context in which the poem is used. Poems may convey moral lessons, social or philosophical comments, narratives of important events, biographies as part of praise poems, eulogies or laments, and, last but not least, prayers. Since the 1950s, gender and the role of women in general have been themes that over and over again are fiercely debated by many poetesses in the newspapers. Love poetry is very popular, often hidden in carefully composed language that should not be explicit, preferably giving rise to the possibility of a double entendre. Many of the images, similes, and metaphors that are used originate from the relationship between nature and (wo)man: creatures (ghosts, insects, reptiles, birds, mammals) denoting certain human characteristics, physical locations (forest, sea, field) conveying meanings such as being lost, lonely, or relieved. Activities relating to nature such as planting, weeding, harvesting, building, or cooking are used to express processes of change, while organs (heart, liver) and body parts (head, foot) may symbolize strong feelings (disappointment, courage, calculation).

Modern Swahili women's poetry offers clear responses to Africa's triple heritage of indigenous values, Islamic influences, and the impact of Western culture. With the spread of Swahili as the major lingua franca over a vast area of East Africa and its incursion into the daily lives of millions of people as their second language, its verbal art expanded well beyond Swahili culture per se. In both Kenya and Tanzania, Swahili poetry, a literary form of art particularly open to women, has become a national form of expression, practised in schools, the mass media, music, religious and political gatherings, as well as personal communication.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

M. H. Abdulaziz, The influence of the qasida on the development of Swahili rhymed and metred verse, in S. Sperl and C. Shackle (eds.), *Qasida poetry in Islamic Asia*

and Africa, Leiden, New York, and Cologne 1996, 411–28.

- K. Amri Abedi, *Rules for composing poems* [in Swahili], ed. I. N. Shariff, Nairobi 1954.
- M. Ali, John give me my right [in Swahili], in A. S. Kharusi and M. M. Riami (eds.), *Mwongozi* (Zanzibar) 19:47 (17 mfunguo tisa 1379/18 December 1959), 5.
- J. W. T. Allen, *Tendi*, Nairobi, London, and Ibadan 1971.
- A. Biersteker, *Kujibizana*, East Lansing, 1996.
- A. A. Jahadhmy, *Anthology of Swahili poetry*, Nairobi 1975.
- J. Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London, Nairobi, Lusaka, and Ibadan 1979.
- Kupona, *The advice of Mwana Kupona upon the wifely duty, from the Swahili texts by Alice Werner and William Hichens*, Medstead, Hampshire 1934.
- A. A. Mazrui, The development of modern literature since 1935, in A. A. Mazrui (ed.), *Africa since 1935*, Paris and Oxford 1993, 553–81.
- M. Mukimbo, An appreciation of Amu women's poetry which was sung in the 1974/75 political campaign for parliamentary elections, Nairobi 1978, Literature Department University of Nairobi, Paper No. 105, unpublished.
- M. M. Mulokozi and T. S. Y. Sengo, *History of Kiswahili poetry [AD 1000–2000]*, Dar es Salaam 1995.
- A. S. Nabhany, *The beauty of Lamu* [in Swahili], Nairobi 1985.
- R. Samsom, Poems in dialogue. "To tell each other the truth is a sign of love" [in Kiswahili], in *Swahili Forum III*, AAP, 47 (1996), 1–10.
- T. S. Y. Sengo and F. T. S. Sengo (eds.), *Poems for the month of Ramadan* [in Kiswahili], Arusha and Dar es Salaam 1979.
- I. N. Shariff, *Our poems* [in Swahili], Trenton, N.J. 1988.
- S. Sheikh and E. Adwiraah, Moza Ali, eine Dichterin aus Sansibar, in *Afrika und Übersee* 64 (1983), 77–89.
- Taasisi ya Kiswahili Zanzibar, *New poets* [in Kiswahili], Dar es Salaam 1997.
- Zaynab bint Himid, Hush, my child, hush – onion and incense [in Kiswahili], in *Kiswahili* (University of Dar es Salaam) 50:2 (1983) 1983, 70–91.
- Zaynab Himid Mohammed, *Hush, my child, hush* [in Kiswahili], ed. S. Yahya-Othman and A. S. Yahya, Dar es Salaam 2004.

RIDDER H. SAMSOM

#### Iran: Classical

This entry consists of brief notes on four female poets in the classical period of Persian poetry. They are often mentioned by their famous male contemporaries or male relatives.

#### RĀBĪʿA BT. KAʿB QIZDĀRI BALKHĪ

Called "Magas-i Ru'in" (Copper fly), or "Zayn al-'Arab" (Decoration of the Arabs), she was supposedly a contemporary of Rūdakī (860–941). A well-educated daughter of a Balkh aristocrat, Rābīʿa wrote her poems in both Arabic and Persian. According to legend, her poetry was inspired by her love for her brother's *ghulam* Biktāsh, whom she saw at one of the garden spring feasts organized

by her brother Hāris. She sent a letter with her portrait to Biktāsh; after seeing it, Biktāsh fell in love with Rābī'a with an equal passion. When Hāris and Biktāsh went to war, Rābī'a, secretly dressed as a warrior, rescued Biktāsh from death in battle. When they returned, Rābī'a revealed her secret mission in a letter to Biktāsh. Rūdakī, visiting Balkh, learned about Rābī'a. He admitted that her talent surpassed his own skills. In Bukhara he recited her poems for the *amīr*, accompanying himself with his *rūd*, and told the story of the unhappy lovers. Hāris, who happened to be at the reception, was covered with shame. He went back to Balkh, ordered his sister to be put into a hot bath house and walled up. Before dying she wrote her last poem with her blood on the wall. Biktāsh committed suicide. This story, resembling an opera libretto, was narrated by 'Aṭṭār. While its historical veracity cannot be proved, its existence indicates the continued popularity of Rābī'a's poems.

MĀHSATĪ (MAHSATĪ, MĀHASTĪ,  
MIHSI[T]TĪ) GANJAVĪ

Most likely she was a contemporary of Khāqānī (d. 1191), and probably a dancer and singer in the court of Sulṭān Sanjar.

In the poetic novel of Jawhārī Zargar (twelfth century), she is mentioned as a beloved of the Ganja *khātib*'s son Amīr Aḥmad. However, this legend might refer to events that could have taken place earlier, which would move the age of Māhsatī to the end of the eleventh century. Māhsatī was a typical representative of the *shahr-ashūb* genre, which became popular in the urban areas of Khurasan and Mawarannahr by the beginning of the eleventh century. A deliberate "low style" distinguishes her poetry, which are mainly written in folk *rubā'ī* form.

JAHĀN-MALIK SHĪRĀZĪ

Born in the second half of the fourteenth century in Shiraz, perhaps a contemporary of Ḥāfiz (1326–89), she was the daughter of Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd Injū, the older brother of Shaykh Abū Ishāq, the ruler of Shiraz (1343–53), and the wife of Amīn al-Dīn Jāhrāmī, *nadīm* of Shaykh Abū Ishāq. Jahān was the only child of her parents and received an excellent education. Her youth was spent in her royal family castle. However, after the murder of her father and then her uncle, she survived serious hardships as well as witnessing the demise of her family. These events are vividly reflected in her poems. The hardest trial for Jahān was the death of her little daughter Sulṭān Bakht. Her *divān* consists of 15,000 *bayts*.

ZĪB AL-NĪSĀ, "MAKHFĪ" (UNREVEALED)  
(1639–1702)

She was the daughter of 'Ālamgīr, the Indian emperor. Her poetry, betraying great talent and high technical skills, reveals great passion, reflected in her poetry with its strong spirituality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rābī'a

- F. 'Attar, *Ilābī-nāma*, ed. H. Ritter, Leipzig 1940.  
M. 'Awf-i, *Lubābu 'l-albāb*, ed. E. G. Browne, ii, London 1903.  
E. Bertels, *History of Persian and Tajik literature* [in Russian], Moscow 1960.  
R. Qulī Khān (1800–71), *Majma' al-fuṣahā*, Tehran 1957–61.  
Z. Safā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran 1992.

Māhsatī

- G. Arasly, *Mehseti Genjevi. Quatrains* [in Azeri], Baku 1940.  
E. Bertels, *History of Persian and Tajik literature* [in Russian], Moscow 1960.  
—, On the poetess Mahsati, in Nizami and Fuzuli [in Russian], Moscow 1962, 77–81.  
E. G. Browne, "Select History" of Hamdullah Mustawfi of Qazwin, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1900), 721–62; (1901), 1–32.  
—, *A literary history of Persia*, ii, London 1964.  
S. al-Dawla, *Khayrāt al-ḥisān*, 3 vols., 1887–90.  
Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, *The Tadhkiratu'shu'arā* ("Memoirs of the poets") of Dawlatshāh bin 'Alā'u'd-dawla Bakhtīshāh al-Ghāzī of Samarqand, ed. in the original Persian with prefaces and indices, by E. G. Browne, London 1901.  
F. b. A. Haravī, *Jawābir al-'ajā'ib*, Lucknow 1263, 7.  
P. Horn, *Asādī's Neupersisches Worterbuch "Lughat-i Furs"*, Berlin 1897.  
A. Kozmoyan, *Rubā'ī in classical Persian literature* [in Russian], Erevan 1981, 43–9.  
Māhsatī, *Divān-i Mahastī Ganjavī ba sharh-i ḥāl va āthār-i shā'ir*, ed. S. Tāhiri, Tehran 1957.  
F. Meier, *Die Schöne Mahsati*, Wiesbaden 1963.  
H. A. M. Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne, Cambridge 1922, ch. V, 6.  
C. Schefer, *Chrestomatie persane*, i, Paris 1883, 111.  
A. Tūsī, *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. 'A. Iqbal, Tehran 1940; ed. M. Dabirsiyaqi, Tehran 1957.

Jahān Malik

- V. S. Curtis and S. Canby, *Persian love poetry*, London 2005.  
D. Brookshaw, Odes of a poet-princess. The ghazals of Jahan-Malik Khatun, in *Iran* 53 (2005), 173–97.  
*Divān-i Jahān Malik*, ed. P. K. Rād and K. A. Nizhād, Tehran 1995.

Zīb al-Nīsā'

- Anthology of Tajik poetry* [in Russian], Moscow 1951.  
*The Divān of Zeb-un-Nisa*, trans. M. Lal and J. D. Westbrook, London 1913.  
Mu'in, *Lughat-i Fārsī*, v, *The tears of Zebunnisa being excerpts from the Divan-i Makhfi*, trans. P. Whaley, London 1913.  
Z. Safa, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Īrān*, Tehran, 1991.

General reference

- J. Nurbakhsh, *Zanān-i Sūfi*, Tehran 1379/2000.

### Iran: Modern

The nineteenth-century changes usually associated with modernity accelerated during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah (1848–96) and inaugurated increased activity of women poets in the male-dominated realm of poetry, overshadowing their conventional presence as the theme or the reflector of the male poet's inspirations.

Among such poets, Ṭāhira Qurrat al-ʿAyn of Qazvin (1817?–52), Parvīn Iṭiṣāmī (1907–41), Simīn Bihbahānī (b. 1927), and Furūgh Farrukhzād (1935–67) deserve special mention, not just because of their originality of concepts and mastery of poetic devices or their contribution to Persian letters and its modernization, but also because of the historic directions they laid in feminism and the decisive identities they left for women's poetry.

The poetry of Qurrat al-ʿAyn displays her socio-political religious vision (which led to her assassination). The few verses we have of hers indicate her literary gift, her unusual courage, and enormous learning, and express views that some have considered the beginning of feminism in a mainly male dominated society.

She wrote in classical genres. In her imageries and metaphors, however, her perspective as a woman marks her poetry with new dimensions. Her criticism of her environment and her devotion to love and compassion are expressed concisely through such techniques as alliterated repetitions.

In contrast to Qurrat al-ʿAyn, Iṭiṣāmī chose a more conservative approach even when treating such ideas as women's education, the equality of the sexes, or unveiling. In her over 5,000 verses she stayed faithful to classical forms and prosodies (namely *qaṣīda*, *mathnavī*, and *qaṭʿa*), and a moralizing tone. Her allusions and metaphors are derived mainly from nature and the surrounding ambiance. The language of her poems is identical to that of male poets and the occasional distinctions are marked by her choice of themes and the feminine flavor she gives her verses.

In comparison with these two poets, Bihbahānī more explicitly conveys her compassion for humankind, her standpoint on global events, oppressions, and injustices, and the consequent sufferings. She chooses the format of *chār-pāra* and conventional themes in a number of her poems. She remains structurally and contextually innovative. Her transcending of cultural borders and sociopolitical boundaries, and her feminist outlook are noticeable features of her poetry. The implementation of everyday speech tone, theatrical subjects, and daily

events contribute to the communicative aspect of her poems.

Women's poetry in modern Iran takes a significantly more intimate yet realistic course in the verses of Furūgh Farrukhzād, known as the most outspoken and spoken of woman poet in the history of Persian letters, and the most often translated one too. What makes Furūgh unique goes beyond her subtleness and full command of words in exploring the inner and outer world. Rather, it is the phenomenal courage she brings to bear to articulate women's oppression lucidly, to break social conventions and to introduce perspectives of a woman face to face with human issues, in particular those related to women, especially on topics considered taboo. There is thus much innovation in the content of her verses and a significant touch of femininity in her feminism.

Furūgh's poetry reflects what she stands for in terms of personal and social convictions. To exhibit the tangible facts of her life and society, the traditional and sociopolitical faults, she stays a realist imagist. As for form, she makes a journey from classical to modern. In her early poems Furūgh shows a tendency toward classical rhyme and meter schemes. In later poems, however, this is marginalized and replaced by her innovative rhyme structures. Despite all the controversies surrounding her, Furūgh stands up for her beliefs and reaches for greater heights. The five volumes of her poetry unfold the gains and losses of this emotional journey. By disclosing her perspective as a woman, Furūgh gives a new direction to women's poetry in Iran.

Women's poetry in modern Iran reflects growing awareness of women's rights and voice in society. However, the dominant sociopolitics, conventions, and religious codes are to be regarded as decisive factors in the survival and flourishing of female poets and their poetry.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- P. Aḥmadi, *Shīr-i zan az āghāz tā imrūz*, Tehran 2005.  
 Y. Āryānpūr, *Az Šabā tā Nīmā*, Tehran 1997.  
 A. Banani (ed. and trans.), *Tābirib. A portrait in poetry*, Los Angeles 2004.  
 S. Bihbahānī, *A cup of sin. Selected poems, ed. and trans. from the Persian by F. Milani and K. Safa; with introductory essays by the poet and an afterword by K. Safa*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1999.  
 —, *Majmūʿa-i ashʿār*, Tehran 2003.  
 P. Iṭiṣāmī, *Dīvān*, Tehran 1977.  
 F. Farrukhzād, *Complete poems*, Tehran 1997.  
 F. Milani, *Veils and words. The emerging voices of Iranian women writers*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1992.

## The Ottoman Empire

Ottoman poetry enjoyed courtly patronage from the thirteenth through the nineteenth centuries, and was one of the most prestigious, creative, and influential cultural endeavors of the Ottoman Turks. Although there was much about this literary production that was original and unique, it was also an art form that was predominantly defined according to Persian classical poetic models and poets working in the genre adopted heavily or intertextualized from Persian poetic vocabulary and imagery. It was an idealizing discourse that portrayed a love of fantasy usually quite cut off from any grounding in the real world. And it was a tradition defined by and for men. In this poetry, woman was the silent and distant object of male desire. The beloved was rarely given a voice with which to articulate her own experiences and emotions in the love relationship as it was portrayed. Rather, the woman and her perspectives were always seen only through the filter of the male lover and his own gender-specific point of view and interpretations. And although they were limited in number, for the women who dared to venture into this poetic discourse as poets, there were certain essential obstacles. The tradition provided few or no female models for them to emulate. There are only a dozen or so documented women poets from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century who wrote within the *divan* tradition. And in fact, almost every kind of writing in circulation during that time period – starting with the Holy Book itself – was the product of male minds. Any written portrayal of women and their emotions, experiences, in fact their very definition as women, came from male-generated and male-oriented constructs. Indeed, this situation in love poetry is in large part a reflection of the general structures of medieval society, in both the East and the West, which not only silenced women in society through institutionalized religions and other power structures, but most of the men as well. It is in the love lyric that the power of the male voice and of male dominance is reflected most clearly.

In this tradition, originality, individual viewpoint, personal outpouring of emotion, and sincerity were not the goals of the poet, at least insofar as he adhered to the classical canon and the traditional models.

How could the Ottoman woman poet grasp the pen and start writing love poetry in a discourse which seemed by definition to necessitate her silence, her obedience, and especially her inaccessibility? This was a discourse which was constructed by the male poet. Woman was defined as the object

of desire; how was a woman poet to assume the role of a speaking subject, the active agent and pursuer of love? Who were those Ottoman women who had the privilege of being able to write love poetry, or to even write at all? How did they come to be literate individuals – a quality that, relatively speaking, very few people, male or female, enjoyed during the Ottoman centuries?

We know from the existing sources that all women poets had some kind of family access to Ottoman high cultures. Their fathers or husbands belonged to either the military or learned classes of the empire. Some had fathers who were governors, military judges, chief astronomers, or Islamic religious authorities, some had brothers who were accomplished poets. And the majority of them came from Istanbul, the cultural and political center of the empire. Once the Ottoman woman had gained the privilege of access to the power of the written word, she would have had to seek some means in order to be recognized as a legitimate *divan* poet. Since she had few or no female models to follow, she tried to imitate the male discourse in the hope of establishing herself as a poet. Let us now look at a *gazel* by Fitnat Hanım, who was born in Istanbul and died there in 1780:

In the garden, the roses were all bewildered as they watched your cheek / Jealous of your lovelocks the hyacinths were all distraught // We deserved one attractive glance, but alas, what to do / Our bosom is constantly the target of eyelash-arrows // Oh you with rosebud lip, I imagined your crimson cheek / And it became the envy of every rose in the dwelling of my memory // You give savor to the party, oh lovely mine of salt / For the cup of wine is but a salt-bowl reflecting your ruby lip // Oh Fitnat, when that sweet mouth begins to speak alluringly / Blessed by abundant speech all the world becomes a field of sugarcane (*Divan-i Fitnat Hanım* n.d., 53).

There is nothing in this poem which explicitly reveals to us the gender of the poet. Turkish does not show gender in the third person, singular or plural, thus there are no grammatical gender markers here. The only indication comes in the last couplet, when the author names herself, following the requirement of this poetic form. Nor do the images in the poem articulate a woman's desire for a male beloved, as we might expect. Fitnat employs some of the most common clichés of Perso-Ottoman poetry, clichés that traditionally were used to refer exclusively to a female beloved. For example, she mentions the rose as a metaphor for the blushing cheek of the beloved. The lover as the target of the arrows of the beloved's eyelashes is a common image of this tradition, as is the wine glass and ruby lips relationship. The last couplet is also built upon the well-known image of the beloved's mouth as a

source of sweetness and fertility for the lover and his world.

The classical tradition made it very difficult for an individual to represent his own voice in this poetry. And for a woman, it was most of the time nearly impossible to reflect her femininity in this medium. One has to look beyond the questions of explicitly reflected gender and give up trying to figure out whether the metaphors for the beloved seem to describe a man or a woman. These metaphors, these images, this vocabulary, this poetic structure are all being used because the male-designed tradition dictated that the poet use them, to follow what other poets had used before. Fitnat as a woman poet is doing precisely the same thing as any man poet would have normally done by repeating the common metaphors and images of the beloved.

Another aspect of her love lyrics bears striking similarity to that of the male poets, namely her use of wine and wine-related imagery. Although she was a well-bred, upper-class Muslim woman, Fitnat does not hesitate to talk about wine, the wine glass, intoxication, and similar themes that were used by the male elite for centuries, despite the religious prohibition against drinking wine and the fact that culturally and socially, too, that prohibition was even stronger for women. Male poets who might have attracted criticism for talking so much about wine could always fall back on the mystical interpretations of those images and the stronger excuse, perhaps, that the tradition called for such images. Nevertheless, women who used these images ran a greater risk of attracting attention and criticism.

Similar usage of these wine-related images employed so often by men, as well as those cited here, can be found in the *divans* of all Ottoman women poets. From Zeynep Hatun (d. 1447) to Leylâ Hanım (d. 1847) to Sheref Hanım (1809–61), all of them used the conventional images of lyric poetry without troubling the definitions of gender roles that were inscribed within the images themselves. This poetry was very specific in assigning to men the active and eloquent role as subject of love, and to women the passive and silent role as the object of love, the distant, idealized beloved. And yet, these women poets who adopted the persona of the male poet/lover were, to some extent at least, renouncing for themselves that silent, passive role of beloved. This element, therefore, must be seen as a disturbance, a transgression, however timid, of the canon and of the roles it assigned to women.

Already in the fifteenth century, Zeynep Hatun had not only accepted the word of the male poet; she also articulated one of the most common patriarchal notions concerning woman in the Islamic

Ottoman-Turkish society, the notion of woman's "greed" and "inferiority."

Remove your veil and illuminate the earth and skies. Make this elemental world more brilliant than any paradise. // When your lips stir, the rivers of Paradise come to a boil. Uncover your curls of ambergris, so the entire world may be perfumed. // The black down of your cheek wrote a royal command to the east wind. It said – go quickly to Cathay and captivate all of China with your sweet scent! // Oh heart, the water of life is not your lot, nor sadly is the kiss of your beloved. Even if you wait one thousand years, searching like Alexander in the darkness. // Oh Zeynep, Go simply, go bravely, surrender all decoration. Abandon your love for this adorned and deceiving world. // (I thank Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı for providing me with this translation).

In order to gain acceptance as a poet, Zeynep Hatun expresses the desire to be like a man a modest-hearted, spiritual, more transcendental human being. She accepts the dominant patriarchal judgment that women have some very negative features, such as their fondness for worldly values, their weakness and lack of spirituality. In fact, the entire corpus of Ottoman *divan* poetry is full of similar characterizations when reference is made to ordinary or non-reified women. Generally speaking, the beloved was not referred to in the *divans* of the male elite using general or common words for the concept of woman, such as *kadın* (Turkish) or *zan* (Persian). When *kadın* and *zan* were used in the *divans*, they usually carried pejorative connotations. For the Ottoman poet, *kadın* evoked such images as the cursed one, the inauspicious owl, scorpion, stupid, ignorant, evil, trickster, unfaithful, liar, satan, devil, and many, many other very undesirable epithets (Levend 1943, 581–90). *Kadın* for him was "a second-class human being" who should have been kept at home (Güven Kaya 1990, 279). 'Aşık Çelebi in his *Meşarîru's-şî'ara* reports that Zeynep Hatun later gave up poetry, stopped her associations with other men, and finally came under the domination of her husband (Meredith-Owens 1971, folio 83b). This is presented as a more appropriate and virtuous kind of behavior on her part. Whether this was true or not, it clearly reveals the negative attitude that the *tezkire* writer had concerning Zeynep's efforts to write herself into this men's club of poetry. We can assume that 'Aşık Çelebi's attitude also represented the opinion of other poets.

Among the Ottoman women poets, Mîhrî Hatun seems to be the most challenging female figure. She was born in the city of Amasya and died there in 1506. Mîhrî was the daughter of a poet, writing under the pseudonym of Belayi. She grew up listening to *divan* poetry and received a good education, learning the canonical languages of the time,

Arabic and Persian. She admired the poetry of the famed Ottoman poet Necati (d. 1509) so much that she wrote *nazires* (parallels) to his *gazels*. Necati Beg, however, was apparently not very happy with a woman's attempt to write parallels to his acclaimed poetry. In an effort to articulate his dislike of such daring behavior, and possibly to try to drive a woman off the stage of classical literature, he wrote the following:

Oh you who would write parallels to my poems, / do not stray from the path of courtesy. // Do not say "my poems in rhyme and rhythm / are as good as Necati's." // (Latifi 1314, 321).

To have another poet write a *nazire* was normally a sign of respect and honor for the poet who was imitated. Here, however, we see a strong negative reaction to the imitator. What Mihrî was seeking to achieve through her *nazires* was indeed to borrow the power of an already established and prestigious poet and his art in order to make her voice heard and to gain recognition as a poet. She purposely used this poetic form to call attention to and to legitimize her participation in this male-dominated artistic medium. But that daring effort is completely at odds with the requirements for female behavior in the public sphere. The act of trying to make her voice heard, to enter into competition with her male counterparts, defies the very definitions of courtesy.

Mihrî was the first female voice to challenge the social and literary constructs that marginalized women or relegated them to the role of a silenced and fetishized object of male desire. She not only forced her way into the gentlemen's club of poetry, she also objected to the idealized and reified image of the beloved as it had been repeated time and time again. The following poem is a surprising and explicit rejection of those clichéd beloveds of Ottoman poetry which were the creation of male imaginings:

My beauty is neither like the sun, nor the treasured moon. / My eyebrows are not like the bow, nor is my hair like the archer. // The orator has slandered me, calling me graceful. / Most of the poets are nothing but liars. // If he asks for a kiss from me in jest, I wouldn't be surprised. / He whose face is dark with stubble is made fun of by everyone. // From now on, his place is my kiss, / [but also] the pain of rheumatism, diarrhea and heart-ache. // He bows before every doorway begging for a kiss. / In this doorway, Mihrî is begging you, too. // (Mashtakova 1967, 127).

As in her usage of the *nazire*, Mihrî bases her poem again upon a very conventional idea, coming from a perfectly safe and authoritative source: the Qur'an itself condemns poets as "liars" (26:223). Although this is not in any way a religious poem, Mihrî seizes this opportunity to combine the religious denunciation of poets with a commentary on the falsity of the

canonized images of the beloved in classical poetry. She fills the beginning of her *gazel* with traditional images but only to negate their validity. She shatters the reified and idealized woman of the male canon with her mention of the very graphic, bodily sufferings of a real human being. The male poet-lover traditionally expressed his emotional anguish with physical and bodily metaphors; but she ridicules these conventions with her exaggeratedly indecent images. She mocks the entire persona of the supplicating lover, just as everyone makes fun of the man with his stubbly beard. It is astonishing to see such criticism of Ottoman court poetry – which is normally associated with the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century agendas of modernity – coming here from a fifteenth-century woman poet.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Divan-ı Fitnat Hanım*, Istanbul n.d.  
 I. Güven Kaya, Dukaginzade taşcalı Yahya Beg'in şiirlerinde cinsellik, in *Journal of Turkish Studies* 14 (1990), 273.  
 K. Latifi, *Tezkire-i Latifi*, Istanbul 1314.  
 A. S. Levend, *Divan edebiyatı. Kelimeler ve remizler, mazmunlar ve mefhumlar*, Istanbul 1943.  
 E. I. Mashtakova, *Mihrî Hatun. Divan*, Arabic script ed., Moscow 1967.  
 G. M. Meredith-Owens, *Meşâ'iru's-şu'ara or Tezkire of Aşık Çelebi*, London 1971.

KEMAL SILAY

### Southeast Europe

This entry surveys Muslim women's poetry written in the Balkans, with a focus on Bosnia and Herzegovina, from the last two decades of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twenty-first centuries. Written in a rich intercultural network, this poetry is characteristically out of step with the established male canon and very often critical of it. This makes any classification based solely on Muslim identity, itself a fluid and changeable construct within this timeframe, problematic and arbitrary. Since the 1992 war, the strongest critique of the exclusionary and essentialist ethno-nationalist canon, relying on religious identity as one of its main founding criteria, has been mounted by women's poetry.

With the last two decades of the nineteenth century came a romantic revival of poetic work written in the language of the local population and in the Latin alphabet, the first such generation of poets and writers drawing their inspiration from local folklore. Years of silence followed the death in ca. 1870 of Umihana Čividina, one of the first recorded women poets. Then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, several poets stand out: Šefika Nesterin Bjelevac, Hasnija Berberović, Nafija Zildžić,

Hatidža Đikić, Zilkida A. Tuzlanka, and Razija Handžić. Idealized, unreachable romantic love and the woman's position within it, with hinted erotic elements, characterize their lyric poetry, especially that of Šefika Nesterin-Bjelevac. These love lyrics are scattered in the poetry sections of journals such as *Biser*, *Gajret*, *Vrijeme*, *Zeman*, and *Pravda*. In the context of the flourishing of women's organizations and literary journals addressing women's liberation between the First and Second World Wars, two poets are notable: Vera Obradović-Delibašić, better known for her prose work, and Nafija Sarajlić. In her regrettably short writing career, from 1912 to 1919, Sarajevo-born Nafija Sarajlić (ca. 1893–1970) deserves to be singled out for her solid talent, originality, sharply ironic poems and, through her commitment to writing, a passion to resist the insular stereotypical world of a Muslim woman.

The years following the Second World War, particularly the mid-1950s, mark a break with the aesthetics of socialist realism and an opening up to the West European poetics of modernism and avant-gardism, with their respective emphasis on cerebral-elitist and rebellious poetic expressions. The most significant poets of this period, born between the late 1930s and the late 1950s, include Bisera Alikadić, Mubera Pašić, Nasiha Kapidžić-Hadžić, Ajša Zahirović, Mubera Mujagić, Jasna Šamić, Aiša Aličić, and Ferida Duraković. Bisera Alikadić (b. 1939), with her confessional lyrics, free from sentimental romanticism and charged with eroticism, exemplifies the new, rebellious transformation of women's writing. Pushed to the disciplined and isolated discourse of erotic poetry by male critics in the 1970s and 1980s, Alikadić's writing has been reappraised in the post-2000 wave of literary criticism as a cornerstone for women's poetry that disturbs male-centric narratives. With strong corporal erotic imagery, cutting irony, and playful wit, Alikadić's poetry undermines any attempt at incorporation into the ethno-nationalist canon. The highly abstract lyric expression of Mubera Pašić (b. 1945) absorbs concrete experience in order to evoke a decentered, alienated, and changing subjectivity. Her post-surrealist poetry opens up space for the deconstruction of posited binary subjectivities. Ferida Duraković (b. 1957) belongs to the first generation of postmodern poets of the 1980s whose poetics is marked by radical disillusionment and a questioning of all ideologies; her poetic technique is that of collage, montage, and rich intertextual dialogue. Duraković's poetry uses a playful and ironic critique of gender stereotypes, breaking away from essentialist, fixed female identity and abstract lyric universalism to explore a more fluid and unstable

process of subjectivity. Resignation and skepticism marked her poetic expression of the 1980s. However, in the first couple of years of the 1990s, with the collapse of socialism and before the outbreak of war, through her use of elliptical, allegorical narratives, this transformed into an actively engaged critique of the ideological constructs of the process of re-ethnicization.

The war of 1992 to late 1995 and the neighboring Serbian and Croatian ethno-nationalisms galvanized the ethnic homogenization of Bosnian Muslims, forging the Bosniak nation. The war posed a fundamental challenge to existing modes of representation, resulting in the use of innovative language and imagery by some poets. While there were a few who engaged in furthering the ethnic cause with the poetry of patriotic sentiment, women poets mainly embraced the anti-war poetics of testimony. Most notably, again, Bisera Alikadić and Ferida Duraković, together with Nermina Omerbegović (b. 1964), who belongs to the generation of postmodern poets emerging in the war, reinvented and re-imagined the coordinates of symbolization from a consciously-assumed oppositional, liminal, subcultural position. All three poets employed the discourse of commemoration in order to confront the injustice done by violent ethno-nationalist biopolitics and to inscribe and record individual micro-narratives in cultural memory. In distilled and litotic expression, the lyric internalizes the chaos of war, whereas the narrative poetry tends toward documentary testament.

The end of the war in late 1995 marks a transition to postwar reconstruction and neoliberal capitalist market economy. In the ten years of this transition, women poets have been writing the best critical poetry with Ferida Duraković at their forefront. Such poetry productively resists the denial, mythologization, and medicalization of war and of postwar traumas by various ideological projects, announcing hopeful politics. This period signals a new generation of women poets who engage in an ironic problematization of social values, whilst strengthening the role of popular culture in poetry. The increasing interest in feminist and gender theories has permeated the identity politics featuring in this poetry, which has become hybrid, thematically and linguistically inclusive, questioning socially posited constructs of gender, identity, and sexuality and opening up space for alternative and marginalized modalities of subjectivization such as feminist, gay, lesbian, and queer. Šejla Šehabović (b. 1977) stands out as the poet whose predominantly narrative, dialogic poetry draws attention to the traumatic process of postwar identity for-

mation, providing the language for metaphoric identification and commonality among women and homosexuals as the most marginalized groups. Adisa Bašić (b. 1979) in her cross-cultural dialogic poetry playfully subverts both war and postwar cultural stereotypes, exploring trauma as a valuable experience that enables the disregarded to strengthen their position in society.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- D. Arsenijević, Poetry of differences in Bosnia and Herzegovina – denying the dominant a monopoly of plausibility [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], in *Zeničke sveske* 2 (2005), 127–33.
- E. Duraković, *Anthology of 20th-century Bosniak poetry* [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], Sarajevo 1996.
- C. Hawkesworth, *Voices in the shadows. Women and verbal art in Serbia and Bosnia*, Budapest and New York 2000.
- N. Ibrahimović, Outlines for the analysis of the constitution of the subject of woman in Bosnian women's literature, with a small anthology [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], in *ProFemina* 29/30 (2002), 13–26.
- H. Kapidžić-Osmanagić, *Poetry 1945–1980. Poets of lyric abstraction* [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], Sarajevo 1992.
- E. Kazaz, Above the sight of a well-rehearsed horror. The poetic outlines of the youngest generation of Bosniak writers [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], in E. Duraković (ed.), *Bošnjačka književnost u književnoj kritici. Novija književnost – poezija*, Sarajevo 1998, 769–88.
- A. Zahirović, *From verse to poem. Women's poetry in Bosnia and Herzegovina* [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], Tuzla 1985.

DAMIR ARSENIJEVIĆ

### Turkey

Turkish poetry can be considered according to different periods or moods; among these are classical poetry (known as *divan* poetry), as well as folk, religious or mystic (known as *tekke* poetry), and modern or contemporary poetry. In this framework, several scholars have discussed the social roles, creative inspirations, and cultural importance of poets and poetry (Andrews 1985, Holbrook 1990, 1993, 1994, Silay 1994). In *divan* poetry, the forms, themes, and aesthetic dimensions were prescribed by the Arabic and Persian canon within its particular codes. The *gazels*, or love poems, lyrical in their tones, exhausted the existing imagery, and displayed an abstract notion of beauty and love. Perhaps one of the most interesting turns was marked by the poetry of Nedim, who used a more “folkish” tone and subverted gender roles in his poetry. His underpinnings of homosociality had crossed over to homosexuality and he was bold enough to invite *his lover to take time off from the Friday prayer* (emphasis in the original) and go

to Sadābād, to have a joyous time with him (Silay 1994).

Research of gender, not only in women's poetry but also of women in poetry, has attracted scholars in recent decades to pay special attention to women poets. Among the most famous of women poets of *divan* literature are Zeynep Hanım, Mihri Hatun, and Fatma Hanım (Silay 1997). Also notable are Adile Sultan, Leylâ Hanım, Hubbi Ayşe Hanım, Saffet Hanım, and Sıtkı Hanım, all of whom were upper- or upper middle-class women, and some were the daughters of sultans.

In traditional oral poetry, the lament and the lullaby are attributed to women as they were considered the gatekeepers of certain rites of passage. Besides this particular social role, women also performed, and often subverted, the existing gender roles in the creation of *aşık* poetry. There were women *aşıks* throughout the history of Anatolia. This genre was performed by, to name just a few, Emine Beyza Bacı, Banu Cevheriye Çankırılı, Arife Bacı, and Ayşe Çukurovalı, although information on the life histories of female poets is scarce (Başgöz 1995). The difficulty with writing a feminist history of female poetry lies in the fact that most of the folk poetry was oral, not written. When sparse evidence was considered, it was done through patriarchal lenses. Traditionally speaking, the *aşıks* were minstrels who sang folk poetry in front of audiences. Even the grammar of the word indicates that *aşıks* are supposed to be men, who fall in love (often with God) or are passionate about finding a religious figure or a woman who gives them a love potion. The *maşuk* is the beloved and, traditionally, this role is assumed by women (Birkalan-Gedik 2006). Although female *aşıks* existed in Anatolia during the Ottoman period, the nation-building process of the Turkish Republic created more female *aşıks* to emphasize the role of women as artists in the modern state (Birkalan-Gedik 2006). For example, İlkin Manya (Sarıcakız), Sürmelican Kaya, and Şahturna played and sang their poetry abroad, in Europe, and their poetry has already acquired a mass audience through cassette culture (Petzen 2000).

In the recent past of the Turkish Republic, women entered into the realm of man's poetry and some of them subverted their prescribed gender roles. In modern Turkish poetry, women poets could break free from the traditional forms, aesthetics, and content of the canon, and develop female, feminine, and feminist poems in respect of these issues. In modern poetry, the first important female poet of the Republican era is Yaşar Nezihe Bükülmez who was constantly excluded by the hegemonic circles; she stopped writing poems in the 1930s and



remained silent until her death, sometime in the 1970s (Mutlu 2005, 56). There are also the more tragic cases of Nezihe Muhittin and Şükufe Nihal, who died within the cold walls of a mental hospital as their poetry was demeaned by the patriarchal canon (İnal 2005, 58).

What is questionable is whether or not women poets had or have a different *parole* from male poets. How do they contribute to Turkish poetry? Gülten Akın is perhaps the most important figure in modern Turkish poetry to take up women's issues. Her critics emphasize the point that she wields a powerful pen as a poet. And because she is powerful, she does not have to rely on her identity as female. There are several others who are not as powerful as she is, but because they are women they are described as female poets, despite the quality of their poetry (Tarıman 2005, 74). Leyla Şahin, Melisa Gürpınar, and Sennur Sezer all had an agenda of social issues as opposed to Gülseli İnal, Lale Müldür, and Nilgün Marmara, who expressed an "inner world." While Gürpınar is a bridge over the crossroads of social issues and lyricism, Nilgün Marmara, whose poetry is analogous to that of Sylvia Plath, searches for death and emphasizes a lyric subjectivity (Göbenli 2005).

Gülten Akın's first poem was published in 1951 and could be placed in the Second New Movement. During the 1970s she turned more to social issues; she was influenced by the forms of folk poetry while expressing social concerns in the content of her poetry. Sennur Sezer, whose poetry has been published since 1958, talks about the lives of mothers and workers. She is one of the few female poets whose poetry deals with social issues and can be called political (Göbenli 2005, 61). Leyla Şahin is another female poet whose poetry is political and "transparent" at the same time. Her words are bare yet very powerful and she renders a palimpsest of images of being a woman and a poet at the same time. In this group of poets, the content comes forth as a result of aesthetical worries. Their lyrical "I" asks questions, informs, and gets angry.

The 1990s show an increase in both the number and the quality of female poets, although there is an immense gap between the number of male and female poets. From a perusal of poetry annuals, female poets seem to constitute 11 percent of all poets (Tarıman 2005, 75). Although this number could be open to debate (the choice of the editors, their criteria of what is poetry, and so on), nonetheless the number is very low.

Overall, the women poets of *divan* literature belonged to a higher socioeconomic class, as can be seen from the example of Fitnat Hanım, who

was born Zübeyde, the daughter of Şeyhulislam Mehmed Es'at Efendi. In some ways, women poets were writing along with, and in other ways they were writing against, the canon, without abandoning the male dominated language. It is plausible to conclude that upper-class Ottoman women of the patriarchal society dominated by religion and class and the aesthetic hegemony of the male elite had to negotiate their roles. As Silay has argued, the female poet tried to "write like him, using his words, expressing his fantasies, but at the same time, by means of such a strategy, taking some of the power away from the male elite's hegemony over writing and literary aesthetics" (Silay 1997, 213). A similar argument concerning class can be put forth for the female poets of folk poetry, except for those women who belonged to the Bektaşî sect, who displayed middle-class sensibilities; yet some of them used male *aşık*'s power to enter the profession and to survive.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- W. G. Andrews, *Poetry's voice, society's song. Ottoman lyric poetry*, Seattle 1985.
- İ. Baştürk, personal communication, Bloomington, Ind. 1995.
- N. Bekiroğlu, Osmanlıda kadın şairler, <<http://www.mil-liyet.com.tr/ozel/edebiyat/kadinsair/osmanli.html>>.
- H. A. Birkalan-Gedik, Economics. Traditional professions. Turkey, in S. Joseph (gen. ed.), *Encyclopedia of women in Islamic cultures*, iv, *Economics, education, mobility and space*, Leiden 2006, 266-7.
- , Aşıklık geleneği, toplumsal cinsiyet ve türler. Kadın aşıkların hayatları, kimlik sınırları ve aşıklık stratejileri, in *Kısa Symposium Proceedings* (forthcoming).
- M. Göbenli, Türkiye'de (kadın) şairlerin lirik ben'i, in *Yasak Meyve* 16 (2005), 60-4.
- V. R. Holbrook, Originality and Ottoman poetics. In the wilderness of the new, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112:3 (1992), 440-54.
- , A technology of reference. Divan and anti-divan in the reception of a Turkish poet, in *Edebiyat. The Journal of Middle Eastern Literatures* 4:1 (1993), 49-61.
- , *The unreadable shores of love. Turkish modernity and mystic romance*, Austin, Tex. 1994.
- G. İnal, Caucus yarışı, in *Yasak Meyve* 15 (2002), 57-60.
- A. Mutlu, Puslu aynadaki yüz, in *Yasak Meyve* 15 (2005), 51-6.
- , Osmanlıdan günümüze kadın şairler I-IV, <<http://www.ayrinti.net/>>.
- J. L. Petzen, Turkish women poet-singers. Negotiation of gender and genre, M.A. thesis, Indiana University 2000.
- K. Silay, Singing his words. Ottoman women poets and the power of patriarchy, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden 1997, 197-213.
- , *Nedim and the poetics of the Ottoman court. Medieval inheritance and the need for change*, Bloomington, Ind. 1994.
- B. Tarıman, Arka odada olma hali ya da yoksanmışlık, in *Yasak Meyve* 15 (2005), 73-6.

## West Africa

### WOMEN AND GENDER IN WEST AFRICA

For much of the twentieth century, women were little mentioned in descriptions of West African cultures. While there were exceptions to this, the tendency to focus on men's roles in politics, education, and commercial activity continues in the twenty-first century, rendering only a fragmentary image of the region's cultures. Part of the reason for this is that indigenous men honor a patriarchal view of artistic accomplishments, and men from outside West African cultures have little access to women's social spaces, and are not at liberty to engage freely in conversation with women. Therefore, until recently, research in the region reflected primarily a focus on men and their activities.

Western researchers who assume a Western focus on public roles and accomplishments have little to say about women in such a culture because of both lack of access and failure to understand cultural values holistically. It has been rare that a foreign ethnographer recognized this and attempted to redress the situation by asking a woman to gather information about indigenous women's cultural roles. In the mid-twentieth century in Nigeria, anthropologist M. G. Smith's wife, Mary Smith, gathered ethnographic data from a woman in a Hausa cultural context that stands today as a valuable window into her historical experience and model of ethnographic technique (*Baba of Karo*, 1954). But apart from exceptions like this, continued deference to patriarchal social structure is evident in contemporary studies, especially in studies in Islamic cultural settings. The latter are organized in antithesis to the West, which gives primacy to what occurs in the public realm. In contrast, Islamic societies are more oriented toward the privacy of family life, where there exists a deeply embedded reverence for women and the central authority of wives and mothers at the heart of the family.

### WOMEN POETS IN WEST AFRICA

Throughout West Africa women's poetry is an integral part of cultural aesthetics, yet, following the pattern described for other studies of women in the region, women's poetry in West Africa has been neglected although West African cultures have rich histories of oral poetic performance produced by both men and women. Indeed, for as long as poetry has been integral to African cultures, women have been important to its production and expression. The poem is also the song, attesting to the oral nature of poetic traditions in Africa. In Hausa the word for song and poem is the same

(*wa'ka*). Depending on her level of literacy, a poet may write her works or perform them extemporaneously. Poets who write might belong to groups of like-minded mixed poetry circles, such as the Wisdom Club, popular in the 1960s and 1970s in Kano, Nigeria; they may also write for smaller, private audiences. Written works tend to be more conservative, reflecting the values inherent in higher education policies – especially in predominantly Muslim areas. Extemporaneously performed works entertain with less restrictive, sometimes bawdy allusion. Regardless of the style of delivery, however, both types of works are incisive, well-honed, and often critical of social conditions and politics. The poetic voice often is an ideal means of promoting the resocialization of marginalized groups, or serves as a forum for the establishment of a collective consciousness against colonial or indigenous political pressure.

For nearly a millennium Islam has constituted an increasingly significant social and political influence in much of West Africa's Sahel region. In countries with pervasive Islamic influence, women have been active as scholars trained in the Islamic canon, which is based on poetic influences of the Qur'ān. Islam values the pursuit of knowledge and literacy, the keys to the pursuit of spirituality. Women poets in these areas have long pursued literacy as a means of both spiritual expression and commentary on current events, producing works that range from pure orature to orally performed written poems based on Arabic Qur'ānic rhyme and meter. The nineteenth-century scholar, teacher, and poet, Nana Asma'u, wrote long poetic works on a wide range of topics from medicines of the Prophet, description of Sufi women saints, and remembrances of the Prophet, to descriptions of *jihād* battles, history of Shehu Usman 'dan Fodiyo, and elegies. Many of Asma'u's poetic works functioned as mnemonic teaching devices in resocializing war refugees. Asma'u's works were originally in three languages, Arabic, Fulfulde, and Hausa, all written in Arabic script. They have been translated into English recently. Like Asma'u, twentieth-century women poets in northern Nigeria wrote praise poems of the Prophet Muhammad and women Sufi saints, as well as commentaries on political figures, current events, and issues pertinent to women. Poets such as Hauwa Gwaram and Hajiya 'Yar Shehu, both members of the poetry circle known as the Wisdom Club, composed their poems in private, and recited them for their colleagues. The poems were subsequently disseminated locally through radio broadcasts, chap-book publications, and performance for select Hausa-speaking Muslim audiences.

Beyond those who are immersed in Qur'anic canons of study, are other contemporary West African poets of note, such as Ghanaians Ama Ata Aidoo, Abena Busia, and Sierra Leone-born Ghanaian Gladys May Casely-Hayford; Nigerians Catherine Obianuju Acholonu, Ifi Amadiume, Rashidah Ismaili, and Omolara Ogundipe-Leslie; Senegalese Annette M'Baye d'Erneville; and Irene Assiba d'Almeida of Benin. These women are role models for the next generation. Some teach, and all influence contemporary young women by their courageous example to continue expressing themselves through poetic composition in cultures that offer little reward for their artistry.

Women who perform extemporaneous works – sometimes accompanied by a band comprised of male or female instrumentalists, or a chorus – may be hired to play to audiences at political rallies, in university settings, and other celebratory events. More often than for male poets, these women may cross gender lines, delivering written and extemporaneous works in mixed, public venues as well as in the privacy of a setting exclusively for women, such as naming and wedding celebrations. In the latter case, male accompanists are not likely to assist the performer. Oral performance includes a variety of styles, with content ranging from secular to sacred, utilizing formal to informal tone, and with planned or inspired delivery. In the late twentieth century, northern Nigerians Maimuma Coge, Hajiya Paji, and Binta Katsina were well known for their performances of chanted and sung verse, accompanied by non-verbal gesture, which varied from innocuous to bawdy, depending on audience, venue, and topic.

Women praise singers declaim publicly the status of their wealthy, powerful patrons, such as emirs and merchants, hoping to increase their compensation by pleasing the patron with the flattery of the song. In West Africa these performers are known as *griottes* (among the Wolof) in Senegal, and *zabiyoyi* (among the Hausa) in Nigeria. Such performers are trained in the craft, often by a parent; occasionally they are self-taught. They may accompany themselves on instruments, or be accompanied by other musicians. These women performers might also entertain crowds for political rallies, cultural events, and private celebrations, often accompanied by a chorus, and male or female musicians. Singing in their indigenous languages, these performers provide cultural definition, preserve traditional attitudes, and criticize social conditions. Like female entertainers everywhere, they have endured social marginality, despite their economic success. Women poets and oral performers are perhaps the

best gauges of the pulse of their cultures, yet their works are almost completely inaccessible to those outside the cultures, unfamiliar with the language and cultural setting in which they are performed.

#### WOMEN'S POETRY IN WEST AFRICA

West African cultures enjoy a combination of written and oral forms of poetic performance, most of which is communicated in the predominant indigenous languages of the region, such as Hausa, Yoruba, and Wolof. Whether oral or written, these works are often broadcast on radio and television programs, and thus available to wide audiences within the culture, regardless of the literacy level of the listener. That women performing artists have been little published and rarely recognized alongside men is evident in the paucity of published works by women. With the advent of both the publication of African authors outside Africa, and the establishment of African publishing houses in the early and mid-twentieth century, African poetry began to be preserved in widely available printed form. It was in nearly every case male poets whose works were published both in and beyond Africa, reflecting European expectations about literacy imported through colonialism.

Contemporary anthologies of African poetry are not representative of the degree to which African women have created both written and oral poetry at any time in the history of Africa. Few locally produced volumes of African poetry are distributed internationally. With the exception of Stella and Frank Chipasula's *The Heinemann Book of African Women's Poetry* (1995), volumes of African poetry published and distributed in the West reflect a patriarchal perspective because they focus on the works of African men educated in colonial schools or universities abroad, and written in colonial languages, usually English or French. For example, in the four decades of its existence, Gerald Moore and Ulli Beier's volume *The Penguin Book of Modern African Poetry* has included only poetry by men. Oyekam Owomoyela's *A History of Twentieth-Century African Literatures* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993) has two chapters on African poetry: "English-Language Poetry" and "French-Language Poetry", in which only one woman – Gladys Casely-Hayford – is mentioned.

West African women's poetry as represented in printed anthologies constitutes only the smallest tip of a large iceberg. It must be sought beyond the printed page, experienced and understood in its indigenous cultural settings. Poetry by West African women is representative of major cultural concerns, significant as commentary on social condi-

tions, and reflective of the status quo. West African women poets and performers write and entertain in their own languages, addressing predominant sociopolitical issues of their times. Both written and oral poetic works blend traditional patterns of repeated images and rhythm patterns common in the culture, some of which derive from Arabic Qur'anic poetic convention. Thus, a true appreciation of the contributions of women poets in West Africa depends on both an intimate understanding of local cultures and knowledge of indigenous languages. More translations into Western languages are needed. Further consideration of African women's poetic voice, whether oral or written, needs to redress both international and indigenous patriarchal assumptions about the marginality of women's poetic productivity, recognizing that it is central to the communication of current events, political concerns, and common interests within the region.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J. Boyd and B. Mack (eds.), *The collected works of Nana Asma'u, daughter of Usman Dan Fodiyo, (1793-1864)*, East Lansing 1997.
- S. Chipasula and F. Chipasula (eds.), *The Heinemann book of African women's poetry*, Portsmouth, N.H. 1995.
- C. B. Davies and E. Fido, African women writers. Toward a literary history, in O. Owomoyela (ed.), *A history of twentieth-century African literatures*, Lincoln, Nebr. 1993, 311-46.
- G. Furniss, *Poetry, prose, and popular culture in Hausa*, Edinburgh 1996.
- T. Hale, *Griots and griottes. Masters of words and music*, Bloomington, Ind. 1998.
- B. Mack, *Muslim women sing. Hausa popular song*, Bloomington, Ind. 2004.
- and J. Boyd, *One woman's jihad. Nana Asma'u, scholar and scribe*, Bloomington, Ind. 2000.
- M. F. Smith, *Baba of Karo, a woman of the Muslim Hausa*, London [1954].

BEVERLY B. MACK

# Arts: Popular Culture

## Afghanistan

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Traditionally, cultural constraints combined with religious interpretation have restricted the role of women in Afghan society. Notions of honor and shame underpin Afghan cultural norms and practices, which emphasized female modesty and purity. As a result of the rigid social code imposed on Afghan women, literature, media, and the arts were the domain of men. Women did not work outside the home and were excluded from participating in cultural activities.

It was not until the 1940s that women first appeared in public cultural activities. The 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in participation of women in popular culture. Women were encouraged to participate in the performing arts. Many women found employment as artists, writers, poets, journalists, dancers, and musicians as modernization programs focused on the development of culture and women's cultural activities.

The outbreak of the Afghan–Soviet War negated many of the gains made by women as tribal and Islamic leaders asserted their traditional role as arbiters of cultural norms and invoked religion and traditional Afghan culture to restrict women's movement outside the home. They saw women's participation in popular culture as the imposition of secular Western values that were alien to Afghan culture and thus were considered to be un-Islamic. This was particularly difficult for educated, urbanized women who found employment as journalists, artists, and musicians. Lawlessness made it all but impossible for women to participate in any cultural activities.

The rise of the Taliban movement saw a further tightening of the Islamic social code when the Taliban implemented the strictest interpretation of Shari'a law in the world. Invoking religion and Afghan culture, the Taliban sought the complete withdrawal of women from public life. The Taliban's edicts had a disastrous effect on women's participation in Afghan culture. They prohibited programs on music, plays, and other forms of entertainment.

Following the fall of the Taliban regime, private television and radio stations were established with the aid of Western countries. One of the first post-

Taliban news programs on television featured a female broadcaster.

### LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

Afghanistan's literary history has been long dominated by men. Literary works, be they novels, short stories, literary criticism, folk, or satirical literature were written and performed by men. Prior to the twentieth century there were a handful of female poets, Rabia Ballchi (d. 920) being the foremost acclaimed. In the 1960s and 1970s, increasing numbers of urban, educated, middle-class women became writers and poets with the support of their parents.

As with literature, the arts were the exclusive domain of men. Prior to the twentieth century women were not allowed to perform in public because conservative clerics viewed women's participation in the arts as a flagrant violation of the Islamic code of conduct. It was not until 1948 that a woman appeared in a theater in front of a male audience. Over the next couple of decades, with the encouragement and support of successive Afghan governments, women were able to perform concerts in public places. Motion pictures were not produced in Afghanistan until the 1970s. When movies were made, they were made by private companies, and Afghan actresses competed for stardom with their male counterparts.

Music and dance have always been an integral part of Afghan culture and tradition. Traditionally, musicians and singers were men because of the strict customs prohibiting women from playing musical instruments, singing, or dancing. People's attitude toward music changed after it was broadcast by radio in 1941. By the late 1960s, female singers such as Ruskhshana and Parwin became popular throughout Afghanistan. The success of Ruskhshana and Parwin laid the foundation for future female singers and performers in the 1970s and 1980s.

### MEDIA AND POPULAR CULTURE

Women saw their lives transformed once their role in the public arena had been established. Modernization meant the emergence of an educated middle class in major urban areas that had access to television and radio broadcasts. By the 1980s, there were about 20 television and 18 radio

stations. The success of the *mujahideen* and the rise of the Taliban drastically altered radio and television programming as Islamic fundamentalists replaced music, plays, and films with programs on an Islamic way of life and discussions on the Qur'ān.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amnesty International, *Women in Afghanistan. Pawns in men's power struggles*, London 1999.  
 I. Delloye, *Women of Afghanistan*, trans. M. de Jager, St. Paul, Minn. 2003.  
 H. Emadi, *Culture and customs of Afghanistan*, Westport, Conn. and London 2005.  
 K. Habibi, A glance at literature, in L. Dupree (ed.), *Afghanistan*, Karachi 2002, 78.  
 W. M. Rahimi, *Status of women. Afghanistan*, Bangkok 1991.

KEITH A. LEITICH

### Central Asia

Central Asia has traditionally been home to a diverse array of cultural activities for women. Questions of religion and of the virtues of female performance often mitigated the public roles of women in urban and conservative communities, but this was not universally the case for Central Asia. Traditional music performers in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were often women and there was an entire genre of music competitions dedicated to challenges of skill between men and women. Women also played important roles in traveling folk theaters throughout the region. The arrival of the Russian Empire to the region did little to change traditional cultural behavior as imperial officials preferred to avoid local affairs.

The arrival of the Soviet era, however, radically changed the cultural landscape of the region. Performance styles tended toward classical European or static folk cultural forms. Women excelled in classical ballet, opera, and music and their success complemented the Soviet political assault (*hujum*) on traditional values manifested in *kalym* and veiling. The first generation of Central Asian ballet dancers, Galia Ismailova, Bernara Karieva, Rozia Karimova, and Mukaram Turgunbaeva, gained recognition across the Soviet Union. At the same time, the “Kazakh Nightingale,” Kuliash Baiseitova, became famous from Central Asia to Moscow for her performances of traditional and operatic music while Dina Nurpeisova was revered for her talent in playing Kazakh instrumental works. The bifurcation of popular culture was cautiously balanced between folkloric and European as evidenced by the Uzbek Ethnographic Company, which explored traditional dance and music during the 1920s while

Isadora Duncan performed in Tashkent and in Samarkand between 1927 and 1932.

After the Second World War, film industries in Central Asia flourished and women played key roles in a diversity of films: contemporary urban dramas, civil war and revolutionary themes, wartime patriotism, folk legends, and premodern historical productions. Soviets took great pride in promoting modern images of women to demonstrate the success of their cultural reforms. Tashkent became the epicenter of cultural exchanges between the Soviet Union cultural emissaries of Africa, Latin America, and Asia.

By the 1950s and 1960s, women had increasing autonomy to promote their own cultural endeavors. Mukaram Turgunbaeva founded a dance company, Bahor (Spring), borrowing on European classical and Uzbek traditional dance styles. Dinara Asanova became the first major female director from Central Asia. In the late 1970s and 1980s, Roza Rymbaeva arrived on the Kazakh popular music scene with her strong voice and strident personality to expand the outreach of Central Asian music as a major Soviet pop-artist.

In the past decade popular music has emerged as the most dominant popular cultural outlet for women in Central Asia. The music of the Central Asian “Madonna,” Yulduz Usmanova, fills the cafés, streets, and markets across the region. The increasing awareness of Russian and South Asian versions of MTV (music television) has introduced competing influences and aesthetic tastes but deeper contact with the international culture of music and its objectification of women. Music videos from Central Asia tend to play both on European images of female beauty and exoticized dance and dress.

International events such as the Voice of Asia Contest held annually in Almaty since 1991 have raised the cultural profile of the region. The format is similar to the European Music Festival in which national pride and musical styles are on display for the entire continent. Central Asian music has shown itself to be resilient as well as experimental in its expression of national identities. In its function as a spiritual, social, artistic, and political medium, music has not only demonstrated its historical significance but has also played a fundamental and persistent role in daily life.

Women continue to play significant roles in Central Asian television, in both news and cultural programming. Dariga Nazarbaeva, the daughter of the president and owner of the major Kazakh television channel, was recently one of the main judges on the popular television program, “Superstar KZ,” a Kazakh variant of the international television

phenomenon of “American Idol.” Another presidential daughter, Gulnara Karimova, has recently released a music video aimed to improve her popular appeal with Uzbeks. Under the stage name Goo-gosha, Karimova has recorded several pop music songs to complement her political aspirations.

In the post-Soviet era, Central Asian women have adapted well to the new economy and women rank as some of the wealthiest people in the region. Several successful associations for women business owners have emerged and support outreach and educational programs for prospective women entrepreneurs. In Kazakhstan, a women’s political party, Yel Dana (Wisdom of the Nation), was founded to defend their political and economic interests.

The Eurasian International Film Festival, which has grown into a major global event, has been an important forum for women directors and actors from the region. The influential film scholar and editor, Gulnara Abikeeva, has played a key role in the festival’s developing success. Although recent limited opportunities and funding have marginalized women’s role in film production, there are signs that this is changing. Film director Gulshat Omarova has succeeded in demonstrating that women can lead major film productions in the more conservative post-Soviet cultural landscape of Central Asia.

Evidence of the disparity of regional politics and economics has been manifest in the world of culture as well. In Turkmenistan, there is little acceptable public culture outside the philosophy and persona of President Saparmurat Niyazov (1940–2006). While he extended his own cult of personality to include his mother, he effectively banished cultural forms connected with Russia and Europe during his rule. He closed the Opera and Ballet Theater, the Youth Theater, and the State Philharmonic Hall in the endeavor to render past Soviet influences null and void. Women have largely been marginalized through these efforts.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Abikeeva, *The heart of the world. Films from Central Asia*, Almaty 2003.
- F. Acar and A. Günes-Ayata (eds.), *Gender and identity construction. Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*, Leiden 2000.
- Y. Corcoran-Nantes, *Lost voices. Central Asian women confronting transition*, London 2005.
- G. Dönmez-Colin, *Women, Islam and cinema*, London 2004.
- A. Ishkanian, Gendered transitions. The impact of the post-Soviet transition on women in Central Asia and the Caucasus, in M. P. Amineh and H. Houweling (eds.), *Central Eurasia in global politics*, Leiden 2005, 161–84.

## Indonesia

### WOMEN, FAMILY, AND NATION/STATE

Contributions to other sections of this encyclopedia, especially those of Sylvia Tiwon and Kathy Robinson, document extensively the way understandings of women and gender in colonial and postcolonial nations have become linked with modernization and nation-building. Central in this process has been the iconic force of the family as a metaphor for the nation. Modernizing nationalist elites regarded reform of traditional family structures, viewed as oppressive to women, as a key aspect of their struggle to create a new, enlightened political order. Conservatives valorized women’s traditional familial roles, and their “natural” feminine traits of modesty, refinement, and dependence, as expressive of authentic national cultural identity.

Modern cultural forms contribute to this process of representation. Literary fiction, created within a changing social order, reflects on the impact of change in the domain of personal, familial relations. Mass media such as film, television, popular music, and magazines propagate ideal and disvalued images of women and gender relations. Such image-making may be conscious and deliberate, transmitted through government policies and imposed through censorship, or more diffusely reflective of a general ideological climate.

The development of Indonesian literature and popular media through successive decades illustrates these processes. A key feature of pre-war writing, both “serious” novels and popular fiction, is the ambivalent representation of the educated “modern woman” – ambitious, idealistic, but often overly Westernized and vulnerable to immorality (Hatley 2002, Pausacker and Coppel 2001). During the 1950s and early 1960s, strong nationalist sentiment was reflected in the predominance in film and other media of Indonesia’s recent revolution against the Dutch (Sen 1994, 19–20, 38–42), with women appearing largely as helpmates of men involved in military combat or struggling to adjust to postwar conditions. The New Order regime, which came to power in the mid-1960s, drew on an explicit family model of state and nation to justify the authoritarian political structures through which it pursued its goal of economic development. Within this vision, women’s familial roles as wives and mothers were lauded as expressions of good citizenship. Mass women’s organizations were set up to reinforce these ideas, and engage women in their social implementation.

In popular culture, hegemonic state ideology and market forces have been shown to combine an idealized image of women – glamorously attractive but passive, dependent, locked into wife and mother roles. Krishna Sen describes the prominence of silence as an emblem of femininity in films of the 1970s and 1980s (Sen 1994, 141–4). Saraswati Sunindyo shows how drama serials produced for state television promote the message that “a woman’s place is in the home with her family and that even if she works outside the home the family should have first priority in her life” (Sunindyo 1993, 138). Women’s magazines likewise are seen to reinforce *budaya ikut suami* “the culture of following one’s husband” (Suryakusuma 1998, 114).

Eventually, however, global economic forces and cultural influences began to affect this picture. State discourses on gender have shifted to take account of women’s employment outside the home, and images of working women, using computers and mobile phones, proliferate in advertising (Sen 1998). Urban, middle-class women, through consumption of Western cultural forms and occasional foreign travel, are exposed to a variety of gender discourses. For the vast mass of rural and lower class women, however, the chief source of entertainment and cultural knowledge remains television soap operas, with their ongoing themes of romance and domesticity.

The focus of this entry is women’s participation and representation in the popular media in Indonesia in the contemporary period, from the 1980s to the present day. A major question is that of continuity or variation in the picture described thus far, of ideological construction of women in terms of their family roles within a modernizing society and nation. Another is the role of Islamic values and cultural reference in media activities over this period. While Islamic concerns had previously held a very minor place in modern Indonesian cultural forms, the Islamic revival that occurred in Indonesia from the 1980s onwards, coinciding with international developments, has found significant expression in the popular media. What have been the implications for representations of women and gender?

#### ISLAMIC ELEMENTS IN POPULAR CULTURE

Despite the predominance of Islamic religion among the Indonesian population, modern cultural expression in Indonesia was introduced through the secular education system established by the Dutch, and new cultural forms took on the secular concerns of the Western-educated elite who produced

them. Religious practice played little part in the lifestyle of the young protagonists of pre-war fiction, and religious issues featured only marginally in the dilemmas of modern life they faced. Films and popular music, produced largely by Europeans, Eurasians, and ethnic Chinese, relied strongly on Western models. During the 1950s and 1960s, a few personally devout writers and filmmakers took up Islamic themes, but the vast majority of fictional and film texts focused on heroic struggle against the Dutch and the hardships of everyday life for the poor. The popular cultural forms that flourished in the early 1970s with improved economic conditions promoted glamorous images of Western-style modernity, once again with little reference to Islamic themes or imagery.

But by the late 1970s, an important new development had taken place with the emergence of a hybrid new musical genre, *dangdut*. *Dangdut* drew on the rhythms and instrumentation of *orkestrasi melayu*, a Middle Eastern and Indian-influenced musical genre, previously cultivated by strongly Muslim communities. It combined these elements with the electronic effects and spectacle of Western rock music, to create a powerfully popular mix (Frederick 1982). Though not inherently Islamic in a religious sense, the musical genre had a strong Islamic/Middle Eastern cultural ambience. Its rise to prominence in national popular culture broke through earlier codes marginalizing Islamic-style music from the cultural mainstream. Moreover, the leading performer and proponent of *dangdut* at this time, Rhoma Irama, expressed explicit religious commitment through his music. The lyrics of many of the songs he performed and recorded with his band, Soneta Group, and the themes of his films, are imbued with Islamic religious concepts and social morality.

Rhoma Irama’s film plots concern the struggles and virtues of ordinary, lower-class folk, often presenting a rags-to-riches story of poor boy or girl made good. Gender imagery is very conservative. In the 1975 movie *Raja Dangdut* (King of Dangdut), for example, Rhoma Irama, playing himself as *dangdut* superstar, spurns the wealthy, highly-Westernized, sexually-free young woman his mother has chosen as his wife. Instead he chooses an innocent young schoolgirl. Confirming that the young girl, Ida, attends an Islamic high school, Rhoma remarks approvingly, “With a grounding in religion you will become a good wife later on.” Religious values are invoked to support the ideal of woman as virtuous wife and mother, and to demonize its opposite, the young woman who dares to break the rules of female modesty and restraint.



This movie can also be seen to fit a pattern that Amrih Widodo suggests is common in Indonesian tele-movies, whereby a young woman of poor, often rural background must struggle against a female antagonist who is “rich, sophisticated . . . and modern.” In a process of identification for viewers, “the protagonist becomes a role model idealized as the bearer of moral values of simplicity, fidelity, honesty, dignity, loyalty and piety amidst the corrupt consequences of modernity” (Widodo 2002, 10). In *Raja Dangdut*, poor, strongly-Islamic women may find not only reinforcement of the conventional ideal of modest, virtuous wife, but also a gratifying sense of moral superiority to the immodest, overly-Westernized women of the middle and upper classes.

Indeed, a discourse opposing Western cultural influence and valorizing Islamic codes of dress and behavior for women was becoming widespread in the society. In the late 1970s and 1980s in Indonesia, as in other Islamic countries, many young women adopted the Muslim headscarf as an assertion of moral purity and distinct cultural identity vis-à-vis the excessive freedom of Western culture. Through the 1990s the trend consolidated. In the field of popular culture, some prominent women film stars and singers took up the *jilbab* and made the pilgrimage to Mecca, their stories liberally covered in the popular media. A new style of magazine appeared, aimed at Muslim women and families, featuring cover photos of demurely covered women in place of the glamorous, Westernized female images of other women’s magazines. Inside there were illustrations of Islamic fashions, recipes for halal meals, and articles about child-raising. These images of women within the family seemed to constitute an Islamic vision of Indonesian modernity, distinct from the model of Western-oriented consumerism.

In reality, however, the division between these two approaches has proved blurred and uneven. Suzanne Brenner contrasts cover photos of women from a 1990 and 1996 issue of the Islamic magazine *Amanah*. While the earlier issue shows a pious young mother with her son, both looking intently at a book of Islamic writing, the later one depicts a sexy young woman in a filmy, see-through headscarf, gazing at the camera with a “come-hither” look. Brenner reads the contrast as evidence of the cooption of “at least some segments of the Islamic movement” by mainstream consumerist values, so that Islamic modernity presents as “just another middle class lifestyle, with its own glossy magazines, glamorous covers and fashion industry” (Brenner 1999, 3).

Similar forces may be seen at work in shifts over time in the form and social image of *dangdut* music. As its popularity grew and spread, *dangdut* took on different forms for different audiences and contexts – slickly sophisticated in middle-class night clubs; syrupy, blended with mainstream pop music on prime time television: overtly raunchy, with women singers in tiny costumes gyrating before huge crowds of ogling men at open-air concerts for the urban masses. The original Islamic cultural reference and populist suggestion of *dangdut* faded in significance as the form adapted to the tastes of new groups of consumers. In its various transformations, bodily images of female performers play a dominant role in defining the genre, and attracting audiences (Pioquinto, 1995). The sensational *dangdut* singer Inul, whose provocative gyrations have brought her immense popularity and international fame, but also censure for immorality from Islamic figures, is emblematic of this trend (Walsh and Pelaihari 2003).

#### DILEMMAS OF MODERNITY

By the end of the New Order period, analysts of popular culture in Indonesia describe a situation of general commodification and sexualization of representations of women. Women were no longer portrayed simply as housewives serving husband and family, but had acquired new roles in advertisements, on television, and on stage, as alluring decorations, selected by looks rather than talent, “objects whose main value consists of sexual attraction,” in the words of academic media specialist Ade Armando (2000, 8). Feminist Julia Suryakusuma presents a similar picture of popular culture dominated by sexuality, but attributes more agency to women. For the middle classes, “the image of Indonesian woman approaching the end of the millennium is a woman who is sexy, attractive, humorous and capable, both domestically and professionally, who can invite and even lead men” (Suryakusuma 2000).

Yet women’s assumption of more overt sexuality, and of employment outside the home, existed alongside their continuing representation in the traditional wife and mother role. The potential contradictions in these roles constitute a core theme in popular culture, particularly in relation to the dilemmas of the *wanita karir*, the career woman. Articles, letters, and stories in women’s magazines as well as innumerable television melodramas depicted the dangers to stable family life of women’s work outside the home. Troublesome behavior by teenagers was attributed to neglect by busy mothers; the temptation of a workplace affair

was resolved by the wife leaving work to stay home and pay proper attention to her husband (Brenner 1999, Aripurnami 2000).

For younger women, widespread social acceptance of the discourse of romantic love and individual choice of marriage partner, combined with ongoing expectations of female respectability and virginity at marriage, has been seen to produce considerable strain. Although no longer subject to arranged marriages, young women still have responsibility for maintaining family interests in choosing a marriage partner. Pam Nilan suggests that popular magazine stories about love gone wrong mirror the real life dilemmas of young women in choosing a boyfriend given the penalties incurred by a wrong choice – unhappy marriage if the relationship continued, “soiled goods” image and dishonor to the girl’s family if it broke up (Nilan 2001a).

Women continued to be depicted in terms of their roles within the family, and the fate of the family was conflated with that of the nation. The contradictions of late twentieth-century Indonesian modernization, anxiety about the incompatibility with Indonesian values of the secularism and excessive personal freedom of Western style modernity, were projected onto women.

For the New Order government, the emphasis on women and family as a locus of potential threat to national stability arguably served to distract attention away from “real crises of citizenship,” such as the widening gap between rich and poor, ethnic tensions, and ubiquitous, endemic corruption (Brenner 1999, 36–7). Eventually, however, the economic crisis of 1997 and ensuing political unrest brought about the demise of the Suharto regime: the president’s resignation in 1998 ushered in a new political constellation. Given the picture described earlier, of the crucial role of the state in constructing images of women and gender and fostering their projection through the mass media, the question arises how this major change in state structure has impacted on media representation of women.

#### CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

So far, the emergent new political system might be seen as too ill-defined to be reflected in clear shifts in popular ideology. The advent of a woman president, replacing the old patriarch, Suharto, probably had little impact on expectations of women, given Megawati’s conventional image, low profile, and seeming political dependency. On the whole, mass entertainment may be little changed – *sinetron* telemovies, for example, are described as “almost invulnerable to Indonesia’s recent economic

crises and political turmoil,” being dominated by the standard formulae of “love stories, domestic affairs and popular stars” (Widodo 2002, 9). At the same time, however, both in the political sphere and the cultural domain, many smaller, locally based developments are taking place which could have significant implications for the social experience and ideological representation of women.

The final years of the New Order period saw the growth of vast numbers of non-governmental organizations, providing alternative channels for social development to the institutions of the state. Among these were many groups staffed largely by women and focusing on women’s concerns. As the Suharto regime faltered and fell, the activities of these groups increased. Islamic women’s groups were particularly prominent, some addressing “openly and directly the issue of justice for women in the public as well as the domestic sphere” (Marcoes 2002, 193). In regions of political conflict and communal violence, women’s groups were prominent in bringing communities together (Budianta 2002).

Such developments in the social/political sphere have flowed on in various ways to cultural activities and media representation. Women visual artists, politicized by the anti-female violence of the 1998 Jakarta riots, produced works depicting women’s victimization by, but also resistance to, male aggression (Bianpoen 2002, 93–4). Public debate of issues such as marital rape, in the press and on talk back radio, attracts significant attention (Baso and Idrus 2000, 206). A burst of recent literary works on the theme of violence, particularly the repressive brutality of the New Order military, includes chilling stories by young Islamic women about female suffering in contested areas such as Aceh.

So many fictional works by young women authors have appeared recently as to be described as a boom in “chick lit.” The liberated sexuality of much of this writing has attracted great controversy, but the novels of Ayu Utami, Dee Lestari, Nukila Amal, and others are also widely praised for their innovative themes and writing style. Figures such as the assertive young female protagonists of Ayu Utami’s novel *Saman*, or *Supernova*, the title figure in Dee Lestari’s first novel, a top class prostitute with superhuman psychological powers, fly in the face of established gender stereotypes.

Young filmmakers, too, including several prominent women producer/directors, are creating films reflecting in novel ways on gender and family relations. *Eliana*, *Eliana*, for example, depicts a mother/daughter relationship in which individual fulfilment is unexpectedly allowed priority over family ties. In the blockbuster teen movie *Ada apa*

*dengan Cinta*?, families appear only peripherally in a story of peer group solidarity versus “deviant” individual romance. The notion of woman within the family, defined by domestic relations and responsibilities, seems to have been superseded.

Popular magazines, similarly, include more varied representations of women. The April 2001 edition of the trendy *djakarta!* marked the anniversary of the nationalist/feminist heroine Kartini with profiles of women human rights workers and labor activists rather than the usual glamorous, successful media stars and business executives. One magazine, *Jurnal Perempuan*, edited by Gadis Arivia, a former lecturer in women’s studies, explicitly assumes the role of conveying information about feminist issues and promoting more progressive representations of women. Each issue highlights a particular topic such as pornography, the world-wide women’s movement, and the experience of women in areas of conflict in Indonesia.

The editors of *Jurnal Perempuan* have also directly addressed an issue alluded to earlier in this entry – the fact that new images and expectations of women are generally confined to the urban educated middle class who have the opportunity to read literature, view films, and travel. In 1998, *Jurnal Perempuan* began producing a weekly radio program, presenting down to earth material on women and gender and distributed to all provinces throughout the country for rebroadcast on local stations. Once a month the program highlighted issues concerning women of a particular region, researched on location by *Jurnal Perempuan* journalists and featuring interviews with local women. In this way women in the regions, in rural areas and urban slums, have been given a sense of the interest and worth of their own life experience, and learn about that of others.

Just how such understanding combines with, modifies, or contradicts the influence of images from the all-pervasive medium of television is yet to be explored. Some commentators see in women’s watching of television dramas not simply the passive absorption of a model of dependent, decorative femininity, as suggested by many feminist critics, but a more active, empowering engagement. Amrih Widodo, as noted earlier, writes of the identification of village and small town women with the victory of innocent, virtuous rural female protagonists over the corrupting, materialistic values of the big city (Widodo 2002). Pam Nilan describes how the adventures of telemovie heroines, from both local and imported shows, serve to validate the world of domestic incident and gossip inhabited by viewers themselves (Nilan 2001b). Such actively imagined

womanly worlds might be relatively open to adjustment, variation, and expansion.

Many questions remain. A central one is how recent developments in Islam in Indonesia and internationally have impacted on popular conceptions and representations of gender. One finds considerable discussion in the press and on the Internet of issues such as polygamy and domestic violence, exposing injustice and arguing for a more progressive, contextualized interpretation of Islamic law. But there is also much reflection in the media of conservative, fundamentalist views of women and relations between the sexes. The implementation of the new political policy of regional autonomy has led to moves to implement *syariah* Islamic law, including strict regulation of women’s dress and social activities. Local newspapers report incidents of violent punishment of women for violating these codes (Noerdin 2002, 183). A draft anti-pornography law proposing dress and behavioral codes highly restrictive for women stirred great public controversy in 2005–6 (Allen 2007). Although the fate of the law remains unresolved, the issue has revealed a sharp polarization between a predominantly Islamic segment of society supporting moral control and conservative roles for women and more liberal social groups.

In many ways the observations made at the beginning of this entry, on the shaping of representations of women and gender in Indonesia by processes of nation-building and modernization, might be seen as still relevant. The incidents mentioned here provide striking illustration of the “mobilization” of the bodies of women as emblems of collective values and sense of identity. But now the monolithic conceptions of nation, state, and Indonesian modernity of earlier times have been replaced by plural possibilities. And a variety of social models and media images for women have opened up – some intimidating, some potentially demeaning, but others liberating and empowering.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- P. Allen, Challenging diversity? Indonesia’s anti-pornography bill, in *Asian Studies Review* (forthcoming).
- S. Aripurnami, Whiny, finicky, bitchy and revealing. The image of women in Indonesian films, in M. Oey-Gardiner and C. Bianpoen (eds.), *Indonesian women. The journey continues*, Canberra 2000, 50–65.
- A. Armando, Women in the media. Beautiful, stunning and spoilt [in Indonesian], in *Jurnal Perempuan* 13 (March–May 2000), 112–15.
- Z. Baso and I. Idrus, Women’s activism against violence in South Sulawesi, in K. Robinson and S. Bessell (eds.), *Women in Indonesia. Gender, equity and development*, Singapore 2002, 198–208.
- C. Bianpoen, Indonesian women artists. Between vision

- and formation, in M. Oey-Gardiner and C. Bianpoen (eds.), *Indonesian women. The journey continues*, Canberra 2000, 66–94.
- S. Blackburn and B. Hatley, Representations of women's roles in household and society in women's writings of the 1930s, in J. Koning et al. (eds.), *Women and households in Indonesia. Cultural notions and social practices*, Richmond, Surrey 2000, 45–67.
- S. Brenner, On the public intimacy of the New Order. Images of women in the popular Indonesian print media, in *Indonesia* 67 (April 1999), 13–38.
- M. Budianta, Plural identities. Indonesian women's redefinition of democracy in the post-Reformasi Era, in *Review of Indonesian and Malayan Affairs* 36:2 (2002), 45–67.
- W. Frederick, Rhoma Irama and the dangdut style. Aspects of contemporary Indonesian popular culture, in *Indonesia* 34 (October 1982), 103–30.
- B. Hatley, Literature, mythology and regime change, in K. Robinson and S. Bessell (eds.), *Women in Indonesia. Gender, equity and development*, Singapore 2002a, 130–43.
- , Post-coloniality and the feminine in modern Indonesian literature, in K. Foulcher and T. Day (eds.), *Clearing a space. Postcolonial readings of modern Indonesian literature*, Leiden 2002b.
- L. Marcoes, Women's grassroots movements in Indonesia. A case study of the PKK and Islamic women's organisations, in K. Robinson and S. Bessell (eds.), *Women in Indonesia. Gender, equity and development*, Singapore 2002, 187–97.
- P. Nilan, Gendered dreams. Women watching *sinetron* (soap operas) on Indonesian TV, in *Indonesia and the Malay World* 29:84 (2001a), 85–98.
- , Young Indonesian women and the discourse of romance, paper presented at Women in Asia Conference, Australian National University, Canberra, September 2001b.
- E. Noerdin, Customary institutions, Syariah law and the marginalisation of Indonesian women, in K. Robinson and S. Bessell (eds.), *Women in Indonesia. Gender, equity and development*, Singapore 2002, 179–86.
- H. Pausacker and C. Coppel, Lovesick. Illness and romance and the portrayal of women in Low Malay novels from the Dutch East Indies, in *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 35:1 (Winter 2001), 43–78.
- C. Pioquinto, *Dangdut* at Sekaten. Female representations in live performance, in *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 29 (1995), 59–89.
- K. Robinson, Families. Metaphors of nation. Overview, in S. Joseph (gen. ed.), *Encyclopedia of women and Islamic cultures*, ii, *Family, law and politics* (Leiden 2005), 154–60.
- K. Sen, *Indonesian cinema framing the New Order*, London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1994.
- , Indonesian women at work. Reframing the subject, in K. Sen and M. Stevens (eds.), *Gender and power in affluent Asia*, London and New York 1998, 35–62.
- S. Sunindyo, Gender discourse on television, in V. Matheson-Hooker (ed.), *Culture and society in New Order Indonesia*, Kuala Lumpur 1993, 134–48.
- J. Suryakusuma, The difficult burden of women's magazines [in Indonesian], in I. S. Ibrahim and H. Suranto (eds.), *Wanita dan Media*, Bandung 1998, 33–5.
- , Women, pornography and pop culture [in Indonesian], in *Jurnal Perempuan* 13 (March–May 2000), 33–5.
- S. Tiwon, Indonesia. Early 20th century to present, in S. Joseph (gen. ed.), *Encyclopedia of women and Islamic cultures*, i, *Methodologies, paradigms and sources*, Leiden 2003, 235–7.
- B. Walsh and Pelaihari, Inul's rules. A new idol is putting some sex and sizzle into Indonesia's pop music scene, in *Time Asia Magazine*, 24 March 2003.
- A. Widodo, Consuming passions, in *Inside Indonesia* 72 (October–December 2002), 8–10.

BARBARA HATLEY

## North America

Muslim women in North America have availed themselves of various media vehicles to demonstrate and assert their presence in the public sphere. In the process, many of these women have dispelled the commonly held tropes that Muslim women eschew modernity and are disempowered. Immigrant and indigenous women alike have carved a niche in the landscape of popular culture in the fields of television, film, poetry, music, and the arts to express themselves and their community. In a sense, these women have been inspired by the rich and vibrant heritage of Islamic civilization and its legacy of attention to the aesthetic pursuits. In expressing creative and resonant voices, Muslim women in the United States and Canada use existing institutions through which they can convey their messages and also take the initiative to develop and establish new channels and conduits. The burgeoning and rapidly changing areas of technology and telecommunications have greatly facilitated and enhanced the ability of Muslim women to engage in and contribute to the formulation of a common and collective culture shared by themselves and non-Muslims alike. Their efforts have been particularly profound and timely in the aftermath of 11 September 2001, by showing an oftentimes underrepresented facet of Muslim culture, one that defies stereotype and generalization: female, assimilated, and integrated, yet at the same time unambiguously and unapologetically Muslim.

## POETRY

Poetry has a rich and sustained legacy in Islamic civilization. Throughout history, Muslim women have been active participants in this endeavor. There are several women who express themselves through poetry, either as in their careers or as a pastime. Su'ad Abdul Khabeer, a graduate student at Princeton University, and Sham-e-Ali al-Jamil, a poet and lawyer, publish and perform their poetry in English to audiences across the United States. Abdul Khabeer, an African American Muslim, writes about women's issues and contemporary urban American conditions. Al-Jamil, born in India but reared in England and the United States, chooses themes such as women and social change in

the post 11 September 2001 world. Poet and activist, Palestinian American Suheir Hammad focuses her work on subjects ranging from the occupation of the Palestinian Territories to Hurricane Katrina. Some Muslim women present their work on the Internet, in forums such as <www.samarmagazine.org>, the website for the *South Asian Magazine for Action and Reflection*. Mohja Kahf teaches literature at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. A Syrian American, Kahf writes about image construction and representations of Muslim women as well as women's sexuality.

#### COMEDY

Comedy has proved to be a powerful device for both social and political commentary as well as its ability to humanize the ethnic, religious, and racial identity of its proponents. Since 11 September 2001, stand-up comedy has been employed by several Muslim women to entertain, to educate, and to raise awareness of the concerns and challenges faced by the community, from issues of racial and religious profiling to the public perception of the headscarf. Maysoun Zayid, a Palestinian American with cerebral palsy, takes on sensitive topics such as her own condition as well the Arab–Israeli conflict and terrorism in order to raise public awareness in a humor filled setting. Negin Farsad is part of the Muslim Jewish comedy duo, Madame Funnypants, with Alexander Zalben. Her sketch comedy includes “Bootleg Islam” and other stand-up routines dealing with contemporary social and political issues. Although she is from Great Britain, Shazia Mirza has developed a loyal and growing following in North America, among both Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

#### ART AND ARTISTRY

Following in the spirit of a 14 centuries-long tradition of magnificent artwork, Muslim women in North America have gained recognition for their talents in Western cultural circles. Shazia Sikander is a Pakistani American whose miniatures – which in style evoke the traditional art of Pakistan with a contemporary treatment of women in Islam and other religions – have been exhibited at the Smithsonian Institution's Hirshhorn Museum in Washington, D.C. and New York's Whitney Museum. Asma Arshad is a multimedia specialist based in Toronto. Her paintings, primarily of Muslim and South Asian women, appear in several contemporary art galleries and exhibitions. As project director of the Cre8iv8o Studio, she is actively involved in the promotion of the arts in both the Muslim community and in the larger Canadian society. In the area

of music, Zuriani Zonneveld is a Malaysian American Grammy Award-winning singer and producer, who has collaborated with mainstream artists such as Melissa Manchester and Brenda Russell, as well as blues artist Keb'Mo'. Zonneveld pays homage to her ethnic heritage in her music, infusing Asian sounds and tempos into Western melodies and themes of social justice and ecumenism.

#### BROADCAST AND PRINT MEDIA

The power of television as a medium for communication should not be understated. The dissemination of ideas and the shaping of popular culture are chiefly accomplished through their public presence on air. Muslim women have also increased their profile in the field of news reporting. They have reported and highlighted issues such as women's health and working conditions as well as specific topics such as the headscarf worldwide, including in the Muslim world. Rudi Bakhtiar, an Iranian American, has served as an anchorwoman on CNN Headline News; she is currently a correspondent for Fox News. Yet Muslim women occupy not only positions of influence in the public sphere; some have engaged in the equally important behind-the-scenes roles. Farah Ispahani is the managing editor and executive producer for *Beyond the Headlines* on Voice of America news service. She has more than two decades of experience at major news networks such as ABC, NBC, and CNN. Aasiya Zubair, a Pakistani American, is Programming Director for Bridges TV, North America's first full-time American Muslim television network. Bridges TV is an English language broadcasting channel that seeks to “bridge” the West and the Muslim world. Although it caters primarily to the approximately 8 million Muslims living in North America, Bridges TV offers programming that is educational and geared toward non-Muslim consumption as well. Launched in December 2004 as a subscription-based pay service, Bridges TV has now become part of Comcast's basic digital cable service, and continues to be available on other cable providers and satellite television services. Tayyibah Taylor and Marlina Soerakoesoemah are the creative minds behind *Azizah Magazine*, a periodical devoted entirely to issues concerning Muslim women. Along with Maryam Aziz, they produce a magazine dedicated to be the voice for Muslim women, with feature sections on current events, politics, fitness, fashion, and travel.

#### FILM AND DOCUMENTARIES

Film is a powerful medium of communication in the modern age, and several Muslim women have

employed this field as directors, writers, producers, and even actors. They have chosen to make documentaries as well as light-hearted movies to appeal to a broad base of public preferences. Zarqa Nawaz is a Canadian filmmaker who has written, produced, and directed several projects, such as the 1995 satirical short film, *BBQ Muslims*. The title of the movie comes from its plot, which involves two Canadian Muslim brothers whose backyard barbecue grill explodes while they are sleeping. Their neighbors, the media, and even the legal system suspect them of being terrorists. The film was made in the aftermath of the 1995 Oklahoma City terrorist bombing, where Muslims were wrongly accused of the attack. Nawaz attempted to satirize the hysteria and reflexive suspicions cast on Muslims for anything involving a detonation. Her second film, *Death Threat*, tackles the issue of Muslim stereotypes in the media. In 2007, Nawaz created a comedy, *Little Mosque on the Prairie*, broadcast weekly on Canadian television. The plot involves a small Muslim community's interaction with the other residents of a rural town in the Canadian province of Saskatchewan. Her work has received critical acclaim and recognition and has been well received across religious and cultural lines. Naheed Mustafa is also from Canada; she focuses on documentaries, examining issues such as the headscarf and the public perceptions it creates in *My Body is My Own Business*. The film chronicles how some Muslim women have begun to reclaim the headscarf as part of their religious and cultural identity. Nilofer Pazira, a Canadian journalist, took an acting role in the 2001 documentary film, *Kandahar*, chronicling her attempts to return to her native Afghanistan in the aftermath of Taliban rule.

#### THE INTERNET

Muslim women have been very adept at availing themselves of new technologies and the advantages they bring. The Internet, for example, provides connectivity as well as relative anonymity. It also allows Muslim women to communicate with one another irrespective of their level of mobility. Many websites have emerged that cater to the needs and issues that affect and concern Muslim women; <hijab.com> is one such website. Mohja Kahf not only writes poetry; she is a regular contributor to a column entitled, "Sex and the Umma," which is maintained on the website <www.muslimwakeup.com>. Layla al-Mariyati, a gynecologist-obstetrician in Los Angeles, uses her medical expertise to provide advice on the column as well. Muslim women also use Internet sites (for example <www.naseeb.com.>) to meet prospective suitors, as the

natural physical barriers of the Internet facilitate discretion and protect Islamic sensitivities.

#### CONCLUSION

Muslim women in North America have been very active in their engagement with the various facets of popular culture. Recognizing the huge influence that popular culture has in shaping public perception, these women have seized upon an opportunity to express themselves and to demonstrate the vibrancy of Islamic society. By using media such as television, film, literature, poetry, music, and the Internet, Muslim women have entered the public sphere, shattering preconceived notions about themselves, their religion, and their cultures while asserting their presence through expression in the entire spectrum of communication arenas. The effective use of technology greatly expands and enhances the ability of these women to express themselves, reaching local and global audiences at the same speed. While offering an alternative, dynamic view of Muslim culture, Muslim women in North America are shaping popular culture for themselves and for society at large.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Abdul-Ghafur (ed.), *Living Islam out loud*, Boston 2005.  
 S. Ali, *Madras on rainy days*, New York 2004.  
 U. A. Khan, *Trespassing*, New York 2001.  
 —, *Story of noble rot*, New York 2002.  
 A. Moaveni, *Lipstick jihad*, New York 2004.  
 M. Satrapi, *Persepolis*, New York 2004.  
 —, *Persepolis 2*, New York 2004.  
 K. Shamsie, *City by the sea*, New York 2004.  
 —, *Salt and saffron*, New York 2004.  
 —, *Kartography*, New York 2004.  
 —, *Broken verses*, New York 2004.

SAEED A. KHAN

#### Southeast Asia, East Asia, Australia, and the Pacific (excepting Indonesia)

From the mid-1980s there has been a huge expansion of studies of popular culture in East Asia and its contiguous regions. This has occurred both because of the rediscovery of popular culture as a legitimate subject for scholarly study as part of the newly formulated interdisciplinary field of cultural studies, and because of the realization that globalization has cultural as well as economic dimensions. Societies in the Asia-Pacific region have experienced huge degrees of mutual cultural interpenetration (musics, food, fashion, film, and comic art in particular) that have reshaped their patterns of cultural consumption and expression.

But while popular cultural studies have expanded, they have largely excluded women's experience and voices and have certainly given little attention to the contribution and role of Muslim women. These absences need to be filled by drawing attention to the significant role of Islamic influences and of individual Muslim women in the shaping of popular culture in the Asia-Pacific region.

Much of Southeast Asia (here excluding Indonesia, the subject of a separate entry) is Muslim – the majority populations of Malaysia and Brunei, significant minorities in Singapore, southern Thailand, and the southern parts of the Philippines, and with small communities in Myanmar and Cambodia. China has a large Muslim population, consisting of the Uygur (Turkic speaking) communities of Xinjiang along the old Silk Road route to the Middle East and the indigenous Hui people of Chinese ethnicity and living for centuries spatially integrated into the Han majority. But for the rest of East Asia (Japan, Korea, and the former British colony of Hong Kong), Islam is a very small minority faith, represented mainly by diplomats from Muslim countries, students, and workers in small numbers and by the tiny number of local women who have married Muslims and have converted. Much the same can be said for Australia and Oceania where the absence of Muslims is a defining feature of the religious geography.

The result is that in relation to popular culture, the Asia-Pacific region can be divided into two zones – one with majority or substantially large Muslim populations (essentially Southeast Asia), and one with small Muslim minorities (East Asia and Australasia). The intersections between gender and popular culture correspond to this division in important ways. In Malaysia, Muslim women are highly represented in the fields of fashion, Malay language film and television, music, magazine writing, popular fiction, interior decoration and design, publishing, theater, dance, and the visual arts. Indeed these genres are often blurred and there is substantial overlap of roles on the part of popular singers or actresses such as Liza Hanim, Siti Nurhaliza, Noraniza Idris, and Anis Suraya. Furthermore Malaysian popular culture is fed constantly by streams coming from neighboring Indonesia and from the Middle East, in particular from the Gulf states, now a major source of tourists and investors. The Singapore Muslim community draws much of its own Islamically influenced popular culture from Malaysia, but also (given that a significant number of Singaporean Muslims are of Indian, Pakistani, or Arab origin) from India, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Pales-

tine, and the Gulf. There exists here an interesting form of religiously specific globalization, in which intense cultural interaction in the fields of popular culture (especially film, fashion, dance, and above all music) is occurring among creative people in the Muslim nations, and this also has a gendered aspect. While of course Muslim men in Asia also consume the musical output of female singers and musicians, especially those widely known across the region, such as Fairuz or Saloma, Muslim women in particular are looking to such artistes as sources of cultural inspiration and role models. For this reason Turkish popular culture plays an important role through singers such as Sertab Erener as well as the distinctive Turkish forms of dance, film, and music collectively known as Arabesk, which features or featured such prominent female singers as Bergen (famous for having lived, unmarried, with her lover/manager) and transsexuals such as the controversial Bülent Ersoy. Turkey, seen as both Muslim and modern and perhaps the most Westernized Islamic state (and a supplicant for admission into the European Union), provides an important source of inspiration across Southeast and East Asia for female consumers and practitioners of various forms of popular culture. So too do the Muslim communities of Europe (especially Britain) where a lively popular culture, itself in dialogue with the host society, gives a prominent role to female singers, dancers, and actresses and to television and film directors. In film and on television and in the still active medium of radio Malay women play prominent roles in both Malaysia and Singapore, and there is a substantial readership of women's magazines. This latter medium is an important facet of Southeast Asian Muslim women's cultural consumption and expression and a source of information about other Muslim women and their activities, business successes, and tastes in interior decoration. The prominent Malaysian (and Malay language) women's magazine *Nona*, for example, under the editorship of the significant taste-maker and female journalist Yati Rahim, carries articles on interesting female personalities such as the broadcaster and café owner (and active mother) Azlinda Mohd Rashad, and creative new female fashion designers such as Yatiza Lizawati Yahaya, Raja Norkiah Yosop, and Ayunizar Azura Abdul Maled, ideas on interior decoration and cooking, discussions of relationships and sex from an Islamic point of view, stories of successful Muslim business women, news on the arts and short stories, or extracts from a new popular novel by a local Muslim female writer such as Norhayati Berahim. While *Nona* is directed at educated, middle-class

Muslim women, many of whom in Malaysia will be university or college graduates, other magazines cater for the tastes of other social strata, but with a similar range of content, except that those intended for a younger audience contain more information on music, MTV (music television) shows, and videos and films. What these magazines clearly reveal is a vibrant female-centered cultural scene ranging across all aspects of popular culture, but firmly contextualized within a Muslim environment and in implicit negotiation with it about women's roles and rights and appropriate modes of cultural expression for Muslim women to engage in legitimately. The media have certainly provided one of these outlets, and if television is quite literally the most visible of these, radio, magazine and popular fiction writing lag not far behind.

In East Asia and Australasia, however, the picture is far more complex. There Muslims constitute only a small minority of the population and few Muslims can be said to be prominent in any of the popular culture genres, except in the Muslim majority areas of China and Inner Asia. This is not to say that Muslim women are invisible, but rather that their role and influence is more indirect. The field in which this is most clearly revealed is music. The notion of "world music" (essentially music other than that produced locally, together with Western pop and classical music and jazz) has taken significant hold in East Asia, and while it also encompasses Latin American, Indian, African, French, and minority musics, it is a category that contains large quantities of Middle Eastern, Southeast Asian (especially Malaysian and Indonesian), and North African musics, including a substantial amount of devotional music. While many of the female artistes mentioned earlier are represented, the Japanese in particular (and this is also true to a lesser extent in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Australia) also consume substantial amounts of music by Muslim women performers such as Rosiah Chik (Malaysia), Nubian music from Cairo, Moroccan music and wedding songs often by anonymous female singers, songs by Western Muslim women such as Natacha Atlas, and Yemeni music sung by the popular Sephardic Jewish singer, Ofra Haza. This has ensured that at least in music, Muslim women are well represented, and since their music is often available on MTV or in video form as well as on compact discs or audio tapes, they are highly visible. To a limited extent this is also true of film, and Iranian films, the occasional Egyptian or Indonesian film, or films from the Islamic republics of Central Asia will sometimes appear in the smaller film theaters and clubs of Tokyo, Sydney, and Can-

berra (the postcolonial Algerian film *The Battle of Algiers*, for instance, enjoying a substantial run in Australia). Fashion ideas have also spread in East Asia, often disseminated by the in-flight magazines of Gulf Air and other Middle Eastern airlines, and certain food cultures to a limited extent. Turkish food is relatively popular in Japan where Lebanese food, very popular in Australia, is just beginning to make an inroad. Tourism from East Asia to the Middle East or to the great Muslim sites of India (Agra, Delhi, and Lucknow, for example) also has its impact, and Japanese tourism to Southeast Asia is a major industry, leading to changing perceptions on both sides, including the recognition of the major role that Muslim women in Southeast Asia play in culture, trade, and media.

The British sociologist of religion and Islamicist, Bryan Turner, has argued that the biggest threat to Islam is not secularization, but popular culture. By this he appears to mean the penetration into Muslim cultures of Western media and music and the often distorted values that they may enshrine. But the study of the interaction of gender and popular culture in the Asia-Pacific region suggests that this is not necessarily so, but rather that Muslim women in the region contribute very significantly to the production of an Islamic form of popular culture, and also, through the widespread consumption of their music in particular, to the globalization and dissemination of Islamic values. As more of the world shifts to economies based on information and the production of culture, this role will prove to be more and more significant. The diasporic nature of Muslim communities in the Asia-Pacific region outside the Muslim majority countries of Malaysia, Indonesia, and Brunei ensures the interplay of cultures in the ethnically diverse societies of the region, which provides Muslim women with both alternative role models and extensive outlets for expression in the popular culture genres, opportunities that have been enthusiastically seized and responded to not only by Muslim consumers, but by people (including men in large numbers) of all religious persuasions. In fact, except for women's writing, there is no sociological evidence from the region to suggest that it is mainly women who consume other women's cultural productions. The idea too that Muslim women are somehow uniquely squeezed between fundamentalism and modernity also needs careful reconsideration, for the evidence suggests rather that in the Asia-Pacific region it is through the medium of popular culture that women are renegotiating their relationships to both religion and to the wider surrounding cultural environment, especially the consumerism



that pervades contemporary Asian and Australasian societies. Rising levels of education amongst Muslim women in the region have made more and more forms of cultural production available to them, and have also made participation in the media, magazines, and popular literature both desirable and easier.

The availability of access to popular cultural genres in the Asia-Pacific region, as both producers and consumers, has consequently greatly expanded the roles of Muslim women and is leading to the redefinition in practice if not theologically of the concepts of *izzat* (respect) and *sharafat* (honor) in which, as Anita Weiss (1994) cogently argues, the role of women is pivotal. Popular culture in the Asia-Pacific region as a consequence is a major vehicle for Muslim women to renegotiate understanding of gender, agency, sexuality, selfhood, and social roles in the context of either modernizing Muslim majority societies, or societies in which Muslims of both genders are small minorities, and in which the media, music, and fashion prove to be essential mechanisms for the emancipation and self-understanding of Muslim women, and for the globalization of Islamically informed genres, which increasingly penetrate the non-Muslim sectors of societies as diverse as Japan, Australia, and Taiwan.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Baykan, Women between fundamentalism and modernity, in B. S. Turner (ed.), *Theories of modernity and postmodernity*, London 1990, 136–46.  
 A. Bouhdiba, *Sexuality in Islam*, London 1985.  
 K. H. Chen (ed.), *Trajectories. Inter-Asia cultural studies*, London 1998.  
 B. H. Chua (ed.), *Consumption in Asia. Lifestyles and identities*, London 2000.  
 A. M. Weiss, Challenges for Muslim women in a post-modern world, in A. S. Ahmed and H. Donnan (eds.), *Islam, globalization and postmodernity*, London 1994, 127–40.

JOHN CLAMMER

### Tanzania

In East Africa, Tanzania stands out as having the highest proportion of Muslims, and a particularly vibrant and creative performance culture including improvisational theater, *taarab* music, dance music, and Swahili hip hop.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In Tanzania, popular culture has always been important for political mobilization. In the late 1950s, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the political party fighting for indepen-

dence, invited Bibi Titi Mohammed to become a member of the Central Committee. Bibi Titi Mohammed was the leader of a famous *ngoma* group, and she recruited members to the party through her *ngoma* networks (*ngoma* denotes local African musical events, including dance). Dance gained a central role in the cultural policy after independence in 1961, particularly after the country became a one-party state. The explicit goal was to unite the more than 130 ethnic groups as well as the Muslim and Christian communities. At all schools, public institutions, and state owned factories, dance troupes were established. They performed neo-traditional *ngoma* with lyrics in Swahili propagating the socialist *ujamaa* policies and praising the political leaders. In the early 1980s, independent commercial cultural troupes were formed in Dar es Salaam, performing in social halls and bars around the city. Significantly, the performers as well as the audiences at these shows cut across ethnic and religious divisions. The groups, numbering more than 40 in the 1980s, were modeled on the state-sponsored troupes, but quickly developed new genres. The new cultural forms avoided state control and focused on the challenges and moral dilemmas of the urban masses who frequent their four-hour long shows. The two most salient genres that came out of this cultural creativity were Swahili improvisational drama and popularized *taarab* music. Gender relations are of central concern in both genres, and in *taarab* in particular, Muslim women are pivotal in performance and participation.

#### SWAHILI IMPROVISATIONAL DRAMA

The commercial cultural troupes developed two separate theater genres based on existing forms. The first was *vichekesho*, comedic skits inspired by Zanzibari forms and Western silent films. The second form was *maigizo*, one-hour plays inspired by school and church theaters. Some groups use written play scripts, others short synopses. In both cases, actors are expected to improvise. In the course of rehearsal and production, a play may change content and message entirely on the basis of the actors' improvisation and audience response. In this way, the theater becomes an arena for discourse, a place where actors and audiences not only reflect upon their lived reality, but also constitute it. A major theme within Swahili popular drama is gender relations, and women are often portrayed as greedy and treacherous. A closer look reveals that women are used as powerful tropes when addressing moral dilemmas concerning the conflicting demands of the core family versus the extended family, as well as class relations. The plays may

appear conservative, but speak with many tongues, constantly negotiating state feminism and traditionalist gender roles. Female members of the audience sometimes interpret the plays differently from how the male scriptwriters intended. By rewarding the actors, among them “misbehaving” women, they communicate their own sympathies and interpretations. When television broadcasting was introduced to mainland Tanzania in 1993, Swahili drama gained a new arena. In this new medium, however, the direct communication with the audience was lost, and the television companies proved far more conservative in terms of both style and content. While it is a generic convention of live comedies to end in chaos and confusion, the television directors wanted order and reconciliation. The television version of *maigizo* also lost their burlesque, comical form. One reason may be that comedy is only too well suited to contest power.

#### TAARAB MUSIC

*Taarab* music, a form of sung poetry, has its historical roots around 1870 when the Sultan of Zanzibar, eager to develop a new court culture, sent a musician to Cairo for musical training. After his return, he organized and taught a small musical group that performed for the sultan in his palace. This elite band provided the model for the popular string musical clubs that developed in Zanzibar in the late nineteenth century (Askew 2002, 109). Today, a number of sub-genres exist. Orchestral *taarab* is performed by large orchestras consisting of mainly male musicians. Originally, the singers were all male as well, but in the 1920s Siti Binti Saad revolutionized *taarab* by becoming the first female singer and performing in Swahili. The lyrics of orchestral *taarab* songs are romantic and usually composed by men, but the most famous singer within orchestral *taarab* today is a woman, Bi Kidude. *Kidumbak* is an Africanized version of *taarab* with close connections to *ngoma*. “Women’s *taarab*” (*taarab ya wanawake*) is a form that bridges the former two (Topp Fargion 2000, 39). Tourist *taarab* is performed by small ensembles playing on acoustic instruments. Popularized *taarab*, the version which we focus on here, was developed in the mid 1980s by the commercial cultural troupes in Dar es Salaam, which incorporated it into their variety shows. In popularized *taarab*, classical string instruments have mostly been replaced by electronic instruments, *ngoma* rhythms have been incorporated, and the music has become more danceable. Above all, popularized *taarab* songs have adopted the *mipasho* (backbiting) lyrics of women’s *taarab*. The songs, often composed by men but performed

by women, use abusive language with explicit sexual metaphors to criticize rivals. The songs offer a possibility for women to express in public feelings that they often have no other acceptable way to voice. Through gifts of money to the singer and dramatized dancing, female members of the audience make the songs their own.

With the onset of multipartyism in 1992, the ruling party decided to establish its own cultural troupe, modeled on the existing independent groups. The group was named Tanzania One Theatre (TOT). Since popularized *taarab* had become the most favored item of the variety shows of the commercial troupes, the party decided to focus on this genre. In contrast to the songs accompanying neo-traditional dances, TOTs *taarab* songs do not have a political content, but follow the *mipasho* formulae. As the state capitalized on *ngoma* in the period after independence, they now capitalize on popularized *taarab* to win support, particularly among women. The press has reacted strongly against the songs and the “indecent” behavior of the female members of the audience, but for the party, winning the hearts of the masses is what counts. TOT draws large paying crowds (up to 2,000 individuals) who come to listen and participate in *taarab*, at the same time as they make themselves available to political campaigning. Interestingly, just as Bibi Titi Mohammed was pivotal in recruiting women to the party before independence, the party has invited the immensely popular and controversial *taarab* star of TOT, Khadija Kopa, to join their National Executive Committee.

In Tanzania, popular cultural forms have emerged in the interplay between official cultural policy and popular attempts to renegotiate, or even resist, state policies and cooption. While this process has been most profound in improvisational drama and popularized *taarab*, Swahili hip hop, represented by Zainab Lipangile (Zay B), among others, and neo-traditional dance music, represented by Saida Karoli, exhibit similar processes.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- K. Askew, *Performing the nation. Swahili music and cultural politics in Tanzania*, Chicago 2002.
- L. Edmondson, *Popular theatre in Tanzania. Locating tradition, woman, nation*, Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin 1999.
- S. Geiger, *TANU women. Gender and culture in the making of Tanganyikan nationalism, 1955–1965*, Oxford 1997.
- S. Lange, *Managing modernity. Gender, state and nation in the popular drama of Dar es Salaam*, Tanzania, Ph.D. diss., University of Bergen 2002.
- , *Multipartyism, rivalry, and Taarab in Dar es Salaam*, in M. Palmberg and A. Kirkegaard (eds.),

*Playing with identities in contemporary music in Africa*, Uppsala 2002, 165–80.

- A. Lihamba, Politics and theatre in Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration 1967–1984, Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1985.
- J. Topp Fargion, “Hot Kabisa!” The Mpasho phenomenon and *taarab* in Zanzibar, in F. Gunderson and G. Barz (eds.), *Mashindano! Competitive music performance in East Africa*, Dar es Salaam 2000, 39–53.

SIRI LANGE

## Turkey

Since the 1980s, the discussion of how women relate to popular culture in Turkey has been conducted around three axes in the areas of media and women’s studies: examining performance practices of gender role and patterns on the basis of content; examining the relation between consumption practices of women regarding products of popular culture and their lifestyle; and examining the media sector producing this content and its production relations. Whether these studies are cherished by the culture industry theory of the Frankfurt School or by British cultural studies’ anthropological descriptions of culture and everyday life, their common determination is that productions of popular culture are based on a given sexist definition of gender and circulate patriarchal practices.

The results of studies of consumption practices of television serials, reality shows, melodramas, popular songs, and magazines, which recreate patriarchal social practices, change in line with the epistemological sources. Recent studies of representation of Islamic practices and religious stories in popular cultural products focus on the text. Beginning in the 1990s, several studies have been carried out about the content of Islamic popular novels and Islamic advertisements in Islamist women’s magazines. The so-called “public” broadcast, controlled by the state in Turkey, was eliminated first in practice and then legally as a result of neo-rightist political trends and economic implementations based on the global market economy, and a number of commercial television and radio channels have begun broadcasting since the early 1990s. The presence of these channels enabled representation of different identity politics in Turkey to a large extent. Islamic ways of living and religious practices were brought to the fore in several formats of popular cultural texts by national television channels, such as Samanyolu TV, Kanal 7, TGRT, and Mesaj TV, supported by Islamic and religious capital. Radio channels, such as Dünya Radio, Akra FM, and Radio Arifan, Islamist newspapers, including *Milli Gazete*, *Yeni Şafak*, *Zaman*, and *Vakit*, support-

ing Islamic ways of life clearly make references to primary sources such as the Qur’an, comment on the *ahādīth* in accordance with daily events, tell stories of religious heroes, and advise men and women how to act in their everyday lives as “good Muslims.”

At the beginning of the 2000s, the program “Gate of Secret” (currently renamed “World of Secrets”) began to be broadcast. When this genre of program, which could be described as mystic television serials, achieved high numbers of viewers, the other Islamist television channels and the national mainstream television channels started broadcasting carbon copies (“Eye of Heart” by Kanal 7, “Master of Secrets” by Star TV). In such programs, a storyteller (usually male) summarizes the lesson to be taken from the story at the beginning of the fiction claimed to be made from real life stories, and calls on “believing people” to join the “path of God” at the end. The interesting aspect in regard to gender roles is the support for the traditional and conservative family model, the formation of characters in contrasting facets (good-bad, poor-rich, *halāl*-forbidden, moral-immoral, and believer-atheist), and the proposal that social inequality stemming from a free market economy and cultural deprivation would symbolically attain “justice.”

In these productions, the storyteller plays the role of modern bard, acting as a guide in order to ensure that a moral lesson is learned from the fiction. These productions benefit from the concepts of fate, destiny, and disaster, and support belief in heaven. References to religious stories in popular cultural products and proposals of religious solutions to daily problems have increased recently in Turkey. Mystic television serials and published story books constitute an example of this. When compared to the other popular cultural texts, the representation of women in these serials contrasts women who veil themselves with those who do not. A “good believing” female character veils herself or starts veiling herself by the end of the story. The basic conflict in the story is based on behaviors of good and bad characters. Individuals from lower classes portray good characters while bad characters are shown as individuals from upper classes. Messages conveyed by these popular cultural products, which explain the contestations among social classes over the social, economic, and cultural gap between classes, are based on religious belief rather than political suggestions. This points to the pre-eminence of new conservative ideology in the area of cultural production. A new trend of conservative ideology has emerged in the mentality and everyday life practices of the middle classes in Turkey in the

2000s. A heroic moral criticism has spread rather than critical thinking patterns. The increase in production of mystic television serials and Islamic novels is also a response of the free market economy to consumers' requirement for symbolic justice. Use of religious elements and sources in popular cultural products leads to the postmodernization of religious principles and doctrines. Circulation of the patriarchal family model and the role model of "self-denying mother and devoted wife" for women in popular cultural products weakens the development of egalitarian gender role models in Turkish society, and consolidates a new kind of popularized religious dogmatism.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Binark and B. Kılıçbay, *Tüketim toplumu bağlamında örtünme pratiği ve moda*, Ankara 2000.
- D. Kandiyoti and A. Saktanber (eds.), *Fragments of culture. The everyday of modern Turkey*, London 2002.
- B. Kılıçbay and M. Binark, Media monkeys. Intertextuality, fandom and Big Brother in Turkey, in E. Mathijs and J. Jones (eds.), *Big Brother international. Formats, critics and publics*, London 2004, 140–50.
- , Consumer culture, Islam and the politics of lifestyle. Fashion for veiling in contemporary Turkey, in D. McQuail, P. Golding, and E. de Bens (eds.), *Communication, theory and research*, London 2005, 283–96.
- H. Uğur-Tanrıöver, Türkiye'de televizyon kültürü ve kadınlar, in A. Yaraman (ed.), *Kadın yaşantıları*, İstanbul 2003, 51–74.

MUTLU BINARK

### West Africa: Hausa

Since the 1980s, Muslim women in Hausa-speaking areas of West Africa have established a strong public presence in two burgeoning areas of contemporary cultural production – Hausa popular literature and video film.

Some 50 million people speak Hausa, 25 million as their mother tongue, mostly in northern Nigeria, southern Niger, and northern Ghana. Around 25 million people, distributed more widely in Nigeria and in other parts of West Africa, speak it as a second or third language, the overwhelming majority of them being Muslims. Written in Arabic script, traditions of Hausa literacy go back at least to the early nineteenth century. In Roman script, creative writing dates from the early 1930s. In the years after independence mass literacy was given a major boost by efforts to extend adult literacy and by the introduction of Universal Primary Education in Nigeria in 1976, but with the collapse of the Nigerian economy in the 1980s the publishing industry suffered severely. A new generation of young writers, faced with the deprivations of a faltering

economy and no outlets for their creative talents, decided to do their own publishing and quickly found a ready audience in the urban centers of northern Nigeria, particularly among the young. New themes and new language quickly became part of the currency of public culture – romance, unrequited love, the pain of forced marriage, relations between husband and wife and between wives in the domestic environment, as well as a range of issues relating to life in the cities – crime, injustice, poverty, and wealth. The fast-growing readership, buying from booksellers in the markets of northern Nigerian towns, particularly Kano, was predominantly female. Pioneering women writers, such as Balaraba Ramat Yakubu, Bilkisu Ahmad Funtuwa, and Zuwaira Isa, were increasingly being pressed by booksellers to produce new novels for a demanding public, while a new generation of younger women writers such as Rahma Abdulmajid, Sa'adatu Baba Ahmad, and Lubabatu Ya'u were carving out a readership for themselves from 2000 onwards. In a bibliography of some of the 1,300 or so novels produced between 1987 and 2004 there are one hundred or so names of women authors, although it appears there are some male noms de plume among them (Adamu 2006, Furniss et al. 2005).

These novels created controversy within northern Nigeria, being on the one hand condemned by some as un-Islamic and against Hausa customs, while on the other, their defenders proclaimed their importance as conveying the day-to-day concerns of ordinary young people in Nigerian society. Some criticized the quality of the writing, the standard of orthography, and the morality of the content, others focused on encouraging writers to carry on and to improve. These debates raged in the newspapers and on the radio stations of northern Nigeria. Similar debates were soon to flourish in greater strength in new magazines that dealt with the new video film industry. A number of the first generation of popular literature writers, including Balaraba Ramat Yakubu and many of her male contemporaries, such as Ado Ahmad Gidan Dabino and Dan Azimi Baba, began to turn their hands to making video film versions of the stories they had written and published (Adamu 2002).

The domestic dramas and action stories of the novels were not difficult to transform into play scripts, using amateur actors and some of the more seasoned performers from television series. However, the production of a video film, even with minimal equipment, was considerably more expensive than publishing a book. Soon, commercial entrepreneurs from the Kano business community began

to move into film production using the writers as scriptwriters, directors, or actors.

Women and their children could gather together to watch a video film in the privacy of their parlors and did not have to go out in public to a cinema. This ease of access and the prevalence of romantic storylines and domestic dramas combined to spark a major growth in demand for such films among young men as well as women. Modeled often upon the Hindi dance dramas of Bollywood that had been popular in Nigerian cinemas since the 1950s, Hausa video films mimicked singing styles, musical accompaniments, and scenes and plots from Hindi films (Larkin 1997).

In northern Nigeria there emerged a group of women actors with a prominent public presence. They were interviewed and were the objects of curiosity and speculation in magazines such as *Fim*, *Bidiyo*, *Duniyar Fim*, among others. Actresses such as Hindatu Bashir, Hauwa Ali Dodo, Saima Mohammed, Hajara Usman, Fati Muhammed (also a singer), Jamila Haruna, Hauwa Maina, Aisha Musa, Wasila Isma'il, Abida Mohammed, Lubabatu Madaki, Halima Adamu Yahaya, and others soon had 10, 20, or 30 films to their names and the magazines were full of their marriages and divorces. Marriage was often accompanied by withdrawal from filmmaking since respectability and acting were uneasy bedfellows. The presence of these actresses in public culture, their views and opinions appearing in print, and the quality of their acting both created roles for young women to emulate and constituted a focus for prolonged debate about the corrupting or edifying function of film in society (Adamu et al. 2004). The extension of Islamic law into areas of criminal law and public behavior that followed a return to civilian rule in Nigeria produced a desire to ensure that public culture conformed to standards to be set by Sharī'a commissions in the northern states. Demands for the wholesale closure of the film industry in Kano were obviated by the establishment of a State Censor's Board to supplement the work of the Nigerian National Film and Video Censors' Board. Hausa video film production had also expanded into an industry employing thousands of mostly young people and the report of the Censors Board (2002) indicated that, by 2002, they had licensed 616 Hausa language films for public distribution. The debates around conformity with Islam and notions of Hausa culture that surrounded the popular novel were writ large in the public debates about film, often demanding that films should not mimic Western or Indian films.

The financing and control of the video film industry was largely in the hands of men. However, a number of women began to move into positions to control their own commercial and artistic output. For example, the writer Bilkisu Yusuf Funtuwa moved into publishing and bookselling, and the writer Balaraba Ramat Yakubu established her own video film production company, Ramat Productions, where she was producer for a number of films after experiencing what was for her an inappropriate adaptation of one of her books (*Alhaki Kwikwiyo*) by a company that had bought the film rights from her. The level of investment required, and the prospective financial loss, for a failed film was such that a number of figures in the video film industry were, by 2005, moving into music or back into books, Balaraba Ramat amongst them.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. U. Adamu, Loud bubbles from a silent brook. Trends and tendencies in contemporary Hausa prose fiction, in *Research in African Literatures* 37:3 (2006), 133–53.
- , Y. M. Adamu, and U. F. Jibril (eds.), *Hausa home videos. Technology, economy and society*, Kano 2004.
- Y. M. Adamu, Between the word and the screen. A historical perspective on the Hausa literary movement and the home video invasion, in *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 15 (2002), 195–207.
- G. Furniss, M. Buba, and W. Burgess, *Bibliography of Hausa popular fiction 1987–2002*, Cologne 2005.
- B. Larkin, Indian films and Nigerian lovers. Media and the creation of parallel modernities, in *Africa* 67 (1997), 406–39.
- Nigerian National Film and Video Censors Board, *Film and video directory in Nigeria*, Abuja 2002.

GRAHAM FURNISS

# Arts: Remembrances and Narrations

## Iran: The Diaspora

The estimates of the Iranian diaspora vary from one to four million, with the great majority leaving Iran after the Revolution of 1979. This recent diaspora is significant, among other aspects, for the prominence of professional women in a variety of arenas such as politics, art, journalism, literature, film, and science. To name a few, Farah Karimi was a member of the Dutch parliament from 1998 to 2006; Shirin Neshat is an internationally well-known artist based in New York; and the Swedish Iranian Nahid Persson has directed the much circulated film *Prostitution Behind the Veil* (2005). This entry highlights the most dominant narratives of these Iranian women visible in the public arena in the West, without intending to homogenize the group. The limited space, however, does not allow any differentiation of the positioning of Iranian women in the diaspora, whether based on background or the different countries of residence. The focus is thus on general patterns when analyzing the activities of Iranian women in the diaspora who are prominent within the Western public domain. The dominant message in the work of these women is their passionate claim to reveal the reality of women's suppression within Islamic frameworks such as Iran. In addition to the sadness that their narratives sometimes contain, there is an aura of idealism and optimism, a belief in the possibilities of change and a claim to individual agency. This is connected to their experiences of the Revolution in Iran.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 was described by many who experienced it as "an intensive course in life." One of the women interviewed by the present author stated: "I can say that those years were the better years of my life. I think that I never in my life enjoyed life like that. I gained a lot of personal freedom at that time and socially all those restrictions were not there any more. . . . It was as if it was the paradise; that was my paradise anyway" (Ghorashi 2003, 83). This positive experience of the revolution changed when the Islamists, after a period of political struggle, took power in 1981. The majority of political organizations became illegal and many of their followers and members were arrested, killed, or left the country. This extreme shift is often compared to being forced from Paradise into Hell.

It is this experience of freedom followed by suppression that seems to dominate the narratives of the Iranian women living in the diaspora. These women use all possible media and professions to show what it meant to live under those extreme circumstances in Iran. The central message in many of the narratives is that Iranian women were not passive, but active, with high ideals: the opposite of the dominant image in the West. Yet, they later became victims of a suppressive regime. Through their passionate work, many Iranian women in the diaspora try to transform this victimization into activism. They wish to serve new audiences, with somewhat paradoxical results. Through the politics of remembering, they challenge the Iranian regime to keep the memories of the past alive. In addition, by emphasizing past activism and claiming it in the present, they go against existing stereotypes in the West. The paradox of this multi-directed message is that when resisting the Iranian regime, the emphasis often lies on the suppression of women in Iran, which manifests itself in victimization through prostitution, poverty, and the law. These narratives may reinforce the dominant Western image of suppressed Middle Eastern women, an image these narratives also try to refute. In addition, the activist women living in diaspora risk not being responsive to homegrown activism and changes within Iran. An example of this "clash of activism" has been evident during the transnational Iranian women's conferences organized by the Iranian Women's Studies Foundation (IWSF) over the last decade (Ghorashi and Tavakoli 2006).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Fathi, *Iranian refugees and exiles since Khomeini*, Costa Mesa 1991.
- H. Ghorashi, *Ways to survive, battles to win. Iranian women exiles in the Netherlands and the United States*, New York 2003.
- and N. Tavakoli, Paradoxes of transnational space and local activism. Iranians organizing across borders, in *Focaal. European Journal of Anthropology* 47 (2006), 90–102.
- R. Kelly and J. Friedlander, *Irangels. Iranians in Los Angeles*, Berkeley 1993.
- H. Sarshar, *Dar kūchah pas kūchh-bā-yi ghubat*, Van Nuys 1993.
- K. Spellman, *Religion and nation. Iranian local and transnational networks in Britain*, Oxford 2005.
- Z. T. Sullivan, *Exiled memories. Stories of Iranian diaspora*, Philadelphia 2001.

## North Africa

### INTRODUCTION

In many studies on North Africa, whether literary or historical, women's voices have been subsumed by official male-dominated discourses. As is the case in many parts of the world, women's calls for basic equality have often been relegated to second-tier status in favor of larger nationalist agendas. Women's voices have also been both appropriated and marginalized as agents of nationalist and modernizing forces. In imaginative or creative oral expression, as well as in testimonials and autobiographies, women's remembrances and narrations of the past offer alternative views of both colonial and post-independence Maghribi societies. This work underlines women's roles in struggles for national independence, and in subsequent post-independence efforts to define and rework national identities.

### WOMEN'S SONG, POETRY, PERFORMANCE, AND TALES

Women's oral expression in the Maghrib, be it poetic, musical, or that of the storyteller, provides poignant articulations of sociocultural norms that might not otherwise be voiced, or heard, in societies dominated by male discourse and strict behavioral customs. In fact, context and genre are determining factors in what can be said and how. Often, women's songs and oral poetry express sentiments that are considered off limits and inexpressible in regular speech. For example, through Berber songs (*tizrrarin*, sing. *tazrrart*) or short Beduin lyric poems (*ghinnawa*), topics such as romantic love or sexual encounters, or other topics deemed unacceptable for women to speak of in mixed company, can be articulated (Hoffman 2002a, 2002b, Abu-Lughod 1986). Thus, women use coded discourse within socially determined and acceptable boundaries in order to both reinforce and challenge those very boundaries. The Moroccan *shikhāt* (sing. *shikha*) fulfill a similar function. Performing at weddings and other celebrations, the *shikha* uses her body and her voice to challenge normative social behavior in ways that are scandalous yet, at the same time, acceptable in Moroccan society. It has also been shown that the *shikha* has performed a political function, speaking frankly and directly to government officials or colonial administrators, using a voice not available to most women, and even men (Kapchan 1996, 187). The oral folktale, a narrative form that is arguably being displaced by television, radio, and the Internet, is also considered a highly valuable vessel for the preservation and perpetu-

ation of cultural heritage, and it has traditionally been women in the home who were the "bearers of such treasure" (El Koudia 2003, El-Shamy 1999). More than a form of entertainment, orally narrated tales constitute an integral part of the social fabric by bringing and keeping people together. Through the articulation of memories, histories, religious and social mores, and so on, the oral folktale speaks for, and shapes, culture. In the storytelling setting, the audience plays a participatory role as well by means of formulaic call and response, repetitions of religious prayers or invocations, and the like. As well, "[most] tales . . . express a set of sentiments that are central to members of the community. The emotional or affective component of a tale determines a group's attitudes toward the tale" (El-Shamy 1980, li). In the performative context, the audience's response determines which sentiments remain within the social discourse, and which are discarded or forgotten.

### TESTIMONIALS, PRISON LITERATURE, AND PERFORMANCE

Despite women's role in Algeria's war for independence, Djamilia Amrane points out that, "once the war was over, not only did women disappear from the political scene, but also everyone seemed to forget the role they once played" (Amrane 1991, 13). Her study, based largely on the oral testimony of 88 women militants (the testimonies are reproduced in full in Amrane-Minne 2004), is an attempt to revive interest in the largely forgotten role of women in the war. Alison Baker comes to the same conclusion in reference to Morocco. Despite women's participation in the war for independence, she argues that almost nothing has been written about their role due to the fact that most, if not all, of their accounts are oral rather than written. This paucity of attention in the sources leads her to conclude that according to the official record, "women are recognized neither as important agents of history, nor as reliable reporters and interpreters of history" (Baker 1998, 3). Her collection of women's oral testimonies on their role in the independence movement is a response to this lack of recognition.

Concerning more recent history, the death of Morocco's King Hassan II in 1999 ended a 38-year regime of repression and fear – with thousands of imprisonments and disappearances – that had rarely been discussed publicly, much less written about. Hassan II's death has resulted in a large number of writings on the Moroccan prison experience. In *Sīrat al-ramād* (Biography of ashes), Khadija Marouazi experiments with multiple narrators, narrative styles, and registers in an attempt to allow

traditionally unheard voices articulate and define Morocco's history. A significant theme in the novel is the importance of Morocco's marginalized voices, specifically women who were not active members of resistance organizations, but who did take part as mothers, wives, and sisters calling for the release of their relatives and loved ones. Other testimonies published by Moroccan women political prisoners and/or their family members include *Hadīth al-ʿatma* (Talk of darkness) by Fatna El Bouih, *La prisonnière* (The prisoner, trans. *Stolen Lives: Twenty years in a desert jail*) by Malika Oufkir, *Tazmamart côté femme: témoignage* (Tazmamart, a woman's side: testimony) by Rabea Bennouna, and *Être, au féminine* (Being, in the feminine) by Maria Charaf. Even though these examples come in the guise of written autobiographies, they are also testimonies (*témoignages*) and thus speak for the collective, not the individual, for "testimonies are public events" (Sommer 1998). In 2004, the Hay'at al-inṣāf wa-al-muṣālaḥa (Equity and reconciliation commission) was formed to collect information on Moroccan human rights abuses that occurred between independence in 1956 and 1999, and make political, legal, and administrative recommendations for reform. The final report, King Mohammed VI's public response to the report, and an impressive array of documents and testimonies are available at the commission's website (<www.ier.ma>). These testimonies and published works, written in French and Arabic, and spoken in Moroccan dialect and Berber, all provide pieces of a larger narrative of Moroccan history that has until recently been suppressed. The voices narrate a past that was known by many but rarely articulated, and by becoming part of the public record, they aim to take part in the rewriting and retelling of a hitherto silenced past, thus playing an important role in reshaping the Moroccan political landscape.

In Algeria, the violence that followed the cancellation of the 1991 elections fell particularly hard on women as they have often been viewed as the embodiments of or impediments to modernity and purity. Despite the danger of speaking out against such a situation, on 8 March 1995 (International Women's Day), a mock trial was held in Algiers by a group of Algerian women in order to call attention to the violence against women, and to underline the very incomplete state of the Algerian revolution. The trial, a performance really, was held in both Arabic and French, which drew attention to the tyranny of the imposition of both languages in Algeria, making clear the inconsistencies that exist in a nationalist discourse meant to erase, or ignore, any heterogeneity that may exist in Algerian soci-

ety. The trial represented a rebellion against, and an alternative to, the notion of a homogeneous Algeria, and against the dominant patriarchy that had ruled Algeria since independence (Khanna 2002).

For reasons that may have to do with Tunisia's relatively cohesive nationalist movement focused on ousting the French, women seem to have worked with the nationalists toward that goal, putting off the fight for women's rights until after independence. Mounira Charrad points out that women were active in the nationalist struggle, but this author was unable to locate texts or narrations of women's roles in this or other struggles. Charrad argues that because family law was reformed in Tunisia from the top down, rather than as a result of a mass women's movement, as was the case in Morocco and Algeria, we do not see the same level of engagement on the part of women's groups (Charrad 2001, 219), and thus do not hear as much from them on the specific issues focused upon in this entry.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- L. Abouzeid, *ʿAm al-fil*, Rabat 1983, trans. B. Parmenter, *Year of the elephant*, Austin, Tex. 1989.
- D. Amrane-Minne, *Des femmes dans la guerre d'Algérie*. *Entretiens*, Algiers 2004.
- R. Bennouna, *Tazmamart côté femme. Témoignage*, Casablanca 2003.
- F. El Bouih, *Hadīth al-ʿatma*, Casablanca 2001.
- M. Charaf, *Être, au féminine*, Casablanca 1997.
- A. Djebar, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*, Paris 1980, trans. M. de Jager, *Women of Algiers in their apartment*, Charlottesville 1992.
- , *L'amour, la fantasia*, Paris 1985, trans. D. S. Blair, *Fantasia. An Algerian cavalcade*, London 1989.
- K. Marouazi, *Sirat al-ramād*, Beirut 2000.
- M. Oufkir, *La prisonnière*, Paris 1999, trans. R. Schwartz, *Stolen lives. Twenty years in a desert jail*, New York 2001.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled sentiments. Honor and poetry in a Bedouin society*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 1986.
- M. Al-Nowaihi, Resisting silence in Arab women's autobiographies, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33:4 (2001), 477–502.
- D. Amrane, *Les femmes algériennes dan la guerre*, Paris 1991.
- A. Baker, *Voices of resistance. Oral histories of Moroccan women*, Albany, N.Y. 1998.
- M. Charrad, *States and women's rights. The making of postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 2001.
- J. Déjeux, *La littérature féminine de langue française au Maghreb*, Paris 1994.
- J. El Koudia, *Moroccan folktales*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2003.
- H. El-Shamy, *Folktales of Egypt. Collected, translated, and edited with Middle Eastern and [sub-Saharan] African parallels*, Chicago 1980.
- , *Tales Arab women tell and the behavioral patterns they portray*, Bloomington, Ind. 1999.



- A. El Yazami, A. Kabouss, and J. Akil, *D'ombre et de lumière. Bibliographie des violations graves des droits de l'homme au Maroc*, Rabat 2004.
- J. Goodman, *Berber culture on the world stage. From village to video*, Bloomington, Ind. 2005.
- K. Hoffman, Moving and dwelling. Building the Moroccan Ashelhi homeland, in *American Ethnologist* 29:4 (2002a), 928–62.
- , Generational change in Berber women's song of the Anti-Atlas Mountains, *Morocco, in Ethnomusicology* 46:3 (2002b), 510–40.
- Instance équité et réconciliation, Morocco, Hay'at al-inṣāf wa-al-muṣālaḥa, <<http://www.ier.ma>>.
- D. Kapchan, *Gender on the market. Moroccan women and the revoicing of tradition*, Philadelphia 1996.
- R. Khanna, The experience of evidence. Language, the law, and the mockery of justice, in A.-E. Berger (ed.), *Algeria in others' languages*, Ithaca, N.Y. 2002, 107–38.
- S. Slyomovics, *The performance of human rights in Morocco*, Philadelphia 2005.
- , The argument from silence. Morocco's truth commission and women political prisoners, in *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 1:3 (Fall 2005), 73–95.
- D. Sommer, "Not Just a Personal Story." Women's *testimonios* and the plural self, in B. Brodzki and C. Schenck (eds.), *Lifelines. Theorizing women's autobiography*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1998, 107–30.

ALEXANDER E. ELINSON

## Palestine

The literature documenting remembrances and narrations of Palestinian non-elite women falls within the larger Palestinian effort to counter a Zionist colonial historiography that aims at expunging the stateless Palestinians from land and historical record. Consequently, although there are contradictory appropriations of the past between the Palestinian metanarrative and private remembrances, the hegemonic and "subaltern" are inseparably entangled as they orbit around a Palestinian national objective for liberation; in a sense both are subaltern in relation to Zionist historiography.

Nonetheless, in written/professional history poorer classes, especially Palestinian villagers, the urban poor, and refugees generally pose as objects of memory and not as subjects in history. Drawing on older traditions in ethnography, women in particular are deemed a rich archive of national culture produced at "home." This perspective was encouraged by the Palestinian national movement, which called upon women to participate in the struggle, as long as such participation did not unsettle their primary role as guardians of the domestic hearth (Hasso 2000). Women are viewed as the glue that keeps the family together: the site for reproduction and the transmission of Palestinian values and culture. The family, as the basic social unit in Palestinian society, is considered crucial to mitigate

the effects of dispersal and armed conflict. Thus, structures that produce gender and class inequalities have been postponed as issues to be dealt with "after liberation." This approach limits women's roles to those of reproducers and preservers – but not makers – of culture and glosses over their rich and heterogeneous experiences as subjects of history.

In this context, women's narratives are important, because they tell us how women reshape, reproduce, or counter dominant and hegemonic discourses, and their remembrances underscore what the metanarrative has effaced, by inserting women as "female national subjects" (Sayigh 2002).

To counter androcentrism and class elitism in professional histories, women's remembrances are being recorded by a growing number of scholars and activists in the form of oral life-histories and narratives. These remembrances and individual accounts reveal a Palestinian narrative trope that draws on the collective historical experience, where land and return constitute the key elements anchoring the national discourse. Thus, the history of colonial settlement, especially the war of 1948 known as *al-Nakba* (the catastrophe), provides the fundamental rupture around which narrators organize, explain, and validate their trajectories. These larger events are mingled with individual life-events such as "before my daughter was born," or "when I was married," and vice versa, for example: "I had three children when King Abdullah was killed."

It is important to note here that remembrances, especially of the Palestinian home and homeland are also expressed in artefacts, social practices, and fragments in everyday conversations. In camp neighborhoods, for example, women converse and reminisce as they help one another in preparing a familiar Palestinian dish, or when taking care of children, or in embroidering a Palestinian dress. Similarly, during social events such as weddings or funerals, or national celebrations and commemorations, women are primary performers of Palestinian songs and dances. Women reproduce and reinvent Palestinian traditions whether of "typical" Palestinian dishes and dress, or marriage customs and other kinds of social relationships.

In the narratives of refugee women of rural origins, remembrances of Palestine stand for continuity and contiguity within a familiar Palestinian landscape, upon which they carried out specific gendered tasks and mapped their social identities in elaborate genealogical charts. Work for this generation of women represented a salient arena where their identities were shaped, albeit within patriarchal structures (Farah 2005).

Authors note that historically, gender constituted an integral part of both nation-building and the anti-colonial struggle, which brought about major transformations, contesting gender roles in Palestinian society (Fleischman 2003). Indeed, women's roles and contribution in times of war or uprisings were crucial, such as the 1936–9 Palestinian rebellion against the British policies favoring Zionist incursions on Palestinian land, during which time women sustained domestic economies, sold their gold to buy weapons, and fed and hid fighters (Swedenburg 1995). Upon their expulsion in 1948, the process of *becoming* refugees represented an arduous journey, especially for the poor. The stories of suffering are mingled with women's remarkable endurance and ability to sustain families by improvising meals and makeshift shelters from rags and wooden sticks to protect the young and the sick (Farah 1999).

In the West Bank and Gaza, under a brutal military occupation, remembrances are filled with stories that demonstrate how women emerge from the debris left by house demolitions to repair broken limbs and provide moral support, or how they use their social networks to share food during curfews. Women under occupation endure humiliation at Israeli checkpoints to visit prisoners, and confront Israeli soldiers to wrench a demonstrator from their clutches. Peteet (1994) highlights the performative aspect of this struggle and shows that the role of women as witnesses and defusers of violence reaffirms their stoicism as protectors of the community.

Research reveals the staying power of Palestinian memory and its transmission across generations. Since women, mainly mothers and grandmothers, are the primary caretakers of children, their role as transmitters of history and culture is particularly important. In everyday conversations, or through storytelling and reminiscing, younger generations learned that their village land was "most fertile," its produce "tastier," and heard stories of heroes and victims from their village or its vicinity. As adults narrated, children drew images of their "real" *balad*, a polysemic term in Arabic that means both original village and country, reinforcing belonging to the land they never saw (Farah 1999).

In addition, women taught their children what constitutes proper behavior including that which pertains to gender roles, reminding their daughters of their stoicism. Life histories of older women often invoke commentaries on the present, by noting that, unlike the younger "spoiled generation," they spent long hours working in domestic and agricultural economies without the luxuries

of refrigerators or washing machines, and gave birth to many children at home and not in hospitals. Remembrances and narratives transmitted by the older generation who lived in Palestine allowed children born in exile to identify with their homeland in a direct and personal way. Today, few Palestinians remain to tell the story as it was "back then in Palestine" and the introduction of television and satellite encroached on the spaces of direct transmission.

Politics and ideologies that inform remembrances are mediated by generation. Thus, the "generation of the revolution," that is, the generation that gave rise to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the mid-1960s, was secular, as was the generation that lived in Palestine prior to their expulsion. The PLO, which promoted a modernist project for society, encouraged the education of women and their participation in the struggle, yet relegated the home as primarily a woman's responsibility, a domain encapsulating national culture. Thus, many women who grew up in the 1970s, during the height of nationalist mobilization and a booming oil-market in the region, combined work within and outside the home. In some cases, women became the sole breadwinners and took on the responsibilities of the "patriarch," challenging normative gender roles. However, these achievements did not radically transform gender relations and norms, as Sayigh noted in her work on the narratives of refugee women in Lebanon. Sayigh suggests that class, gender, and nation intersect, and women's narratives expose the contradiction inherent in the nationalist movement's need to mobilize women in the resistance without changing gender norms (Sayigh 2002).

The politics of reproduction reflects the paradoxes and continuities in gender norms. Palestinian nationalism framed reproduction as a "national duty" or a demographic weapon of the weak against ethnic cleansing. Similarly, contemporary Islamic organizations, such as Hamas, infuse reproduction with religious considerations and the requirements of the Palestinian struggle. These views on reproduction converge with the narratives of older women, where many children had once meant more hands to plough, plant, and harvest the land in their villages. Thus, a woman's role as mother for the family, for the land, or for the nation (Arab and/or Islamic) remains fundamental in shaping the discourse on gender.

The narratives of a younger generation of women are indicative of the contemporary ascendancy of Islamic organizations, and show how various levels of identity, such as Palestinian,

Arab, or Muslim are intertwined and change over time. Older women, for example, when making references to the Prophet Muḥammad, or to Islamic verses, do so as part of a cultural narrative trope, while such references are more pervasive and politicized in the narratives of younger generations. Here, it is important to point out that Islamic trends and organizations are diverse and their influence on women contradictory and uneven.

In their narratives, younger women emphasize that associating with Islamic movements empowers them to work or to acquire education. Others adopt the “Islamic way” out of conviction and to assert a political and social identity, or to express a generational rebellion against their “traditional” parents. In a life-history of a Palestinian refugee woman recorded in Jordan, the narrator expressed her displeasure that one of her daughters refused to marry, by insisting on marrying only a man who is a “good Muslim,” showing how women appropriate discourses to challenge norms, delay marriage, and question parental authority (Farah 1999). Indeed, women’s narratives expose how they invoke “Islam” to argue with a great deal of authority from within Shari‘a law and Islamic exegesis and precepts to obtain rights and freedoms, although as is the case with nationalism, women’s main responsibilities as mothers and housewives are generally not questioned.

It might be safe to suggest that the nationalist movement, despite the rhetoric on equal citizenship, delayed dealing with gender inequalities until “after liberation,” thereby effacing women’s roles as subjects in the historical process (Farah 2002). Similarly, Islamic movements marginalized the recollections, experiences, and contributions of women in the secular *national* struggle, and differ in their discourse from the nationalists insofar as they perceive women’s roles as framed by Islam. However, women’s narratives show that there is no template that characterizes a “Muslim woman,” beyond the general definition that one would grant, for example, a “Christian woman,” that is, a follower of a particular faith. In the Palestinian context, the narratives of women show that a “Muslim woman,” as a reference of identity is intertwined with being a Palestinian and an Arab, and the emphasis on one level or another shifts according to the historical and political context. Moreover, the implications and interpretations of practices such as veiling or gender segregation vary immensely and are not universal phenomena.

Women’s identities are heterogeneous and are continuously reshaped by the political, economic,

and cultural nexus, religious interpretations, and individual and collective histories. Palestinian women’s narratives and remembrances show that in their actual experiences they are not external to the social process, political movements, and discourses, but participate in producing, challenging, and appropriating dominant and hegemonic discourses that subject them as secondary to larger collective priorities and strategies.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- R. Farah, Popular memory and reconstructions of Palestinian identity, Ph.D. diss., Anthropology Department, University of Toronto, 1999.
- , The significance of oral narratives and life-histories, in *Al-Jana. The Harvest*, (Arab Resource Center for Popular Arts, Beirut) (2002), 24–7.
- , Out of the shadows. Palestinian refugee women, in W. Harcourt and A. Escobar (eds.), *Women and the politics of place*, Bloomfield, Conn. 2005, 206–20.
- E. L. Fleischmann, *The nation and its “new” women. The Palestinian women’s movement, 1920–1948*, Berkeley 2003.
- F. S. Hasso, Modernity and gender in Arab accounts of the 1948 and 1967 defeats, in *Journal of Middle East Studies* 32 (2000), 491–510.
- J. Peteet, Male gender and rituals of resistance in the Palestinian *intifada*. A cultural politics of violence, in *American Ethnologist* 21 (1994), 31–49.
- R. Sayigh, Gender, sexuality and class in national narrations. Palestinian camp women tell their lives, in S. H. Armitage with P. Hart and K. Weathermon (eds.), *Women’s oral history*, Lincoln, Nebr. and London 2002, 317–37.
- T. Swedenburg, *Memories of revolt. The 1936–39 rebellion and the Palestinian national past*, Minneapolis 1995.

RANDA FARAH

## South Africa

### INTRODUCTION

Oral historical narratives represent research evidence with unusual power in mapping the lives of Muslim women from Sub-Saharan Africa. Oral history as a technique for discovering reliable information about the past “can provide an insight both into the life experiences of the individual, and the nature of society at particular points in history” (Godfrey and Richardson 2004, 145). Narrating the past can create opportunities to record the similarities and differences in how women and men navigate their communities. Furthermore it can challenge patriarchal as well as misogynist constructions of Muslim women’s roles in society. In this entry, narratives, memories, and remembrances from the South African Muslim community are explored as means of addressing selective representations of community history.

NARRATIVES, MEMORIES, AND  
REMEMBRANCES OF THE PAST

The narrations and remembrances of the past can shed light on the varying roles that Muslim women play in society. Many researchers use narratives to gain insights into the past and discover previously undocumented “facts” about people and communities. However, what has to be kept in mind is that recollections of memories are often facilitated by socially and culturally specific frameworks (Panagakos, in Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004). Oral history, if viewed in this context, can bring to mind genres of telling that carry their influence beyond the individual level, as memory is both personal and social. Halbwachs (1980) describes oral history as a collective, in that other people’s memories become enmeshed with the narrator’s own memories. As such, different versions relay different realities about the same event and person. So, for example, Long (1999) notes that personal narratives of women provide a portrait of gender arrangements that are invisible in the dominant discourse.

Memories and narratives, the unrefined elements of life stories, can yield insights into the processes and meaning of women’s experiences in their communities. The South African Muslim community, which was historically placed on the periphery of developments in the Muslim world, and of its representational center, the Middle East (Da Costa 1993), has for the last decade engaged in a process of discovery through oral narration. In colonial and apartheid South Africa Muslims’ racial classification as Indians or Coloreds within the broader black community gave them a marginal status. As both black people and non-Christians, they registered at the periphery of the white nationalist consciousness, resulting in very limited knowledge about their contribution to South African society (Daniels 2005). This is evident in Heap’s book, *The Story of Hottentots Holland* (first published 1970) in which she allocates three sentences to Muslims, despite their being the earliest settlers of the region about which she writes. According to Baderoon (2005) knowledge about how local Muslims, and women in particular, engage with the community is as relevant as an exploration of the intertwining of local and global strands of a South African Muslim identity.

Presently, a renewed interest exists among Muslim communities in South Africa to reconstruct their histories. This interest is supported by the major transformation and democratization processes that South Africa’s democratically elected government has initiated. The African Renaissance philosophy with which the South African president, Thabo

Mbeki, has been widely associated is one such process that wants to advance a better understanding of Africa and its developments. Mbeki argues that confidence, in part, derives from a rediscovery of ourselves: “we have had to undertake a voyage of discovery into our own antecedents, our own past, as Africans” (Mbeki 1998). This initiative encourages the harvesting of indigenous knowledge. However, the process of rediscovery of the past may occur under specific social circumstances and constraints that do not necessarily highlight women’s contributions. In the same way that the previously white government was exclusionary of blacks’ contributions to society, male gatekeepers of the community’s history might not include past experiences of both genders equally. In the process, women’s collective experiences could be understated or even omitted from official representations.

Collecting oral histories can be a powerful tool in addressing communal forgetting of women’s roles and accomplishments. So also can their remembrances of the past provide evidence to dismantle patriarchal as well as misogynist constructions of a community’s history, especially as it relates to the economy, and the development of a community. Although African women have always been a significant component of the workforce, their contributions and roles are noticeably invisible in economic analyses. Ginwala et al. (1991) note that during a census, very few women are listed as heads of the family unit, except when the lack of an identifiable adult male in the household allows no other choice.

In a study on the economic roles of Muslim women in a fishing community in South Africa in the 1900s (Daniels 2005), the oral narratives of women refuted existing community views of men as the sole breadwinners of the household. Their narratives showed that during that time fishermen’s livelihoods were dependent on the weather. During winter months, referred to as the *skaarsmaande* (lean months), the rough seas made it dangerous for boats to go out. According to oral history, these families used to prepare for the lean months by drying out fish and saving some of their earnings. The narratives of ten Muslim women aged between 80 and 99 years showed that there was a history of entrepreneurship amongst the women in this Muslim community (Daniels 2005). These women recalled that their mothers and their female neighbors were all making an income through some form of trading or selling. These activities covered a wide spectrum, such as baking (3 women), ice-cream making (1 woman), preserves (2 women), and incense (1 woman). Given that the men barely

earned enough to pay the house rental and feed their families during the months that they went out to sea, it was unlikely that the families could have saved enough money to tide them over in the three leaner months. As women's contributions to the family's economic survival went largely unreported, or were presented as secondary to the male contribution, assumptions persisted that men were the sole breadwinners and that theirs was the only family income. A collection of stories about women's contribution to the economic well-being of the family provided legitimacy and thus recognition to common knowledge about their activism (Daniels 2005). Consequently, these narratives were used to expand as well as to challenge existing frameworks about the economic role that these Muslim women played.

#### REMEMBRANCES AS STARTING THE HEALING PROCESS

Public remembrances of war atrocities and personal narratives have been used since 1995 by the South African government to start a process of healing and to encourage forgiveness amongst its people (Walker and Unterhalter 2004, Orr 2000). South Africa established the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in 1995 in an effort to address serious human rights violations from the apartheid years. The TRC held public hearings where both victims and perpetrators could tell their stories. It was argued that public remembering of communal injustices through individual experiences created an opportunity for public recognition of what had happened and closure for the victims and survivors. The testimony of a Muslim mother, Mrs Hawa Timol, in April 1996 at the Johannesburg hearing of the TRC into the death of her son, Ahmed Timol, at the hands of the security forces, is an example of personal remembering of how her family was interrogated by the security police following the arrest of one of her sons. As she was the mother of a victim, her personal narrative underlined how the apartheid atrocities impacted on the lives of a diverse black South African community, also the minority Muslim community. Although testifying 25 years after the death of her son, she was still reliving her personal loss: "I told them that if my body had a zip they could open the zip to see how I was aching inside."

According to Van der Merwe (2003), the nebulous pairing of religion and law by the TRC created serious moral dilemmas, such that the legal process of amnesty was conflated with the religious concept of forgiveness. Though commissioners referred to the amnesty process as one that implied forgiveness of perpetrators, at most it was an opportunity for

public recognition of what had happened, and an opportunity to start a process of healing.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Baderoon, "North-North-East." Gender and new framings of Islam in South Africa, paper presented at conference on Writing African Women: Poetics and Politics of African Gender Research, University of the Western Cape, 19–22 January 2005.
- M. Chamberlain and S. Leydesdorf, Transnational families. Memories and narratives, in *Global Networks* 4:3 (2004), 227–41.
- N. J. Colletta, M. Kostner, and I. Wiederhofer, *The transition from war to peace in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Washington, D.C. 1996.
- Y. Da Costa, Assimilatory processes amongst the Cape Muslims in South Africa during the 19th century, in *South African Journal of Sociology* 23:1 (1993), 5–11.
- D. Daniels, Jolting the gendered memory of community leadership. Muslim women activism in a South African community, paper presented at the AEGIS (Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies) conference, School of Oriental and African Studies and Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London, 29 June–2 July 2005.
- F. Ginwala, M. MacKintosh, and D. Massey, *Gender and economic policy in a democratic South Africa*, Milton Keynes, U.K. 1991, reprinted in University of London, Institute of Commonwealth Studies, *The societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries*, London 1992.
- B. S. Godfrey and J. C. Richardson, Loss, collective memory and transcribed oral histories, in *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 7:2 (April 2004), 143–55.
- M. Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, New York 1980.
- P. Heap, *The story of Hottentots Holland*, Cape Town 1970, rev. and enl. ed. Goodwood, South Africa 1993.
- K. Jungar, No passive victims! Agents! The concept of victimhood in contemporary feminist debates, particularly in feminist HIV research, paper presented at conference on Writing African Women: Poetics and Politics of African Gender Research, University of the Western Cape, 19–22 January 2005.
- J. Long, *Telling women's lives*, New York 1999.
- T. Mbeki, The African renaissance, South Africa and the world, speech delivered at the United Nations University, 9 April 1998, <<http://www.unu.edu/unupress/mbeki.html>>.
- L. McNay, *Gender and agency. Reconfiguring the subject in feminist and social theory*, Cambridge 2000.
- W. Orr, Reparation delayed is healing retarded, in C. Villa-Vincencio and W. Verwoerd (eds.), *Looking back reaching forward. Reflections on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa*, New York 2000, 239–49.
- G. C. Spivak, Can the subaltern speak?, in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the interpretation of culture*, Urbana, Ill. 1988, 271–313.
- H. Van der Merwe, The role of the church in promoting reconciliation in post-TRC South Africa, in A. Chapman and B. Spong (eds.), *Religion and reconciliation in South Africa*, Philadelphia 2003, 269–81.
- M. Walker and E. Unterhalter, Knowledge, narrative and national reconciliation. Storied reflections on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in *Discourse. Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 25:2 (2004), 279–97.

## South Asia

For South Asian Muslim women, narrating the past involves remembering key moments when colonial and postcolonial modernizing trajectories collided with the demands of “community.” Because of those demands, such remembering paradoxically enlists the help of forgetting, and such narrating, likewise, is often to be retrieved from silences. Inherited strictures of *izzat* (honor) and *sharam* (shame) combine with the pressures of citizenship – the latter especially acute in the case of South Asia, where new nation-states have been carved out of existing regional solidarities – to pressurize women into *not* speaking out. Of course, such pressures are equally intense on South Asian women across religious affiliations, and arguably vary more according to class rather than religious belonging. It is nonetheless possible to locate specific intersections of gender and religion within South Asian Muslim women’s remembrances and narrations, particularly when these are of key historical events within the evolution of South Asian Islam’s separate and distinctive trajectory: the different moments when Islam arrived in South Asia; the “Mutiny” or the first war of Independence in 1857; the anti-colonial movements of the early twentieth century, including the Khilafat Movement of 1919, which was the high point of Hindu-Muslim Asian anti-colonialism; the separation of ways between the Congress and the Muslim League in the 1930s, and the emergence of a Muslim demand for the separate state of Pakistan; the violence of Partition together with the euphoria of independence in 1947; the formation of Bangladesh, a nation for Muslim Bengalis, in 1971; and, during the 1980s, 1990s, and beyond, political, juridical, and emotional flashpoints pertinent to a political Muslim identity within the three nation-states of India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan.

South Asian Shī‘ī Muslims’ Muḥarrām rituals stand out as the clearest example of a collective mode of remembering and narrating a moment from a translocal Islamic history. Their recurrence within closed community spaces exemplifies the ways in which South Asian women’s histories are, by and large, situated within local and regional communities; when they have broken those boundaries because of events of pan-South Asian import, they have entered the public domain via written mediations and recollections by Muslim women of privilege. Thus the memoir, one of the most important modes whereby South Asian Muslim women remember and narrate the past, has tended to pivot on issues of aristocratic Muslim heritage as

a means of belonging, and has read history through that lens. The earliest instance of life writing from a South Asian Muslim woman is arguably the *Humāyūn-nāma* of Gulbadan Bano, the daughter of Bābur, who founded the Mughal Empire from Central Asia, and the sister of Hūmāyun, Bābur’s successor. Gulbadan Bano’s privileged aristocratic positioning enabled her to record her movement from Central Asia into “Hindustan” at a founding moment for South Asian Muslim culture – indeed, *Humāyūn-nāma* is a watershed between the “past” that is (in) Central Asia, and the “present” and “future” that are (in) Hindustan. Successors to Gulbadan were the Mughal princesses Jahānārā Begum (1613–83) and Zebunnisā’ Begum, sister and niece respectively of Aurangzeb, the last significant Mughal emperor. In contrast to his Sunnī Muslim orthodoxy, they remembered and narrated the history of South Asian Sufism: Jahānārā through her biographical notes on the South Asian Chisti order of Sufism (*Mūnis al-arvāḥ*) and Zebunnisā’ through her collection of poems circulated under the pen-name “Makhfī” and later collected as the *Dīvān-i-Makhfī*.

In contemporary times, the tradition of memoir writing continues with Pakistani writers such as Sara Suleri, whose *Meatless Days* relates the foundational years of Pakistan, including the formation of Bangladesh. Benazir Bhutto provides a similar insider’s view of Pakistani politics with her autobiography, *Daughter of the East*. Pakistani writer Tehmina Durrani uses memoir within *My Feudal Lord* to expose how local South Asian feudal customs have transformed Islam. Taslima Nasrin, writer and journalist from Bangladesh, has offered a critique of Bengali Muslim patriarchy in her memoir, *My Girlhood*. Her predecessor from the early twentieth century was Rokeya Sakhawat Hussain, whose memorable *Sultana’s Dream* recast the modern experience of the Bengali Muslim woman into witty allegory. Most importantly, the memoir, often thinly disguised as fiction, has offered the means for recording anti-colonial movements, independence twinned with the horrors of the Partition of the Indian subcontinent in August 1947, and rehabilitation and resettlement of post-Partition refugees. Ismat Chughtai, Attiya Hosain, Roshan Jahan, Qurratulain Hyder, Altaf Fatima, Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, Sufia Kamal, and Selina Hossain are all Muslim women from elite backgrounds who witnessed the political turbulence of those years and whose novels, short stories, and memoirs are vehicles for looking back and linking those events to earlier historical moments of Muslim decline and achievement in South Asia, such

as the 1857 Mutiny and the Khilafat Movement. Their remembrances and narrations also include justifications for the political philosophies of individual South Asian Muslim women that led to their opting for either Pakistan or India.

South Asian Muslim women have also increasingly used cinema to capture moments of political upheaval within South Asian Islam. Yasmine Kabir has made films on the liberation of Bangladesh, and Sabiha Sumar on the impact of Partition on Pakistan. Veteran Indian Muslim actress Shabana Azmi has appeared in several films relating to South Asian Muslim history, including *Junoon* (1987) and *Shatranj ke Khiladi* (1989), which retell the Mutiny against a background of South Asian Islamic high culture, and *Umrao Jan* (2006) focusing on the figure of the Muslim courtesan. Kashmiri filmmaker Shamim Ara has used documentary to record how Kashmiri women have suffered from the conflict between the Indian state and Kashmiri aspirations for independence. In solidarity with these experiences, Indian Muslim activists, such as Sonia Jabbar, have also used videos, testimonies, and photographs to narrate, remember, and raise public consciousness. Such work often moves into the realm of visual art with a strong narrative or counter-narrative purpose. Thus Indian artist Rummana Hussain (d. 2004) recovers in painful and painstaking detail fragments of a feminine Indian Muslim subjectivity, trapped at the intersection of nationalist and minority politics, and exemplified in the demolition of the Babri Mosque (6 December 1992) by Hindu fundamentalists. In Pakistan, women artists are reclaiming the Mughal past through spearheading a new contemporary miniature art practice; in Bangladesh, artists such as Firdousi Priyadarshini offer feminist counter-narratives of the liberation movement through artwork.

Finally, the juridical mode of testimony has enabled South Asian Muslim women to respond to the conflicting demands of Shari'at law, customary law, and the nation. From the Shah Banu controversy in the 1980s to Zakira's testifying to the state-sponsored massacre of Muslims in Gujarat, India in March 2003, to international outrage over Mukhtaran Mai's multiple rape in Pakistan, women have used testimony in court to narrate and remember the brutalities of their immediate pasts. Such memories and narrations now propagate further in cyberspace, through Internet groups and petitions. However, breakthroughs in gender and social justice have been largely accomplished through pan-South Asian feminist and human rights initiatives, which have helped embed Muslim women in wider webs of solidarity and activism.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- T. Durrani, *My feudal lord*, London 1991.  
 Z. Hasan and R. Menon (eds.), *Unequal citizens. A study of Muslim women in India*, New Delhi 2004.  
 M. E. Hegland, The power paradox in women's *majales*. Northwest Pakistani mourning rituals as sites of contestation over religious politics, ethnicity and gender, in *Signs* 23 (1988), 391–428.  
 A. Hosain, *Sunlight on a broken column*, London 1961.  
 Q. Hyder, *River of fire*, New Delhi 1998.  
 D. Kandiyoti (ed.), *Women, Islam and the state*, Philadelphia 1991.  
 M. Khullar, *A reader. Writing the women's movement*, New Delhi 2006.  
 R. Lal, *Domesticity and power in the early Mughal world*, Cambridge 2005.  
 T. Nasrin, *My girlhood. An autobiography*, trans. G. Majumdar, New Delhi 2001.  
 R. Sakhawat Hossain, *Sultana's dream and selections from The secluded ones*, ed. and trans. R. Jahan, New York 1988.  
 M. Shah Nawaz, *The heart divided*, New Delhi 2003.  
 S. Suleri, *Meatless days*, Chicago 1989.

ANANYA JAHANARA KABIR

#### Southeast Europe

Oral narratives are the social work of women throughout Southeast Europe (the Balkans). Such narratives about important characters and local events form the basis of family, clan, town, or regional identity, and their passage remains a rite of inclusion and belonging that is untraceable and inaccessible to outsiders. The role of oral tradition is highly valued throughout the region, especially when it concerns issues such as wars, migrations, and revolts where alternative versions exist in collective memory to counter the "official" versions of history (Brown 2003, Ellis 2003, Sutton 1998). As literacy and writing have often been in the arsenal of state forces, and schools have been utilized to deliver the "official" versions of history to local communities, the written word has been considered relatively untrustworthy and at the behest of the elite. States, indeed, come armed with maps, historians, and census results; yet in a region where state collapse can be imminent and families outlive states, the family has the ability to form the basis of everyday social, religious, economic, and political order. Women are expected to contain and remit this local knowledge, especially about male lineage, in the highly patriarchal setting of Southeast Europe – a tradition that permeates and defines the religious and ethnic boundaries of the region. Especially in minority communities such as Muslim ones, women's role in this respect is particularly evident, since they remain shrouded in their own worlds away from the access of the state or the majority population's gaze.

Narratives are speech acts, in the sense that they are “occasioned uses of speaking” that require a combination of certain personae at particular scenes and discussion of certain topics in a socially defined style (Philipsen 2002). The ways narratives are selected and performed remain as varied as the stories themselves. For example, a common form of narration among Balkans is through *muhabbet* (Turkish), flowing conversation in places of meeting such as doorways, fountains, the market, and backyards as well as living rooms and kitchens or wedding salons (Brown 2003, Sugarman 1997). The topic of conversation is expected to remain “light” but it involves the participants both emotionally and intellectually and creates a social bond as well as an information venue. *Muhabbet* between acquaintances, especially among women, creates a temporary world in which strangers, if for a brief period of time, become a social group (Ellis 2003, Sugarman 1997). *Muhabbet* thrusts people into a world in which they perform a kinder, more polite, and humorous version of themselves (Wolff 1950). The harmony created by these short but frequent interactions and the skill required for this form of communication is highly valued especially for women, because in many ways such “conversationalism” among women is the glue that holds Balkan communities together.

Similarly, as Southeast Europe has seen its share of regime transformation and war, stories involving satire and black humor abound in the region. These often entail stereotyped members of ethnic/religious groups and their encounters with a problem. While these anecdotes or jokes are critical, they also serve to invert power relations between different groups. Irony and humor remain a fundamental part of the stories, which are so common that in some cases the same story can be found in multiple countries with ethnic characters that change according to the political situation. The same can be said about stories of victimization as well; for example, exactly the same story of a particularly brutal and vicious style of attack on a village is told by many ethnic groups about their arch-nemesis.

Inversion of power relations is not only accomplished through narratives of humor, but also through rumor, gossip, and various conspiracy theories. Having survived through numerous regime changes, people in Southeast Europe, especially minorities, find it difficult to take any political or economic observation as a fact. They rely on their networks to illuminate what really lies under the behavior of governments, both their own and others'. Given the amount of intrigue that has led to massive incidence of death or forced

migration in the region, these narratives remain important for survival. Gossip and rumor revitalize communities' information networks, and in many ways civil society reinvents itself by challenging official narratives. However, the same strategy has also produced much mass hysteria, fear, and perceived threats that have fueled the wars in Southeast Europe. But as a dominant type of narrative, the rumor and conspiracy remain strong and keep communities together while also serving as a critical force for any group that happens to have power.

Myths and family stories are also passed on through either ritualized storytelling, in which an elder of the family delivers a story in a serious group setting, or stories that are told over and over in community events and get-togethers (Ellis 2003, Sutton 1998). Local identities and collective memories are formed through such gatherings, and the longevity and importance of some of these stories have profoundly affected the way minorities map their threat environment and chances for survival. While some of the stories are about events, others are about identities themselves, and the communal accounts can challenge and counter self-ascribed identities in the form of “shadow genealogies” (Ellis 2003). The roles families as units play in social, economic, and political history have definitive effects on how states and individuals interact and how present conditions are evaluated. In this sense, genealogies remain an important part of family history, and women are expected to pass on both family history and information on male lineage to their children in a highly patriarchal environment.

However, most of women's storytelling work appears through narratives performed as dancing and singing at weddings and other ceremonies. It is a fallacy to think that narratives are limited to words – in fact, in Southeast Europe, most important stories of war and communal survival and triumph are passed from generation to generation in the form of ballads, poems that constitute lyrics of songs, and other musical forms. All women and men, from an early age, are socialized into learning their appropriate roles and places in this ritualized singing at communal events (Sugarman 1997). These songs require participation from the audience and the styles of both the musicians and the singers can project the social order as well as resistance to commonly held norms. While men also participate in the storytelling and singing activities, most of the singing at weddings and other communal events is considered women's work. The songs emphasize “place and order” or the hierarchy of relations in the society, and



provide complex visions and interpretations of relations between genders, generations, and classes (Sugarman 1997).

Dancing also remains a powerful communicative form for stories and communal identity (Cowan 1990). Stories are either enacted, or the manner, style, or even the order of a dance can communicate a breadth of emotions and values, clearly intelligible to eyes that are culturally trained to read those differences. In fact, line dancing remains a wonderful way of narrating communal well-being, emotional togetherness, and social order in a way that would be almost impossible in words. Sometimes, silence and lack of movement are used as speech events. For example, one of the most common narratives about women's roles in Southeast Europe is that of the "Bride": among the Albanians a young woman who is about to get married is expected to remain "demure and strong," which means she does not speak at all, and keeps her eyes cast down at all times and does not sit or move unless she is told to. Her body language tells a narrative about the risks and limitations a woman traditionally encounters as she moves from her childhood home to the home of her husband, and her liminal position as a stranger in a new family who is losing one identity to gain another (Becker 1983, Ellis 2003, Reineck 1991).

Narratives in Southeast Europe, whether they take the form of stories, ballads, anecdotes, or wedding songs, help women and men make sense of and transmit their world-view to one another and to others. Stories of communal history reinforce social identity and challenge official versions of the past provided by the state. These historical myths and stories are passed from generation to generation, and are remedial or retributive tales of victimization and triumph that often retroactively redress communal grievances. The gender stories, on the other hand, are about the values that the community upholds dearly, and the style in which they are told or sung serves to establish a gender hierarchy, based on the differences of men and women, as well as age, class, and social status. The interesting fact is that while some of the songs and stories are prohibitive (telling the community to beware of an action), others actually encourage deviations from the norm. So love, sexuality, and crossing of gender, age, and class hierarchies are routinely described and encouraged in many of these songs. Thus, while the telling of the narratives recreates the community in its own image, the satirical nature of the songs and stories actually provide an undercurrent of resistance to norms. A similar reversal of role also occurs in historical narratives by downplaying the power of the dominant group almost to

a caricature and making the minority group smart, cunning, and resourceful. This is why many of these stories and songs are very humorous, as storytellers or singers are praised for the extent to which they impersonate that sense of resistance while performing their traditional roles.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- B. Becker, Mother, sister, daughter, wife. The pillars of the traditional Albanian patriarchal society, in B. Utas (ed.), *Women in Islamic societies. Social attitudes and historical perspectives*, New York 1983.
- H. Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and narration*, London 1990.
- M. Bloch, *How we think they think. Anthropological approaches to cognition, memory, and literacy*, Boulder, Colo. 1998.
- M. K. Bokovoy, J. A. Irvine, and C. S. Lilly (eds.), *State-society relations in Yugoslavia, 1945–1992*, New York 1997.
- T. Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian way*, Princeton, N.J. 1995.
- K. Brown, *The past in question. Modern Macedonia and the uncertainties of a nation*, Princeton, N.J. 2003.
- A. Caraveli, The Greek woman's lament as communicative event, in *Journal of American Folklore* 93:368 (1980), 129–57.
- J. K. Cowan, *Dance and the body politic in northern Greece*, Princeton, N.J. 1990.
- N. Doumanis, *Myth and memory in the Mediterranean. Remembering fascism's empire*, New York 1997.
- B. A. Ellis, *Shadow genealogies. Memory and identity among urban Muslims in Macedonia*, Boulder, Colo. 2003.
- V. Erlich, *Family in transition. A study of 300 Yugoslav villages*, Princeton, N.J. 1966.
- D. Gilmore (ed.), *Honor and shame and the unity of the Mediterranean*, Washington, D.C. 1987.
- M. Halbwachs, *On collective memory*, Chicago 1992.
- A. Karakasidou, *Fields of wheat, hills of blood. Passages to nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990*, Chicago 1997.
- H. T. Norris, *Islam in the Balkans. Religion and society between Europe and the Arab world*, Columbia, S.C. 1993.
- G. Phillipsen, Places for speaking in Teamsterville, in J. Martin et al. (eds.), *Readings in intercultural communication*, New York 2002, 192–202.
- H. Poulton and S. Taji-Farouki (eds.), *Muslim identity and the Balkan state*, New York 1997.
- S. Ramet (ed.), *Gender politics in the western Balkans*, University Park, Pa. 1999.
- J. S. Reineck, The past as refuge. Gender, migration, and ideology among the Kosova Albanians, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley 1991.
- J. Sugarman, *Engendering song. Singing and subjectivity at Prespa Albanian weddings*, Chicago 1997.
- D. Sutton, *Memories cast in stone. The relevance of the past in everyday life*, New York 1998.
- M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York 1997.
- E. Tonkin, *Narrating our pasts. The social construction of oral history*, Cambridge 1992.
- B. Utas (ed.), *Women in Islamic societies. Social attitudes and historical perspectives*, London 1983.
- K. Wolff (ed.), *The sociology of Georg Simmel*, New York 1950.

# Arts: Storytellers and Raconteurs

## Afghanistan

In a country with female literacy in single digits in rural areas and overall literacy probably still below 30 percent, Afghanistan before the onset of war in the late 1970s had a rich and flourishing oral narrative tradition, which for women was a domestic tradition, hearing and performing tales for their relatives and peers with whom they had visiting relationships, their men, and their children. Traditionally, nights in winter, with or without domestic chores such as carding and spinning cotton, were times for storytelling; storytelling in daylight hours was said to cause confusion or bad luck. The oral narrative channel was augmented somewhat by radio for those who could afford the batteries: some storytelling was broadcast, and the beginning of soap operas, but television was not yet on offer. Refugee life in Iran and Afghanistan exposed Afghans to a wider range of media forms.

Some tentative statistical patterns of gendered distinction in performance patterns were derived from a substantial collection of about 500 hours of oral narratives this author recorded in Persian (Dari) language in the 1970s, mainly in Herat and secondarily in Kabul (Mills 1990, 1991). With the caveat that Dari is but one of the important languages of Afghanistan, and each language has distinctive as well as shared aspects of oral tradition, including some distinctive genres (Grima 1992), certain observations can be made from this large collection. Women and men who were invited to record magical folktales (*afsānah*) tended to perform for different lengths of time. While women, regardless of age, tended to narrate more succinctly, with a single tale lasting about 20 minutes, men tended to narrate similarly complex tales for 30 minutes or more; their more elaborated descriptions and reported speech extended the performance. Women also tended not to tell the longer, multi-episodic prose romances, whereas both female and males performed *afsānah* and legends. This difference in length of turns to talk may be related to women's work patterns: women's domestic storytelling tended to be interrupted by children needing care, making and serving food and tea for guests, and other duties.

While the women in this collection would tell stories about male protagonists as much as half the

time, the rate of male storytellers narrating female-centered tales was much lower, perhaps around 10 percent (Mills 1985). Analysis of the moral qualities of female protagonists in tales from this collection, especially trickster figures, suggests that women (and at least some of the men who narrate about women main characters at all) are more likely to portray women tricksters as socially responsible, pursuing social order and justice from an underdog position, rather than selfish or lustful as is their stereotype in classical literary treatments (Merguerian and Najmabadi 1997, Najmabadi 1997, Mills 2000, 2001). This sample may be skewed insofar as the tellers selected their material to please a female researcher. This phenomenon may also be genre-dependent, but the long-standing interpenetration of literary and oral storytelling (Mills 1991) encourages one to think that oral repertoires are more likely to support non-misogynistic themes than the more exclusively male literary tradition. The question of misogynist thematics implicates the range of roles of female and male secondary characters as well. Even cursory inspection confirms that women narrators are interested in villainous women, frequently as adversaries of women heroes.

Almost 30 years of war have changed the contours of popular memory in Afghanistan in ways that have yet to be assessed. Even in the pre-war years, when it was very easy in Afghanistan to find individuals, female and male, who were able to tell traditional stories for either entertainment or instructional purposes, *churt u fikr* (worry and anxiety) in everyday life were cited by a good number of adults as reasons why their repertoires were, in their view, shrinking. The cultural effects of internal and external refugee displacement are not only psychological but also contextual, such that traditional settings for oral narrative performance were also destroyed or displaced. At the same time, the Taliban's five-year ban on television, video, and other entertainment media, however imperfectly enforced, gave some impetus to the revival of more low-tech forms of domestic entertainment, including storytelling in some families and social groups.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- B. Grima, *The performance of emotion among Paxtun women*, Austin, Tex. 1992.

- G. Merguerian and A. Najmabadi, Zulaykha and Yusuf. Whose “best story”?, in *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 29 (1997), 485–508.
- M. A. Mills, Sex role reversals, sex changes and transvestite disguise in the oral tradition of a conservative Muslim community in Afghanistan, in R. Jordan and S. Kalcik (eds.), *Women’s folklore, women’s culture*, Philadelphia 1985, 187–213.
- , *Oral narrative in Afghanistan. The individual in tradition*, New York 1990.
- , *Rhetorics and politics in Afghan traditional storytelling*, Philadelphia 1991.
- , Whose best tricks? *Makr-i zan* as a topos in Persian oral literature, in *Iranian Studies* 32:2 (1999), 261–70.
- , Women’s tricks. Subordination and subversion in Afghan folktales, in L. Honko (ed.), *Thick corpus, organic variation and textuality in oral tradition*, in *Studia Fennica Folkloristica* (Helsinki) 7 (2000), 453–87.
- , The gender of the trick. Female tricksters and male narrators, in *Asian Folklore Studies*, special issue, *Folklore of the Iranian region*, ed. J. Perry, 60:2 (2001), 238–58.
- A. Najmabadi, Reading – and enjoying – “wiles of women” stories as a feminist, in *Iranian Studies* 32:2 (1999), 203–22.

MARGARET A. MILLS

## Arab States

Many societies in the Arab world have traditions of women’s narration that are clearly distinct from those engaged in by and for men. Given the tremendous linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic variety within the Arab world, it is not surprising that the region is characterized by a rich diversity of traditions of women’s storytelling. Arab women tell fictional tales of fantasy, religious tales, and personal narratives. They tell their tales at various occasions and locations, including informal family gatherings, celebrations such as engagement parties, weddings, and circumcisions, in conjunction with domestic work, and at pilgrimage shrines. In nearly all cases women narrate their tales in private spaces. They are usually told in domestic settings to audiences of other women and children, although in some traditions men may be present (and even participate in the narrating of tales) at family gatherings. When women tell their tales outside the home, it is almost always to audiences of other women and children, usually in spaces reserved for their gathering.

Perhaps because of these restrictions on women’s narrative performances, their tales, for the most part, are not considered a significant form of verbal art, even by their narrators. The recitation, almost exclusively by men, of epic romances, adventures, historically-based legends, and tales interpreting publicly recognized values and beliefs is usually valued (at least within the socioeconomic groups in

which they are performed) as an important cultural practice. Women’s tales (*bikāyāt*, *khurrafiyya*, or *hawādīth*), on the other hand, are often considered childish or nonsensical. El-Shamy (1999) notes, for instance, that one of his Egyptian informants was at first reluctant to even admit to knowing such tales. Palestinian men, according to Muhawi and Kanaana (1989), associate women’s tales with lies, and men who enjoy listening to them are considered effeminate. There are exceptions to these gender distinctions, however. Muhawi and Kanaana do include three Palestinian males among the 17 narrators of *khurrafiyya* in their collection of Palestinian folktales. In addition, because men hear these stories, primarily as children, they are often passive bearers of these folktale traditions.

The widespread dismissal of women’s tales as trivial talk may also stem from the informality of most narrative sessions. Tales are generally told when women gather, whether for relaxation, as on Ramadan nights or winter evenings, or for work, such as during the *‘awlā* period when Tunisian women gather in summer to make the year’s supply of couscous. However, there do exist more formalized settings for women’s storytelling. For instance, Fernea (1969) describes gatherings in a Shīrī village in Iraq where women trained as mullahs are invited each evening to private homes to tell the tale of the death of Ḥusayn and lead the women present in prayer and mourning. Women may also tell stories to each other at shrines during pilgrimages.

There is no formal training in the art of storytelling, and although a particularly talented teller may establish a solid reputation for herself, there is no mechanism for formally recognizing them as such. The telling of stories, especially folktales, is not limited to older women, but is often associated with them, most probably because these women have, through long experience, perfected their narrative technique, and collected a large repertoire of material.

Women’s tales are often told in a language that marks them for gender. In Tunisia, for instance, women storytellers make ample use of diminutives, which can be used by a skilled narrator to express affection and empathy or ridicule and humor. Palestinian folktales are similarly marked by both language and performance style that are followed not only by women, but also by the few men who also tell these tales.

The folktales Arab women tell treat themes of central concern to women’s lives. Many explore the nature of familial relationships (parent/child, siblings, spouses, and others), gender and sexuality, domestic activities, particularly in relation to

food, and the supernatural (usually through tales of encounters with ghouls and *jinn*). The centrality of a woman's world-view in these tales can be seen in subtle plot devices. For example, in the Palestinian tales collected by Muhawi and Kanaana (1989), inheritance among natural brothers is not an important topic, although it can be a central concern for Palestinian men. In contrast, conflict over inheritance among half-brothers (the product of polygyny, which is of central concern to women) occurs in several stories. Women's tales are also far more likely to have female protagonists.

The relationship between women's folktales and cultural norms is highly complex. On the one hand, many of their tales reflect societal expectations and values, particularly as they relate to gender roles and sexuality. Many tales support prevailing notions of sex segregation, honor, and the containment of women's bodies, and particularly women's sexuality. Tales often reinforce social boundaries (for example between the rural and urban, classes, and genders) and standards of behavior. On the other hand, women's folktales are often characterized by female eroticism and they may explore relationships and practices that contradict social norms. Many tales express a refusal to be fixed by gender roles.

The telling of folktales is a dying art in many parts of the Arab world. Several collectors have noted that while they were able to find older women who continued to tell these tales, younger women were not continuing the tradition. There is some evidence, however, that the art of oral narration among women is not so much dying out, as transforming from the fictional to the biographical realm. For instance, one of El-Shamy's informants who had moved to Cairo from a village in the Nile Delta noted that she had not heard any new *hawādith* since moving to the city, but that she heard many personal narratives. Although the personal narrative, grounded as it is in the everyday and explicitly identified with the teller, may not allow for the more controversial exploration of social norms that characterizes some folktales, it nonetheless offers a means of creatively organizing experience and can in its own way serve as what Evelyn Early (1993) calls "epic tales of hospitality and alliances."

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- E. Early, *Baladi women of Cairo. Playing with an egg and a stone*, London 1993.  
 H. M. El-Shamy (ed. and trans.), *Tales Arab women tell and the behavioral patterns they display*, Bloomington, Ind. 1999.  
 E. Fernea, *Guests of the sheikh*, New York 1969.

- M. Hejeiej (ed. and trans.), *Behind closed doors. Women's oral narratives in Tunis*, London 1996.  
 I. Muhawi and S. Kanaana (ed. and trans.), *Speak bird, speak again. Palestinian Arab folktales*, Berkeley 1989.

NADIA YAQUB

### Central Asia

The women storytellers and raconteurs of Central Asia creatively use a range of stories that they believe form a common Islamic tradition. The women storytellers use the *dastan* (*jir*, *ir*, *chorchok*) genre, which is a form of ornate oral history, widespread among the people of Central Asia. These *dastans* have transmitted treasured and respected value systems from one generation to the next. Considered to be the enduring record of a people or a confederation, the stories constitute a unifying bond in the consciousness of people whose lives and exploits gave birth to it. They provide a bond for a coherent *oymak*, the ancestral unit, a division of a greater confederation. The *dastan*, existed before Islam came to Central Asia and was very popular. Listeners continually evaluated the performance and verified the correctness of its contents by comparing it to other recitations. Various Islamic missionaries in Central Asia used this literature for their own purposes. They tried to combine their religious philosophy within the *dastans*, making the new religion more palatable to Central Asians. For example, "invisible saints," such as Zangi Buvi, Hazrat Aub Prophet, Kucharata, Ahmad Yasavi, Shaihwardon, and Nurata, were added to help the *alp* (the central figure of the *dastan*) overcome especially difficult problems. Although not all the attempted additions to the *dastan* were received favorably, these efforts helped popularize new genres such as the *menkibe*, a genre devoted to the exploits of Islamic warriors, often in supernatural tones.

Storytellers and raconteurs among Central Asian women play a key role in family events. As a rule they are gifted women with special charisma; they can tell stories about religion in ways that touch the souls of listeners. Each epoch has its own famous storytellers; in fact, every city and county has its own. Some, both women and men, cross the boundaries of their respective states, and gain popularity through the whole region. As storyteller followed storyteller, the record of the past has been blended into a universal stock of stories, themes, and motifs that can be combined and recombined in a profusion of mytho-histories.

For example, between 1930 and 1970, there was a popular woman storyteller named Toshkampir.

She was very young when as a result of an illness she lost all her teeth. Despite this, she was admired by many people, Uzbek, Kazakh, and Kyrgyz. Families would ask her to come during Ramadan, on the Night of Power and Excellence, and tell stories to women and young girls about the importance of the day and the story of what happened in Osh to Suleiman Ota. She said she spoke out of love for stories which she learned from other storytellers when she was in her teens. People liked to listen to her and were grateful to her. She never accepted money for storytelling; it was her duty as she saw it. She enjoyed it. She had a strong voice and a strong personality. The Soviets once put her in prison, but after a short time, so many people petitioned on her behalf that she was set free. She told stories connecting the history of Islam from Mecca to Central Asia, such as how Jalal-Abad helped spread Islam in Central Asia.

Storytellers guided young men and explained the message of the Qur'ān that women should be faithful to their husbands and be equal to them in faith toward God. Every Central Asian nation has its own form of storytelling among women, but all of them convey a sense of deep morality and faith and link faith to local events, past or present. Some women tell stories by singing. In Central Asia, this kind of story-telling is performed by *maqam* singers, mostly Uzbek and Tajik women; *akyn* singers among the Kyrgyz and Kazakhs; and *bakshi* singers among the Uzbeks and Turkmens. *Maqams* tell of the eternal women's dream of happiness. They are usually performed by women who learn them at a young age by imitating older *maqam* performers. Every presenter of a *maqam* does it a different way each time, revising the text orally. Uzbek families always invite women *maqam* performers, either neighbors or relatives, to perform on important occasions. At weddings, *maqam* singers give farewell guidance to the bride. They encourage her to be pious and honor the marriage, and to be self-sacrificing, maintain peace in the family, show respect for her mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and brothers-in-law and be a good Muslim and loving mother of her future children, who will fulfill the mission of Islam. When couples become parents for the first time, they usually have a birthing party for the mother separately. *Maqam* singers remind the mother that to be a mother is an honor, but to raise a faithful son and daughter is the main task of a Muslim woman. Usually the heroine of the *maqam* is Khadija, the Prophet Muḥammad's wife, or Saint Mary, or Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet. When there is a death in the family, women singers come to a farewell party organized strictly for women.

They invite a respected storyteller who tells a story illustrating the purpose of life and death, using local heroes as examples of true followers of God. Several women, usually relatives, and one renowned *maqam* singer from the neighborhood will perform *maqam* in a way that reflects the life of the dead person and connects this person with a Muslim saint. When a person dies young, the *maqam* singer says that although the person could have accomplished much, God took his life for a purpose; she connects the person's death with the death of two sons of the Prophet Muḥammad in infancy. When an old woman dies, the *maqam* singer describes her good deeds and mourns the family's loss, but celebrates her piety and points out that everyone will die sooner or later. The singer asks God to forgive her mistakes and the mistakes of those still living, and acknowledges God's might.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Sh. Khaysainzoda and O. Suyonova, *Saintly sites* [in Russian], Tashkent 1997, 77.
- I. B. Moldabaev, *Manas concerning Bukhara and Khiva* [in Russian], Jalal-Abad, Kyrgyzstan 1995, 111.
- D. Rashidova, *Musical tradition of Bukhara ( XVI-XX)* [in Russian], Tashkent 1994, 200.
- A. A. Sabirov, *The legend and folklore of Central Asia* [in Uzbek], Adabiet, Tashkent 1976, 203.
- , *Essays on the oral tradition of Turkestan*, Ph.D. diss. [in Uzbek], ms. at Museum of Literature and Art, Tashkent, Uzbekistan.
- B. Tursynov, *Saintly sites in the Fergana Valley and their relation with Bukhara and Khorezm* [in Russian], Tajikistan 1996, 98.

OIDINPOSHA IMAMKHODJAEVA

#### East Africa

In the traditional patriarchal Muslim societies of East Africa, the position and status of women is lower than that of their male counterparts. Women in these societies assume marginalized positions in every sphere of life: social, economic, and political. Until marriage, they are under the control of and dependent upon their fathers, and after marriage, their husbands. Within the family, husband and wife have unequal status; the male incontestably commands authority, and the woman defers to him. However, this should not be mistaken to mean that women do not have any social and political influence. Women's influence in Muslim societies in East Africa in general and in their respective families and community affairs in particular should not be underestimated. It is simply to indicate that the sociopolitical role and influence of women hardly lends itself to outsiders' observation, as it neither exists in an institutionalized form, nor has public

recognition or credence. Women's influence is a "behind-the-scenes" kind of influence (Jones 1981) that sharply contrasts with the deeply entrenched and institutionalized position of men. Women are expected to submit to male authority and supremacy at all levels of their life. From infancy throughout their youth, girls are brought up with constant reminders of the fact that the ultimate goal of a "decent" girl is marriage, which requires her to be docile, modest, and shy in front of men. It is not proper for a young woman to speak loudly or assertively, or to argue with men in whatever circumstance. It is the responsibility of adult women, particularly mothers and close female relatives, to impart to girls all the necessary knowledge and skills to become obedient wives and, consequently, good mothers, which constitute the socially sanctioned roles of women. Prescriptions for proper girlhood/womanhood as well as punishments for failure to conform to the prescriptions abound in stories about women in many societies of East Africa. The primary sphere of women in many Muslim societies in East Africa is the domestic sphere of the home. Among the Muslims of Ethiopia and Somalia, for instance, women as wives belong in the home and shoulder the responsibility of nurturing children, food preparation, and taking care of the domicile (see Alemu 2006, Kapteijns 1999, Ndungo 2006).

It has long been observed that gender is one factor in the division of labor structuring the performance and consumption of verbal genres in Sub-Saharan Africa (Finnegan 1992). The art of narration, for instance, is sub-divided into different genres along gender lines. Narration of folktales – which are viewed as entertainment often for children – is mostly carried out by women, while the performance of myths, religious texts (*hadith*), and historical narratives is a role exclusively undertaken by elderly men. Conceived as more serious and factual accounts, these narrative forms are often performed in formal social contexts involving only adult men. This does not mean that women and children are prohibited from attending and/or participating in such narrative performances. There is no explicit imposition on them as such. However, women have little to do with narration of these genres. This might be related to women's confinement to the domestic sphere and the time-consuming requirements for learning and performing the longer narrative forms such as myths, historical narratives, and popularized versions of *hadiths* that require the narrator to have not only a wide repertoire or memory of the narrated events, but also the opportunity and extended leisure time to present it with as much verisimilitude as possible. One

might also suggest that women are less interested in learning and disseminating narratives of the dominant patriarchy. Thus, by denying the importance of the so-called serious narrative forms in which their male partners take much pleasure and pride, women question or simply ignore the established assumptions, values, ideologies, and norms underlying the patriarchal social order and their own marginal social status.

Women's confinement to the homestead enables them to excel in the narration of stories in informal settings such as the home and neighborhood gender-segregated coffee-drinking parties. In many societies of Africa, including among Muslims of East Africa, stories are often told at night, after the completion of the daytime livelihood activities as well as during the extended nights of Ramadan or mourning and other family get-togethers. Storytelling of women to children has long been associated with the nighttime and the hearth, which symbolizes warmth of the home, the refreshing and enlightening moments of family life.

The audiences of women's storytelling sessions are often composed of children and adult female members of related and/or neighbor families. Apart from its creative and entertaining values, storytelling enables women to be important agents for teaching and socialization of the young, for transmitting and perpetuating indigenous knowledge systems and values such as honesty, diligence, wisdom, courage, truthfulness, and generosity. Stories prescribe proper and improper behavior for boys and girls, men and women, pedagogy in a pleasant form. Accordingly, modesty in dress, silence, chastity, sexual fidelity, forbearance, obedience, loyalty, and respect for one's husband and his family are presented as crucial to proper girlhood/womanhood. Boys are taught to grow into powerful, unflinching, authoritative, and protective men, who will provide for their wives. Transgressions against social norms as well as the come-uppance of highly exaggerated antisocial characters provide strong negative examples, often under the guise of absurdity or hilarity. Storytelling among a female audience also gives women the chance to question and comment on the patriarchal system, making fun of and criticizing oppressive men and their chauvinistic behavior within the social safety valve of providing entertainment to children.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Alemu, Oral narratives as ideological weapon. The case of Jimma Oromo, in *OSSREA Gender Issues Research Report Series*, 23, Addis Ababa 2006, 81–122.  
 R. Finnegan, *Oral traditions and the verbal arts. A guide to research practices*, London and New York 1992.

- S. Jones, Institutionalized inequalities in Nuristan, in G. Berreman (ed.), *Social inequality. Comparative and developmental approaches*, New York 1981, 151–62.
- L. Kapteijns with M. Omar Ali, *Women's voices in a man's world. Women and the pastoral tradition in northern Somali orature, c. 1899–1980*, Portsmouth, N.H. 1994.
- C. M. Ndungo, The image of women in African oral literature. A case study of Gikuyu oral literature, in *OSSREA Gender Issues Research Report Series*, 23, Addis Ababa 2006, 1–80.

ABREHAM ALEMU FANTA

## Iran

In the 1940s, Lawrence Elwell-Sutton collected and transcribed the stories of Mashdī Galīn Khānum, a storyteller who had memorized “an inexhaustible fund of folktales to suit every mood and occasion” (Mashdī Galīn Khānum 1950, Elwell-Sutton 1982, 102). Impressive feats of memory have traditionally been among the skills developed by some illiterate women, and like Mashdī Galīn Khānum, skilled storytellers today know the appropriate stories, know when to tell them, and know how to tell them in complete or abbreviated forms. Women in Iran share stories when they visit each other, when they work in complex households with other women, when they educate their children, and when they participate in religious activities, some of which, particularly those associated with votive rituals, are held exclusively for women. These votive rituals take place both in local shrines (Betteridge 1980) and in the home (Jamzadeh and Mills 1986, Mills 1982). Votive narratives are told by Muslim, Zoroastrian, and Jewish women, generally to audiences of other women (Fischer 1978, Goldstein 1986, Phalippou 2003).

Anthropologists who worked in Iran in the 1970s moved from the earlier practice of folktale collection to the analysis of storytelling in the context of naturally occurring conversation. Folktale collections present readers with complete, transcribed texts, but in performance, stories are interrupted by listeners' comments and by the accidents and events of everyday life. “This reminds me of the bear on Khosrow's rooftop . . . in the story of Gedulak and his mother's brother,” asserts Mamalus, the “master storyteller” in Erika Friedl's *Women of Deb Koh* (1989, 144), a study of women storytellers that bridges pre- and post-revolutionary periods. Mamalus goes on to finish the story, telling it in bits and pieces as others around her contribute to the conversation; at other times, just this tag would be enough to stand in for the lesson to be drawn from the longer version.

Stories similar to those in folktale collections are told, in whole or in part, in personal experience narratives, and in the ongoing more general transmission of knowledge and skills. “In a predominantly oral environment . . . the domain of folklore becomes nearly coextensive with ‘culture’ or ‘knowledge’ itself” (Mills and Avhary 2001, 76). Women who speak with confidence can act as go-betweens for other women unaccustomed or unwilling to speak outside the home environment. To use an example from this author's fieldwork in Yazd in the mid-1970s, a woman respected for her verbal skills went to arrange a marriage for a young man in place of his own mother who ceded her traditional role because she doubted her own effectiveness as a speaker. In such situations, the apposite use of a story or story fragment can add to the persuasiveness of a woman's words.

Telling stories can be a way of unburdening oneself, and sharing them can aid in the resolution of interpersonal difficulties. Enforced silence is culturally understood to be unhealthy; grief needs to be cast off in the telling (Goldin 2003). A well-known folktale offers the example of “the patient stone” (*sang-i sabūr*) to provide a narrative solution to the inability to tell one's story openly in the presence of others. In the many versions of this story, wronged women tell of the injustices they have suffered to a stone (Lorimer and Lorimer 1919, 19–24). After the narrator has emptied herself of her stories, the stone, now full of the storyteller's transferred grief, bursts instead of the teller. In a similar vein, Marjane Satrapi (2005) says of her grandmother's friends' conversations, “the purpose of [discussion] was the ‘ventilation of the heart.’”

Iranian women's post-revolutionary memoirs and novels often acknowledge the memory of women's storytelling circles (Milani 1992, Naficy 2003, Nahai 1991, Satrapi 2005). Those wishing to work with women's pre-revolutionary texts can now refer to the complete collection of Mashdī Galīn Khānum's stories (Marzolph 1994a, Wakilian 1375/1996) and to the extensive archives left by Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim Injavī Shīrāzī in Tehran (Marzolph 1999).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J. Atkinson (trans.), *Customs and manners of the women of Persia*, New York 1971 (1832).
- J. Bauer, Ma'ssoum's tale. The personal and political transformations of a young Iranian “feminist” and her ethnographer, in *Feminist Studies* 19:3 (Autumn 1993), 519–48.
- L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978.

- A. Betteridge, The controversial vows of urban Muslim women in Iran, in N. A. Falk and R. M. Gross (eds.), *Unspoken worlds. Women's religious lives in non-Western cultures*, San Francisco 1980, 102–11.
- , Muslim women and shrines in Shiraz, in D. Bowen and E. Early (eds.), *Everyday life in the Muslim Middle East*, Bloomington, Ind. 2002, 276–89.
- C. Colliver-Rice, *Persian women and their ways*, London 1923.
- B. Donaldson, *The wild rue*, London 1938.
- L. Elwell-Sutton, Collecting folklore in Iran, in *Folklore* 93:10 (1982), 98–104.
- M. Fischer, On changing the concept and position of Persian women, in L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 189–215.
- E. Friedl, Islam and tribal women in a village in Iran, in N. A. Falk and R. M. Gross (eds.), *Unspoken worlds. Women's religious lives in non-Western cultures*, San Francisco 1980, 125–33.
- , *Women of Deh Koh*, Washington, D.C. 1989.
- , Sources of female power in Iran, in M. Afkhami and E. Friedl (eds.), *In the eye of the storm*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1994, 151–67.
- Mashdī Galin Khānum, *The wonderful sea-horse and other Persian tales*, trans. L. Elwell-Sutton, London 1950.
- F. Goldin, *Wedding song. Memoirs of an Iranian Jewish woman*, Hanover, N.H. 2003.
- J. L. Goldstein, Iranian Jewish women's magical narratives, in P. Chock (ed.), *Discourse and the social life of meaning*, Washington D.C. 1986, 147–68.
- J. Gulick and M. E. Gulick, The domestic social environment of women and girls in Isfahan, Iran, in L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 501–21.
- L. Jamzadeh and M. Mills, Iranian sofreh. From collective to female ritual, in C. W. Bynum, S. Harrell, and P. Richman (eds.), *Gender and religion. On the complexity of symbols*, Boston 1986, 23–65.
- D. L. R. Lorimer and E. O. Lorimer, *Persian tales*, London 1919.
- U. Marzolph, *Die Erzählungen der Masdi Galin Hanom*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1994a.
- , Folk narrative and narrative research in post-revolutionary Iran, in *Middle East and South Asia Folklore Bulletin* 12:1 (1994b), 8–12.
- , Folklore studies. i. Of Persia, in *Encyclopædia Iranica* 10:1 (1999), 71–5.
- H. Masse, *Persian beliefs and customs*, New Haven, Conn. 1938.
- F. Milani, *Veils and words*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1992.
- M. Mills, A Cinderella variant in the context of a Muslim women's ritual, in A. Dundes (ed.), *Cinderella. A folklore casebook*, New York 1982, 180–92.
- and A. A. Ahvary, Folklore studies of Afghanistan, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, New York 2001, 75–8.
- A. Naficy, *Reading Lolita in Tehran*, New York 2003.
- G. B. Nahai, *Cry of the peacock*, New York 1991.
- M. Omidsalar, Storytellers in classical Persian texts, in *Journal of American Folklore* 97:384 (1984), 204–12.
- E. Phalippou, *Aux sources de Shéhérazade*, Louvain, Belgium 2003.
- J. Radhayrapetian, *Iranian folk narrative*, New York 1990.
- M. Satripi, *Embroideries*, New York 2005.
- B. Spooner, Anthropology, in *Encyclopædia Iranica* 2 (1987), 107–16.
- , Ethnography, in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, New York 1999, 9–45.
- E. C. Sykes, Persian folklore, in *Folklore* 12:3 (September 1901), 261–80.
- A. Wakilian, *Qiṣṣahā-yi Mashdī Galin Khānum*, Tehran 1375/1996.

JUDITH L. GOLDSTEIN

## Turkey

In Turkish folklore and folk literature in general the narrators are masters of telling different kinds of tales. In the pre-Islamic period we encounter poets who were skilled in telling all types of stories. For example, in the famous Central Asian epic, *The Book of Dede Korkut*, consisting of twelve *destans* or legends, the character Dede Korkut is a soothsayer and bard and serves to link the stories together. The stories contain sayings attributed to him. Under Islam, narrators or poets were legend and fairy tale narrators, mostly women. In Turkey, women narrators and raconteurs also carry on the Islamic tradition and they have become known as the best narrators in Turkish folklore. They are not only good at singing lyrics and telling stories but also very talented in telling jokes and singing elegies. Since they can easily find suitable words and expressions during their narrations, women are very good at improvising new stories if necessary.

Like poetry, which used to be passed from father to son, storytelling is passed from mother to daughter in Anatolia. Even though the narrators are not formally educated, they transmit cultural values. Most of the stories contain advice, a moral conclusion, to impart to the audience, and Turkish women narrators express well what is to be learnt from their stories. As artists, they shape the stories according to their own tastes.

For example, there is a very talented storyteller named Suzan Geniş living in Malatya, a city in the southern part of Turkey, who heard the stories from her father, Mahmut Karşioğlu, rather than her mother. Suzan Geniş has never been paid for telling stories and states that she has told stories to guests visiting her house especially during long and cold winter nights. She sometimes tells epics from the legends of Battal Gazi, a historically important character. Suzan Geniş usually tells her stories, which last a couple of nights, very emotionally.

During narrations women largely represent the positive values of Turkish society, focusing mostly on the good characteristics of women in their stories. They support or give credit to the loyal, hardworking, successful woman rather than to a cruel mother or a bad woman. Even though in general in fairy tales the heroes are men, women



storytellers make women the heroines of their stories. For instance, women become *padishah* (king) in their stories.

As well as women who are good as storytellers, there are women who are very talented joke-tellers. For example, Nasreddin Hodja is a well known and very important Turkish hero, the delightful and inimitable personification of Turkish humor. Nowadays, his jokes and his anecdotes about his wife, his friends, and his donkey are passed chiefly by word of mouth from generation to generation among Turkish women narrators.

The narrators are as important as the narrations. Since every narrator tells stories according to her own point of view, every storyteller, who may be a mother or a grandmother, gives the stamp of her own world-view. Consequently, in tales collected from an expert teller, certain points can be identified, such as her emotional sensibilities, thoughts, and values, which mark her stories. Furthermore, the mores, traditions, and belief systems of Turkish society can be traced through women's stories.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- İ. Başgöz, Masalın anlatıcısı, in N. Taner (prep.), *Masal araştırmaları/Folktale studies I*, İstanbul 1988, 25-9.  
 P. N. Boratav, Masal ve masalcı üzerine, in N. Taner (prep.), *Masal araştırmaları/Folktale Studies I*, İstanbul 1988, 31-9.  
 R. Filizok, *Ziya Gökalp'in edebi eserlerinde halk edebiyatı tesiri üzerine bir araştırma*, Ankara 1991.  
 S. Sakaoglu, *Tokatlı masal anası. Şehadet göl, masal araştırmaları*, Ankara 1999.  
 E. Şimşek, Malatyalı bir masal anası. Suzan Geniş, in *Milli Folklor* 7:56 (2002), 109-20.

SÜHEYLA SARITAŞ

### West Africa

Throughout the diverse cultures of West Africa, women have been recognized as the custodians of oral traditions and folk narratives. The roles of Muslim women as the nurturers and first teachers in their households are confirmed by their association with storytelling, which captures wisdom, knowledge, wit, morality, fantasy, and artistic communication.

Activities concerning major life transitions such as family preparations for birth, naming, puberty rites, weddings, and funerals are established storytelling events for Muslim women in West Africa. Each story told at any of these events contains themes that are relevant to the event. For example, during a wedding *fatiya* (women's ceremonial gathering) in Sierra Leone, respected women at the event will tell stories that will provide marriage

advice and tips on how to have a successful married life to the bride, her friends, and other single women in the audience. During funerals in Liberian Muslim communities, women are not allowed to cry or weep; hence the female mourners assemble in the deceased's house and tell stories as part of the mourning process and the funeral rites. Each night during Ramadan, after the breaking of the fast, the women in a household will sit together and perform activities to pass the time, which usually includes telling personal experience stories and stories related to Islam. In rural areas, after a hard day's work on their farms or selling goods in local markets, women in a household often gather together with their young and adolescent children in the "women's quarter" and tell stories.

Traditionally, the first storytellers in the close-knit family structure of West African ethnic groups are women: mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and older sisters. They tell fables and legends that teach the listeners about the morals and values of their group. These narratives also express the lives of the women and their role within their households and their societies. For example, the writer's father's first wife, Zainabu Lawan Haruna, from northern Nigeria, is well known for her skill in telling fictional stories with true moral and educational content to children after supper in her living room.

The concept of the mother of the household (Hausa, *uwar gida*) as the one embodied with wisdom, wit, and knowledge and as the one to be consulted or listened to for crucial family social matters and facts is a widespread institution among Muslims in West Africa. Muslim women, especially elderly women, are also credited with the talent for telling stories of various types. Thus, storytelling has been a powerful communicative medium often used in informal settings by the *uwar gida*, who is usually the senior wife, older aunt, grandmother, or other older woman in the family, to instruct, advise, counsel, inspire, and empower her listeners.

The general perception among Muslim men in West Africa is that oral narratives, while not directly condemned, are considered to be "idle chatter." Male heads of households often consider it inappropriate to be present at, or participate in storytelling sessions. Typically, Muslim men consider storytelling to be a social activity only for women and children in the privacy of the compound at the end of the day. As a result, Muslim women storytellers and raconteurs predominate.

The kinds of stories told by Muslim women in West Africa include legends (personal narratives, belief legends, contemporary legends, and local legends) and fictional stories (folktales and fables),

which often end with a moral and are designed to educate and advise younger members of the household.

Recurrent themes in stories told by Muslim women in West Africa range from gender roles and expectations, to religious and social issues of the day. The story themes are often determined by the occasion at which the stories are told and the nature and social status of the listeners. If the listeners are children, the subjects are those appropriate for children, didactic stories that encourage moral values. Stories told to young girls deal with the social and religious roles and expectations for young women in their families, their marriages, their communities, and in Islam.

Women use stories to introduce religiously, socially, and culturally desirable behaviors in a non-threatening and entertaining way. In preparation for marriage, young Hausa brides in northern Nigeria and Ghana, for example, are taught through stories and songs how to use douches and how to prepare aphrodisiacs by trusted aunts. During women-only recreational performances, young women are comfortable openly expressing their difficulties with relationships and their opposition to certain Muslim cultural traditions such as polygamy, arranged marriages, and inequality with their male counterparts.

A great deal of knowledge, wisdom, and information about how to cope with life is learned by Muslim children and sometimes also Muslim adults through stories told to them by women in their families. Muslim women in West Africa are relatively restricted in their desires to perform public social, religious, and cultural roles. But they are able to play those roles in the domestic arena as storytellers and raconteurs. They teach, advise, counsel, warn, inspire, and express their experiences, faith, hopes, values, and visions through storytelling.

Speaking and interacting orally and face-to-face with the listeners is the performance mode that Muslim women in West Africa employ when telling stories. They tell stories that are spoken, chanted, or sung, or a combination of all three modes of performance. They use opening and closing formulas when telling stories. An example of an opening formula for a fictional story is: "Once upon a time there was a beautiful girl named Fatima." The opening formula serves to both introduce the main character and setting of the story and signal to the listeners that a fictional world is being evoked. Likewise, the closing formula marks the ending of the story and signals to the listeners their return to reality from the imagined realm. An example of a

typical closing formula is: "Fatima married Prince Ali and they lived happily ever after." Women learn the stories they tell and the style of telling those stories informally and by listening to other Muslim women tell stories either in their households or at social events such as weddings and naming ceremonies. They engage their audience in the performance through formulaic devices of call and response. They also step out of their narrative role to ask questions that involve the children in the events of the story: "And what do you think happened to the girl?" or "Who do you think is the heroine in this story?" Quite often, they employ non-verbal aspects of performance when telling their stories including dramatization, body movements, and mimicking different voices of characters. A woman might put in her own touches as she tells the stories including examples from her personal life, especially if the stories are not strictly religious. Small children, young and adolescent girls within the family are usually the primary audience for Muslim women storytellers in West Africa. This is mainly because these age groups frequently interact with the women in the household more than with their fathers, either in the kitchen or in an open area in the women's quarter, where all the women in the compound gather after supper to chat and pass time. Stories are told to male and female children and adolescents not only to entertain them, but also to educate and advise them. The listeners play an important role in storytelling. The audience generally exerts a dynamic influence on the storyteller's work, whether in a participatory or critical capacity. The audience participates in the performance by interacting with the storyteller, laughing, commenting, and asking or answering questions arising from the subject of the story.

Today in northern Nigeria, it is not unusual to hear Muslim women tell stories at social occasions such as wedding ceremonies and *Jamia'yer Matar Islamiya* (Muslim women's fellowships) that express the need for women's participation in the economic, social, and cultural life of their societies. Quite often, women tell stories through songs and poetry. Three prominent Hausa women who are well known for telling feminist-related stories at social events through their narrative songs are Hajiya Barmani Choge, originally from Funtuwa, Binta Zabiya from Katsina, and the late Uwaliya Mai Amada from Kano. They describe all the things that women were capable of accomplishing when they were given career opportunities equal to those of their male counterparts. In one of her songs, Choge denounces local tradition that permits men to practice polygamy, and provides

suggestions to Muslim women about how to punish their husbands if they attempt to seek co-wives.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- U. N. Abalogu, G. Ashiwaju, and R. Amadi Tshiwala (eds.), *Oral poetry in Nigeria*, Lagos 1981.
- A. Baker and E. Greene, *Storytelling. Art and technique*. New York 1977.
- J. Bruchac, *Tell me a tale. A book about storytelling*, San Diego, Calif. 1997.
- L. Dégh, *Folktales and society. Story-telling in a Hungarian peasant community*, trans. E. M. Schossberger, Bloomington, Ind. 1989.
- R. Finnigan, *Oral literature in Africa*, Oxford 1970.
- G. Furniss, *Poetry, prose and popular culture in Hausa*, Washington, D.C. 1996.
- I. Okpewho (ed.), *The oral performance in Africa*, Ibadan 1990.
- P. M. Peek and K. Yankah (eds.), *African folklore. An encyclopedia*, New York 2004.

ZAINAB JERRETT

# Arts: Sung Praise Poetry

## West Africa

Sung praise poetry is a major expressive genre in Islamic West Africa. Both women and men may compose praise poetry about those who are dear to them. But while there has been considerable scholarship on men's compositions, much less attention has been given to the praise poems of women (exceptions include Hale 1998, Mack 2004, Sidikou 2001). This is surprising given that women play a considerable role in creating and diffusing these songs, mostly in local languages, although these days there are also women who sing praises in Arabic (the language of Islam, their religion). Women's praise poetry reveals much about the aspirations, treatment, and condition of women by focusing on issues that involve them and raising important questions about gender relationships, including love and marriage.

Because marriage is an intimate relationship between two individuals as well as an institution intertwining political, socioeconomic, and cultural elements, it is the space that most fully expresses the complexities, paradoxes, and tensions in the relations between women and men. In their love songs for potential husbands and families, women provide a picture of idealized love, which might produce the ideal marriage that might create the ideal family. Unlike the situation often encountered in the West, in African societies marriage is a collective enterprise, which involves not only the bride and groom but also members of their extended families. In most cases, the bride is expected to take up residence with her husband's family and become a productive member of that household.

These issues are exemplified in "Leeli," a song of marriage collected from Niger (Sidikou 2001). It is a popular song that cuts across ethnic boundaries and cultures in the region and is usually sung by women. It begins with a lead female voice and a chorus presenting the departure of a bride to her new conjugal home, and the intricacies that such a departure involves. Significantly, the name of the bride is Nyalle, a female nickname that refers to a woman as either beautiful or as one who keeps her body and her house clean and neat – all desirable attributes in a female marriage partner. Later in the song, the positive characteristics of patience and endurance are also emphasized.

The lyrics describe the emotions of the newlywed and the immediate community as well as the differences between a wife and a husband and thus a woman and a man. It also hints at the psychological scars of the bride on departing to her new home. The husband-to-be is urged to not just find out if his bride loves him, he must also find out and be assured that her immediate and extended family love him and approve of his love:

Lead: Ask this for me,  
Ask Nyalle on my behalf,  
Ask this outstanding Nyalle,  
If she loves me,  
And if you fly up to the sky,  
I am in your wings Koiria.

Lead: Ask the father's side,  
Ask the mother's side of the family for me,  
If they love,  
Ask the side of the aunts if they love,  
And if you fly up the sky,  
I am in your wings Koiria.

It is noteworthy that this stanza continues posing the question of love and trust of the bride's family. The piece also prepares a young girl for her life as a young woman, focusing on the emotions of her experience as well as the experience itself. This is a way for families and communities – young girls and women especially – to express their empathy with the young bride. The song also contains warnings about the pain of marriage as mirrored in the metaphor of the "date tree branch that whips you":

Lead: If your mother-in-law scolds you,  
Just cry and hush.  
If your father-in-law insults you,  
Just cry and hush.  
If your older brother-in-law insults you,  
Just cry and hush.  
If your younger brothers and sisters-in-law insult you,  
Cry and hush.  
If your husband himself insults your mother,  
Take your belongings,  
Because doing that is not a shame  
For a newlywed.

Chorus: Say sway sway Bandado,  
Date tree frond,  
The date tree branch that whips you  
Until you cry.

Love in the song is crucial not only because it has such an important place in human life but also because it makes a person bond with her or his kin group by forming a "we," as well as with the community as a whole by expanding it. In a larger sense,

the social meaning of the song includes the solidarity of the larger linguistic community because one effect of the song is to connect all of its elements. The language of love is not uttered in sheer emptiness, but is engendered by a precise situation for a precise objective. One key aspect of the text is the multiple references to other family members, which shows that marriage not only brings together a woman and a man, but their respective families as well. The language here underlines a sense of connection and continuity that must prevail even in the face of possible conflict when the bride must “cry and hush” when confronted with a marital problem. The song also debunks the stereotypical idea about Africans and Muslims who never marry for love, but are rather forced into marriage.

Many praise poems and songs in West Africa exalt loved ones for their intellect, courage, generosity, beauty, and honesty. Love of a partner, of family, or of community are all forms of love that appear in these songs. In addition, there is spiritual love; accordingly, many songs are dedicated to God, the Prophet, or a person’s ancestors.

In this same “Leeli,” the lead female voice begs for the Prophet Muḥammad’s love and blessings because these blessings will strengthen the love that the lovers share and consolidate their marriage. The mention of the Prophet also encourages the wife and husband to remember that marriage is sacred, a sacredness not only linked to the religion of Islam but also requiring the blessings of the ancestors as well. Using the phrase “Bismilahi hey” that derives from the Qur’ānic injunction *bism Allāh* (in the name of Allah), this dual spirituality is evoked:

Lead: Bismilahi hey,  
Muhammad’s blessing is with my daughter.  
Chorus: Bismilahi hey,  
Muhammad’s blessing is with my daughter.

Lead: Bismilahi hey,  
Say the ancestors’ blessing is with my daughter.  
Chorus: Bismilahi hey,  
Say the ancestors’ blessing is with my daughter.\*

Lead: Bismilahi hey,  
Say Medina’s blessing is with my daughter.  
Chorus: Bismilahi hey,  
Say Medina’s blessing is with my daughter.

Lead: Bismilahi hey,  
Say Mecca’s blessing is with my daughter.  
Chorus: Bismilahi hey,  
Say Mecca’s blessing is with my daughter.

The authoritative female voice heard in these praise songs is strong and inspirational. Through the theme of love, Muslim women in West Africa creatively construct a world in accordance with their desires.

#### NOTE

\* The stanzas calling for blessing by family members – fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles – have been left out due to space limitations. See Sidikou-Morton 2001 for the full text of this wedding song.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- B. Cooper, Gender and religion in Hausaland. Variations in Islamic practice in Niger and Nigeria, in H. L. Bodman and N. Tohidi (eds.), *Women in Muslim societies. Diversity within unity*, Boulder, Colo. 1998, 21–38.
- T. Hale, *Griots and griottes. Masters of words and music*, Bloomington, Ind. 1998.
- B. Mack, *Muslim women sing. Hausa popular song*, Bloomington, Ind. 2004.
- E. Evers Rosander, Women and muridism in Senegal. The case of the Mam Diarra Bousso Daira in Mbacké, in K. Ask and M. Tjomslund (eds.), *Women and Islamization. Contemporary dimensions of discourse on gender relations*, Oxford 1998, 148–75.
- A. Sidikou, *Recreating words, reshaping worlds. The verbal art of women from Niger, Mali and Senegal*, Trenton, N.J. 2001.

AISSATA SIDIKOU-MORTON

# Arts: Theater

## Arab States

In the Arab world in the twentieth century, women rose to great heights of achievement, especially as actors, perhaps more than in any other artistic endeavor. Indeed, in its various branches the theater has proved to be a very rich field of enterprise for women. Arab women today have also carved careers for themselves as stage managers, playwrights, choreographers, and costume designers – all areas that were initially reserved for men.

In the nineteenth century, Edward Lane, the chronicler of Arab and Egyptian manners and customs, noted how rare it was for women to be involved in any theatrical performances, whether as performers or spectators. Nevertheless, there is a long-recorded history of forms of theatricalities, including dance and ritual, that were famous in the Arab Middle East – a history that dates back over three thousand years. Certainly mimetic performances accompanying music and recitation provided reinforcement for simple dramatic vignettes of domestic life, which in turn provided great amusement to audiences. In Qarakoz puppet theater and earlier shadow theater, women were almost always symbolically represented.

Sulaymān Qardāhī from Syria is credited with introducing the very first appearance of a woman from the Arab world on the stage – although foreign women may well have appeared on stage during the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt (1798–1801). When the French imported actors to entertain their troops at the first theater, known as al-Azbaqiyya, only a few women, wives of Egyptian notables, were seen in the audience. Qardāhī first introduced his wife to the stage, followed by some young Jewish women in Syria, before any Muslim women actually took active part in the burgeoning theater. Growing numbers from Lebanon and Syria flocked to Egypt in the latter part of the nineteenth century and dared defy a hostile tradition to earn a living in a profession that was equally new for men as well.

These pioneering women paved the way for famous divas such as Munira al-Mahdiyya. Perhaps the first Muslim woman to sing and act on stage in Egypt, she made a name for herself that is remembered to this day. Soon thereafter such illustrious women as Faṭīma Rushdī started their

own troupes. Rushdī is credited with having introduced and acted in plays by Shakespeare, Racine, Corneille, and Edmund Rostand from the foreign repertoire as well as in the poetic dramas of Aḥmad Shawqī and ‘Azīz Abāza. Rushdī directed and managed her own company, which carried her name, and her fame spread far and wide as she became known as the Sarah Bernhardt of the East.

Well-known names such as Rose el Youssef, Zouzou Nabil, Fardous Hassan, and Zouzou Hamdi al-Hakim paved the way for such equally brilliant actors as Sanaa Gamil, Amina Risk, and Samiha Ayoub, whose careers spanned the better part of the twentieth century. These shining stars owe a debt of gratitude to those pioneering women who, while defying conventional customs and traditions, must have had to overcome the deep-seated societal prejudices that existed against both men and women who engaged in the arts. Their passion and dedication should be viewed as a sort of activism that helped prepare the way for and was an integral part of the emancipation of women in both political and social arenas. Today we take for granted the fame and stature of these women, but earlier their social status was often precarious, despite the fact that some may have accumulated great wealth.

The Arab theater, unlike the Persian, does not have a tradition of religious or Passion plays. However, although the theater is strictly secular, throughout its history the repertoire has included dozens of religiously inspired plays about famous women, such as the Sufi Rabi‘a al-‘Adawiyya, Shaimaa, and others. In addition, plays depicting the biographies of female saints and martyrs have often been represented on stage, such as the great plays *Princess Awaits* and *Musāfir layl* (Night traveler), or *Mas’at al-Hallāj* (Tragedy of al-Hallaj) by the dramatic poet Ṣalāh ‘Abd al-Ṣabūr. Amateur plays that enacted stories inspired by religious themes were often a venue for both female and male actors. The amateur theater in churches of the Arab East included scenes of the nativity, as well as many religiously inspired events and scenes that mark the calendar. These small-scale productions rarely developed into professional spectacles employing elaborate technical devices. As school dramas, they focused on didactic renderings of religious teachings. Here women often performed silent roles and only those that were absolutely necessary.

From the early twentieth century onwards, mostly in Egypt but also in Syria and Lebanon, the poetic dramas of the prince of poets, Ḥmad Shawqī (for example *Maṣraʿ Kliyūbātrā*, The death of Cleopatra), were all-time favorites of leading ladies of the theater. Shawqī's long list of poetic dramas inspired great actors as well as the singers and composers who turned them into musicals. Leading singers such as Umm Kulthum and Abd al-Wahab helped increase the popularity of these dramas. *Layla and Majnun* and *Qambīz*, in addition to being great love stories, helped raise the political consciousness of the masses. The *Layla and Majnun* episodes dealt with what was considered acceptable or unacceptable social behavior: for example, how it was unacceptable to proclaim one's love openly in the poetic verses of the Majnun, even though "society" knew full well of the love story, thus exposing societal hypocrisy. *Qambīz* dealt with the historico-political context of an aggressor's tyrannical claim on a people.

In 1927 Shawqī's *Maṣraʿ Kliyūbātrā* was grandly produced by Fāṭima Rushdī, immortalizing the tragedy of that last queen of Egypt and her proverbial love of Mark Anthony. Abd al-Wahab, the singer-composer, built his early fame by interpreting Shawqī's poignant, grand love poetry. Roles also highly sought by the leading ladies of the first part of the twentieth century included those in Syrian author Walīd Ikhlāṣī's plays *Maqām Ibrāhīm* and *Wāṣifa*, in which the heroine valiantly defends her love and pure intentions, as well as in Shawqī's *Layla*, whose heroine sacrifices her love for the sake of upholding traditions, and in his *Antara*, whose 'Abla faces the wrath of her tribe and rebels against their restrictive mores.

The roles for women in the latter part of the twentieth century became more varied and attracted women actors from all walks of life. It also became more acceptable for middle-class and sometimes upper-class women to adopt acting careers. Ever since the beginning of the twentieth century, comedy, in all its manifestations of vaudeville and burlesque, has dominated the commercial theater. In addition, the circus has attracted acrobatic performers, and many women have joined in. "Serious" comedy, however, became a magnet for film actors and early on in the twentieth century stage actors helped this growing film industry, which came to be known as "Hollywood on the Nile." Serious film actors are still often seen on stage; indeed they seek to act on stage even if it is not as financially lucrative as film or television soap operas. Women actors feel privileged to act on the stage and face

audiences every night despite the grueling efforts and demands on their time and lifestyles.

Acting troupes performed primarily in Egypt but also traveled to Syria, Lebanon, and sometimes Iraq. Samiha Ayoub, the first lady of the Egyptian stage, Suheir el-Murshidi, Sumaya al Alfi, and Aida 'Abd al-'Aziz became household names in addition to the great comedienne of the early and mid twentieth century, such as Marie Munib. Soheir al-Bably and Shuweikar have also carved a path for hundreds of young women who today grace the stage as well as television and film screens. They brought the influence of their learning, grace, and personal charm, in addition to their outstanding performances, thus creating schools of acting to be emulated. Today, of course, there are academies of dramatic arts as well as acting schools in which these young women receive theoretical training. The best known of these are in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and, on a lesser scale, Palestine.

In North Africa, especially Tunisia, more and more women are choosing careers as actors, and playwrights are writing more interesting roles for women. The Gulf countries are also beginning to make women's presence felt on the stage. To date they encourage the performance of invited troupes and hold festivals that are handsomely subsidized. Khaliji (Gulf) actors are beginning to make their mark in soap operas and quite possibly will soon have their own playwrights and actors, both men and women. Since there is a growing number of women writers from the Gulf, the assumption is that some of them may actually write plays for production.

Many female actors today try to escape attempts at typecasting. But individual actors who are sufficiently gifted are able to give their chosen roles characteristic styles that carry the imprint of their personalities. Amina Rizk is a case in point. She plays the virtuous heroine, possessing the natural dignity of the high-minded lady in distress, who is histrionic at times yet also melodramatic and tragic at other times. Rizk has also ventured a few comic roles in which she has equally excelled.

In conclusion, there has been in the Arab world a growing interest not only in drama and the written literary text but also in the arena of the performing arts. The flourishing of the theater has attracted some of the greatest names of Arab women, who have gone on to have brilliant careers not only in the theater but also in the domains of cinema and television.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Fahmī (ed.), *Abḥāth fī masrah al-tajrib fī masrah al-mar'a*, Cairo n.d.
- L. Ferris, *Acting women. Images of women in theater*, New York 1989.
- E. Natalie, *Feminist theater. A study in persuasion*, Metuchen, N.J. 1985.
- S. Zuhur (ed.), *Colours of enchantment*, Cairo 2004.

MONA N. MIKHAIL

## Central Asia

It is well known that peoples of Central Asia had a developed folkloric dramatic art tradition in the past, and that folklore reflected many events of public life. Numerous written sources and archeological finds indicate that Central Asian women played a significant role in the development of national culture, particularly in the spheres of poetry, dance, and music. Women also contributed to the development of folkloric dramatic art.

Available artifacts indicate the existence of theatrical troupes in ancient times only among settled peoples, the ancestors of the Tajiks and Uzbeks. It is presumed that Central Asian theater emerged in the Hellenistic period and survived till the arrival of Islam. Prior to Islam, women took an active part in theatrical performances. While their role was greatly reduced during the Islamic period, during certain periods women nevertheless had opportunities for creative work. A new phase of theater development started after Central Asia was conquered by the Russian Empire. Under Russian influence, on the eve of the twentieth century, European theatrical tradition began to develop. Women did not participate in this new dramatic art, but probably had their own traditional theater. Among Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Turkmens, dramatic art in the modern understanding of the phrase began to develop during Soviet times – after the 1920s, simultaneously with the state policy of emancipation of women. Formation of the national theaters thus coincided with the process of involving women in acting. In Kazakhstan, the first theaters appeared only in 1926, in Turkmenistan in 1929, and in Kyrgyzstan in 1930.

In the early twentieth century, in certain cities and villages of Uzbekistan there were some 20 female acting troupes, and over 30 oral plays and dramatic stories from the female theater repertoire were recorded. In the territory of the Zerafshan valley, female artistic troupes were called *toop*. Apparently, the tradition of segregation in folkloric theater had very ancient roots, and was later consecrated by Islam, which forbade women to appear in

the presence of men. The two types of the folkloric theater (male and female) had many similarities, but their main difference was that each had its own repertoire and, in the female theater, the actors and audience consisted only of women, who also played male parts. This had a certain effect on the nature of the performances. Evidently, female theater appeared long ago, as evidenced by the stable prevalent repertoire, the developed artistic mastery, and the link between performances and folk holidays, such as the spring celebration of Navruz, weddings, and other traditional ceremonies. Actresses of the female theater – *maskharaboz khotin* and *qiziqchi khotin* – could be either professional actresses or amateurs. The repertoire of the female theater was rich and diverse. It consisted of comedies, dramatic stories, comic songs, comic dances, dramatic parodies, and pantomimes. Each local troupe could also have its own specific genres. On the whole, the female theater repertoire was self-developed and original. Spoken dramas with developed plots formed the foundation of the theater.

The central theme of oral female drama of the pre-Soviet period was the fate of a woman. The best examples of that dramatic art authentically and emotionally described events of the difficult and powerless lives of Muslim women. But they also showed working women's optimism, love of life, their hope for a better future, and relentless longing for freedom and equality.

Actresses of the female theater also supported women's right to freely choose a husband, and showed their yearning for the equal rights of men and women. Several comedies depicted the daily life of common folk, dealing mostly with family and moral issues. In those performances, female actresses ridiculed human weaknesses in a friendly manner (for example talkativeness, rudeness, and light-mindedness) and denounced women who violated real moral principles based on mutual respect. Modern plays are mostly dedicated to the issues of morals, ways of life, family, and upbringing, which also comprised a large part of female theater plays in the past.

The dramatic art of the female theater was richer than the male, as it included not only comedies, but also dramas using music. Compared to the male theater, the art of the female theater is also characterized as more specific and directional. In most cases, heroes of the performance have their real-life prototypes. Female actresses usually perform at female gatherings organized to celebrate weddings, family festivals, and other occasions. Female comics, as well as men, perform in groups of two to five people.



Performance preparation and the action itself are carried out by the troupe leader (*sarkada*) who acts simultaneously as organizer and as director of the performance (*tomosha*). Plays alternate with songs and dances, but are usually shown after the performance of a few songs and dances that help to prepare the audience's interest in the play.

There were no specific costumes for roles in the female theater. Actresses usually used a fake beard, black and white mustache, and some other objects that identified a male role. Everything else required was borrowed at the venue of the play, from performance organizers or even the audience. Exaggeration and grotesque, typical of all folk art, were present in the costumes as well. In the female theater, make-up was much more important than the costume. Female (as well as male) folk theater was very vague about the set and presentation. There was no stage, wings, or curtains. A play was usually performed right in the middle of a circle formed by women sitting on the floor, who were spectators as well as participants. The best actresses of female theater attained high artistic qualities. Their performance techniques were close to those of male theater artists. Actresses preferred bright, sharp ways of expressing their artistic manners. Their movements were energetic, their gestures were sweeping, and their dialogues were loud. This created deliberate exaggeration that fully expressed the nature of the characters. Generally, actresses were highly articulate, and had a talent for speaking, mimicry, and moving on the stage. They created not only interesting female characters, but also vivid male characters of different occupation and age. Actresses conveyed looks (voice, movements, and walk) as well as general personalities. Two significant features should be noted in the female theater as well as in the whole of Central Asian dramatic folk art. The first is improvisation. Female theater has never used written literature or scripts. Improvisation gave actresses a vast creative freedom but also required real masterly qualities, such as advanced imagination, keenness of observation, wittiness, inventiveness, spontaneity, ingenuity, and last but not least a very sharp memory. The second important feature is the fact that the art was developed on the basis of very rich, dynamic, changing action. Plays included whole pantomime set-ups on precisely elaborated actions.

Folk female theater had already spread considerably in the nineteenth century and it was a popular art form among working women. It played an important role in the life of the female population in their ideological and aesthetic upbringing. Traditions of this wonderful genre of folk art continued

to develop during the Soviet period, acquiring new features and nuances, as well as new repertoire. And, in a sense, it lives on in the present.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

(all items are in Russian)

- M. Kh. Kadirov, Women's folk theater in Uzbekistan, in *Transactions of the 7th international anthropological conference*. i. *Ethnography*, Moscow 1964.  
 K. Kerimi, *Theater in Turkmenistan. A historical essay*, ed. G. Goyana, Moscow 1964.  
 N. Lvov, *Theater in Kazakhstan. A historical essay*, ed. G. Goyana, Moscow 1961.  
 —, *Theater in Kirgystan. A historical essay*, Moscow 1983.  
 N. Nurdjanov, *Theater in Tajikistan. A historical essay*, ed. G. Goyana, Moscow 1968.  
 M. Rakhmanov, *Theater in Uzbekistan from ancient times to 1917*, Tashkent 1981.  
 T. Tursunov, *The October Revolution and Uzbek theater*, Tashkent 1983.

AZIM MALIKOV

#### Iran

Limited historical documentation hinders accurate representation of women's professional involvement in theater in Iran. Class, education, and religion are major factors that have influenced women's participation in the performing arts. At the height of its popularity during the Qājār epoq, *ta'ziyya* was performed by and for women in Fath 'Alī Shāh's court under the auspices of his sister, Qamar al-Saltāna, who was a great patron of the arts. Western-style drama came to Iran in the nineteenth century via France and Russia. The majority of women performers at this time, however, were Armenian or Jewish. Notable among them are the Armenian actress Parī Āqā-bābāyev, who operated and performed in her own Parī Theater in Tehran, and Sawnā Qafqāzi whose performance in *Ārshīn Mālālān* set the standards of acting in early twentieth-century Iran. Plays with strong political and social content preceded the Constitutional Revolution (1905–11), advocating for social reform but failing to address women's rights specifically. An exception, however, was the Women's Society for Cultural Research in Gilan, where the founder, Sārī Amānī, established an all-female acting troupe in 1923, performing plays critical of social practices against women to an all-female audience. The Young Iran Theater, established in 1921 in Tehran, is noted as the first venue where male and female spectators sat side by side to watch plays. At this time plays were also staged in prominent women's private homes, the proceeds of which went to funding new schools for girls.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, women's participation in theater remained mainly limited to acting. The first female director to emerge in theater was Mahīn Awskū'ī who received her training at the Moscow Arts Institute in 1956. She directed works by Ibsen and Chekhov and translated Stanislavski's *An Actor Prepares*. In the latter half of the twentieth century, women gradually expanded their presence in theater, as evidenced by the greater number of female characters in plays and the increasing number of women actors in theater, film, and television, as well as a handful of directors. As the number of college graduates increased and women's economic independence grew in the 1970s, so did their participation in the arts as creators, spectators, critics, and producers.

Artistic activities in general and women's participation in particular were severely curbed in the early years following the Islamic Revolution. Today, however, women have again become active in all aspects of theater, within the confines of Islamic codes of behavior. At present, the majority of theater students and instructors at Iranian colleges are female. At the 23rd International Fajr Theater Festival in 2005, of the 110 theater productions presented, 19 were written and/or directed by women. The Women's Theater Festival held by Tehran Municipality aims to improve women's ability in artistic activities as well as festival organization and management. Each year, more women are the recipients of the major prizes in directing, acting, writing, and design.

Today's female artists work beyond traditional boundaries of "women's issues." For example, based in Vaḥdat Hall, Tehran's best-equipped theater, Paṛī Šābirī has created a kind of national theater making use of traditional Iranian performance styles. Creating theater that is often based on classical as well as new Iranian poetry, Šābirī aims to imbue theater with spirituality and address universal human concerns. Parvāna Muzhda's work, on the other hand, addresses issues of modernity and the breakdown of communication in the modern world. Lāla Taqiyān is the founding editor of *Fašl-nāma Tīātr*, a seasonal publication dedicated to theater research.

A survey of works by women playwrights in the last decade illustrates an attempt to explore woman's relationship with her surrounding world. Among them are the motif of isolation in *Night's Cold Roads* by A'zam Burūjirdī, war and its aftermath in *The Room of Dreams* by Afrūz Furūzand, hope in *Tomorrow* by Shabnam Tulū'ī, and change in *Lunar women, Solar Men* by Chīstā Yāsribī.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- R. Amini, Women playwrights are on the way, in *Zanān* 91 (August 2002), 31–2.  
 M. Awskū'ī, *Pazhūhish dar tārikh-i tīātr-i Īrān*, Moscow 1992.  
 B. Bayzā'ī, *Tārikh-i mamāyish dar Īrān*, Tehran 2001.  
 P. Chelkowski (ed.), *Tāziyeh. Ritual and drama in Iran*, New York 1979.  
 P. Farrukhzād, *Kārnāmā-yi zanān-i kārā-yi Īrān. Az dirūz tā imrūz*, Tehran 2002.  
 B. Gharibpūr, *Tīātr dar Īrān*, Tehran 2005.  
 H. Gūrān, *Kūshish-hā-yi nāfarjām*, Tehran 1981.  
 F. Nawzād, *Tārikh-i namāyish dar Gīlān*, Rasht 1989.  
 Ch. Yāsribī, Women playwrights of Iran, in *Surūsh Bānūvān Monthly* 37 (July 2003), 62.

FARAH YEGANEH AND TORANGE YEGHIAZARIAN

### The Ottoman Empire

Western-style theaters in various multiethnic, multi-confessional urban centers, such as Constantinople (Istanbul), Smyrna (Izmir), and Thessaloniki began in the early nineteenth century amongst non-Muslim and foreign communities. Acting became a new form of viable employment outside the domestic sphere for women. It also challenged social conventions by being a vehicle for social change, which addressed issues of morality, work, and family (Khalapyan 2006).

The viability of acting as a career for women was coupled with the growing interest and artistic investment in Western-style theater amongst Ottoman Muslim and Christian literati. Given religious, social, and municipal concerns, Ottoman Muslim women did not appear on stage until the early twentieth century. Instead, Ottoman Armenian women, and to a lesser extent Greek and Gypsy women, were the principle female actresses of the nineteenth-century Ottoman stage. One of the main proponents of Western-style theater was Agop Vartovyan (1840–1902), also known as Güllü Agop, an actor-manager, who obtained a ten-year exclusive license from 1870 until 1880 to open theaters in the non-European parts of Constantinople. Known as the "Ottoman Theater," plays were performed in Turkish and Armenian. In the early 1870s, Agop signed contracts with 18 Armenian actresses, which set their pay, performance schedule, and possibility of performing in other local and regional theaters (And 1963–4, 69).

Although actresses received mixed public attention and criticism in the Ottoman Turkish press, either for their poor pronunciation of Turkish, or for their less-than-pristine appearance on stage – lack of coaches, self-provision of make-up, and little rehearsal time contributed – their public

presence challenged middle-class and elite Armenian, and consequently Ottoman Muslim, sensibilities. Yet there was a vested interest in the theater, actress training, and audience etiquette. For example, in the provincial theater in Bursa, Ahmet Vefik Paşa (1823–91), governor and member of the Gedikpaşa Theater, provided diction classes, coaching for actresses, and an audience guide to theater etiquette (And 1963–4, 75).

Ottoman Armenian women were either exposed to drama in schools, or as in the case of Baydzar Fasulyeciyan (1845–1920), as audience members who were inspired by Arusyak Papazyan's (1844–1913) first professional performance in 1861 (And 1999). Schools provided another venue for theatrical and dramatic exercises. For example, Thessaloniki had a thriving Judeo-Spanish theater. Although it is not clear what role women had on the stage, Madame Poli and her daughter Olga directed several Italian plays and provided musical entertainment at the Instituto Poli (Kerem 1996, 37). Likewise, dramatic societies, such as the one at Constantinople College for Women and the Y.W.C.A in Pera, also provided forms of recreation and socializing amongst a multiethnic student body (Deaver 1922, 272).

In the nineteenth century, social conventions questioned the moral appropriateness of the stage for young women and how it would affect their marriage prospects. The family of Mari Nivart (1853–85) did not initially approve of her penchant for the stage although her dramatic skill garnered applause from audience members and theater critics (And 1999, 133). Likewise, Aznif Hratchia's (1853–1920) acting did not make her appropriate for marriage according to her friend's family (Hratchia 1912). However, Papazyan left the stage in 1868 after marrying (And 1972). Although actresses did pursue the stage for their interest in acting, it could be a viable form of paid work, depending on the actresses's rank as well as the theater company's budget. When Agop's contract with the state terminated in the early 1880s, competition increased between foreign and local companies, affecting the actress's pay scale (And 1972).

The stage also provided a venue for engagement in political and national issues. In 1879, the Ottoman Greek actress Ekaterini Veroni (1867–1955) first performed on the stage of Yıldız Palace at the age of 12 costumed in the colors of the Ottoman flag (Türker 2000). Yet increasing nationalist sentiment amongst the non-Muslim communities resulted in the banning of the Armenian and foreign language theater in 1879 – reopened in 1908 with the constitutional restoration – and the censorship of politi-

cally-sensitive words and subject matters during the reign of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909).

“By opening a space for female performers to become spectacles and personalities, the popular theatre promoted the development of a new expression of new womanhood” (Glenn 2000, 7). On the stage, Armenian actresses performed set roles: the girl, the comic, the lover, the serious mother (And 1972, 128), from Ottoman Turkish/Armenian or Western repertoire. Yet actresses operated as their own cultural agents, taking their portrayals on the stage seriously. Heralded for particular roles, such as Mari Nivart's performance as Marguerite Gautier in Dumas's *La dame aux camélias*, or Siranuş (1857–1932) as Shakespeare's Ophelia, and later in 1901 as Hamlet, actresses garnered positive attention for their talent and skill (And 1999). As with acting, writing novels and plays not only provided a platform for paid work, but also a venue for women to engage in social commentary. Although there are not many extant plays by women, few of which were performed, playwrights such as Sibil (1863–1934) and Nigâr Hanım (1867–1918) explored themes of romantic love, marriage, and female education (Rowe 2003, And 1971).

Although Ottoman Armenian actresses had appeared on stage since the mid-nineteenth century, Ottoman Muslim women were only active as audience members, either attending matinee performances for women, or after 1879 secluded in the latticed balcony area (*kafesli locastı*) for evening performances (And 1972). By admitting women, beginning in 1918, theater and newly established municipal conservatories reflected transformations in everyday cultural practices at the urban level. From the late nineteenth century, Ottoman Muslim elite women participated in public capacities through charity work or as contributors to and editors of the women's press. Yet, in 1919, Afife Jale's (1902–41) credited, albeit disputed historic stage appearance as the first Turkish Muslim female stage actor provoked an official response (Altındal 1994). Afterwards, the city council prohibited the appearance of Muslim women on stage only to allow them in 1921 (And 1963–4). The 1923 stage roster included 19 female actresses, among them Bedia Muvahhit (1897–1994) and Neyyire Neyir (1894–1941), both prominent on stage and screen. In the 1920s and 1930s, Turkish illustrated and film magazines dedicated cover photos and articles to the daily lives of Turkish actresses, heralded as a measure for the Westernization of republican society (Sedes 1937, Örfi 1924).

Outside the theater, Ottoman Muslim and Turkish republican women participated in public display

and presentation through “tag days,” or events publicly promoting charity organizations through the wearing of a lapel tag. Likewise, writer and feminist Halide Edip’s act, or performance, of unveiling in front of the American College in 1912 not only had political resonances, but also expressed new urban forms of women’s identity in public.

Current research and institutional support of projects focusing on Ottoman Christian and Muslim actresses and dramaturgy will continue to reveal women’s contributions not only to the stage but also to late Ottoman and early republican history.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Altındal, *Osmanlıda Kadın*, Çağloğlu, İstanbul 1994.
- M. And, *A history of theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1963–4.
- , *Meşrutiyet döneminde Türk tiyatrosu (1908–1923)*, Ankara 1971.
- , *Tanzimat ve istibdat döneminde Türk tiyatrosu (1839–1908)*, Ankara 1972.
- , *Osmanlı tiyatrosu*, İstanbul 1999.
- G. G. Deaver, Recreation, in C. R. Johnson (ed.), *Constantinople to-day; or, The pathfinder survey of Constantinople; a study in oriental social life*, New York 1922, 259–86.
- S. A. Glenn, *Female spectacle. The theatrical roots of modern feminism*, Cambridge, Mass. 2000.
- Madame Hratchia, Souvenirs d’une tragédienne, in *La patrie*, 10 Mars 1912, 166.
- Y. Kerem, The Greek-Jewish theater in Judeo-Spanish, ca. 1880–1940, in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 14 (1996), 31–45.
- H. Khalapyan, A world of its own boundaries. Theater, Armenian actresses and public space in the Ottoman Empire, paper presented at conference on Women in the Arts and Writing. Negotiating the Ottoman Public Sphere in the 19th and 20th centuries, Boğaziçi University, 6–7 April 2006.
- V. Örfi, Sanatkârlarımızı tanıyalım. Bedia Muvahhit Hanım, in *Sinema Postası* 8 (21 Şubat 1924), 1–2.
- V. Rowe, *A history of Armenian women’s writing. 1880–1922*, London 2003.
- S. İ. Sedes, Kızlarımız ve tiyatro, in *Akşam*, 1 Şubat 1937.
- O. Türker, 19. Yüzyıl İstanbul’unda yunan tiyatroları, in *Tarih ve Toplum* 194 (2000), 109–12.

G. CAROLE WOODALL

### South Asia

Theater as an independent institution occupying a permanent physical structure existed in early India (ca. third century B.C.) and developed in the mid-nineteenth century with the importation of the proscenium stage from Europe. Throughout its history, theater was intertwined with other performing arts, especially dance, music, and poetry, and was enmeshed with religious rituals, popular festivals, and courtly entertainments. Until recently, hereditary sub-castes (*jati*) of low rank provided most of the personnel. Female performers were doubly stig-

matized, being viewed as courtesans or prostitutes. In Sanskrit drama (second century B.C.–tenth century C.E.), the *nati* (actress), wife of the *sutradhar* (actor-manager), was a stock character, but legal texts of the day condemned her as immoral.

Actors and actresses received rewards for their services from higher-ranking patrons who relied upon them to fulfill religious obligations or enhance their worldly prestige. Stable relations between patrons and performers provided for economic security of a kind, but the hardships of itinerancy and begging were never distant. For women, a life in the performing arts could entail concubinage and even slavery, resulting from capture, sale by impoverished parents, or dedication to temple service. On the other hand, some urban courtesans enjoyed considerable wealth and privilege. Where present, matrilineal descent allowed for somewhat greater autonomy for women, as in certain *devadasi* communities in south India, or among the Kolhati, performers of Tamasha in Maharashtra.

The spread of Islam in the middle period is often said to have caused the waning of theatrical activity and the disappearance of women from the stage. A more nuanced understanding emerges from an examination of the regional forms, now called “traditional theaters,” that developed in conjunction with languages, literary genres, and social and religious formations from the tenth century, but particularly after 1500. The hybrid entertainment culture that developed around military camps and in feudal strongholds of the Indian Islamicate manifested in multiple forms known as Tamasha, itself an Arabic word. The most enduring and popular was the Tamasha of Maharashtra, in which the male poet-singer (*shahir*) was joined by a female dancer and a clown, to present a sequence of skits and erotic song and dance items. Lesser known are the Tamasho of Sindh, the Rajasthani Tamasa, and the Mughal Tamsha of Orissa. All incorporated Perso-Arabic as well as Indic linguistic and cultural material, and female performers were not absent.

Secular forms such as Bhavai in Gujarat and Nautanki in north India arose within complex peasant societies, in which agricultural, mercantile, and service groups practiced several varieties of Hinduism, Islam, and syncretic belief. Indo-Muslim narratives and *topoi* pervade these dramas, and romance across religious boundaries is a common theme. Bhavai satirized landlords and Brahmins, while providing earthy humor through the cross-dressed female impersonator (*kanchaliya*, “she who wears the blouse”). Nautanki, a rural musical style, imbued Perso-Arabic romances such as *Laila Majnun*, *Shirin Farhad*, and the Punjabi

legend *Hir Ranjha*, with tragic feeling drawing on Sufi vocabulary. Here too female impersonation was the norm until the twentieth century, when Gulab Bai of Kanpur rose to star status and became a leading troupe manager. The Lok Theater of Pakistan represents a continuation of this tradition. Its performances were held at secular fairs and religious festivals (*urs*) in rural Punjab, and female stars provided the main attraction.

Several popular traditions of devotional drama developed, including the Ram Lila and Ras Lila, in which the stories of the deities Rama and Krishna were narrated. Full of music, dance, and poetry, and replete with miracles, these performances induced religious rapture, and were popular among women of all communities. Prepubescent boys, the only actors deemed pure enough to impersonate the gods, played both male and female roles. Shīī elegies performed during Muḥarram took dramatic form in certain areas. The Khojas of Bombay held passion plays on the martyrdom of Ḥusayn within the *jamatkhana* in the late nineteenth century. In what is now Bangladesh, lamentations conjoined with dancing and acting gave rise to Jarigan, a genre that absorbed other stories besides that of Karbala. Contemporary Jarigan include social and political subjects, and women have established their own Jarigan troupes.

The Portuguese, Dutch, and French established colonies in India (sixteenth–eighteenth centuries), leaving localized hybrid legacies, but the major cultural influence was that of the British (r. 1757–1947). In the 1770s, the first playhouses were constructed in Calcutta and Bombay, and amateur theatricals in English became a prestigious form of “rational amusement.” Elite Indian spectators were captivated by the Victorian style of theater. Through their largesse, the Grant Road Theatre was established in Bombay in 1853, home to the first Indian dramatic performances on the proscenium stage. A transitional Indian theater was born, in which the visual spectacle of the new stagecraft was enhanced by song, dance, and narrative in Indian languages. Parsi entrepreneurs organized commercial theatrical companies and began touring the subcontinent with dramas such as the *Indarsabha*, an Urdu musical written by Amanat Ali of Lucknow. Numerous playwrights emerged in Gujarati, Bengali, Marathi, Telugu, Urdu, and other languages. Plays were written for popular consumption, or they were literary efforts enacted by small amateur clubs, if at all.

Professional actresses from England were brought to India in the early nineteenth century. They often doubled as theatrical managers, and through their acting and singing created models for Indian

actresses. In Bombay and Calcutta, Indian women first appeared on stage in the 1870s. Binodini Dasi, protégée of Girish Chandra Ghosh, the Bengali dramatist and actor-manager, was recruited from the prostitute district of Calcutta, and went on to fame and financial success; she wrote two autobiographies. In the Parsi theater, female performers were often Muslim courtesans, or masqueraded under names suggesting Muslim identities: Miss Gauhar, Miss Fatima. Mary Fenton, an Anglo-Indian, achieved success through enacting the ideal Parsi housewife onstage, while in real life she married the Parsi actor-manager Kavasji Khatau and changed her name to Mehrbai.

To maintain the respectability of the theater and encourage attendance by women, actresses were often rejected in favor of female impersonators. The Parsi theater employed hundreds of young men to play women’s roles, continuing the practice until the 1930s. Jayshankar Sundari and Bal Gandharva, of the Gujarati and Marathi stages respectively, carried the art of theatrical transvestism to new heights. They perfected the representation of bourgeois feminine propriety, introducing styles of dress and deportment that established a visual template for women just as they first ventured into the public realm. As daughters of “good families” braved the stage, the preference for female impersonators declined. The art is preserved today by veterans such as Ugamraj Khilari in the Rajasthani Khyal tradition or Chapal Bhaduri of the Bengali Jatra.

The Indian People’s Theatre Association (IPTA) spurred the growth of progressive political theater on an all-India scale. Co-founded in 1943 by Anil de Silva of Colombo, IPTA linked local theater groups to a larger socialist agenda and encouraged experimentation with folk styles. It fostered female acting and directing talents like Dina Pathak of the Gujarati theater. The plays and stories of Ismat Chughtai, a well-known Urdu writer, were performed by IPTA chapters. IPTA also served as the training ground for Uzra Butt and Zohra Segal, sisters from an aristocratic Pathan family. Both became star performers in Prithvi Theatres, the touring company of Prithviraj Kapoor dedicated to secularist social dramas. Uzra migrated to Pakistan in the 1960s whereas Zohra remained in India. They reunited for a dramatization of their personal Partition story, “Ek Thi Nani,” in Lahore in 1998.

After independence, theater in India received state support through the central and regional Sangeet Natak Akademis. A training institute, the National School of Drama, was set up for instruction in acting, direction, and stagecraft. These bodies provided official recognition to traditional and modern

forms and encouraged women's participation in theatrical activities. Repertory companies and long-lived amateur groups in the cities have built audiences and strengthened production skills. Women have been central at all levels and provided significant leadership. Innovative directors such as Sheila Bhatia, Neelam Man Singh Chowdhry, and Shanta Gandhi have forged new bonds between regional musical styles and urban theater in Punjabi, Urdu, and Gujarati. Actress-directors such as Vijaya Mehta and Lilette Dubey have risen to national and international prominence. The number of published women playwrights remains small, however. Aside from Manjula Padmanabhan's *Harvest*, an English-language play that won the Onassis Prize in 1997, few new dramas have yet become available.

Partly this is due to the alternative modes of script development and theatrical production preferred by some women in theater today. Street theater, the activist heir to IPTA, favors improvisation and audience participation. Under the leadership of Mala Hashmi of Jana Natya Manch, a Delhi-based group galvanized by the political assassination of their founder, Safdar Hashmi, street theater has grown to be a vital force for dissent and social change in many parts of India. Feminist theater developed as a form of street theater, to protest dowry deaths in northern India, but has evolved in different parts of the country. Workshoping, extempore acting, songs and movement techniques are used to dramatize core situations in the work of Anuradha Kapur and Maya Rao.

Pakistan, an avowedly Islamic state, has proved a difficult environment for theatrical development. The commercial theater sustains audience appeal but has little scope for serious messages or experimental techniques. What has flourished is an alternative theater of protest, and here women have played a key role. Groups such as Ajoka and Lok Rehas in Lahore, and Tehrik-i Niswan of Karachi, sprang up in response to the repressive campaigns for Islamization during the dictatorship of General Zia ul-Haq in the 1980s. These theaters mobilized in conjunction with women's protest groups, and women figured prominently in their organization, for example Madeeha Gauhar as founder of Ajoka, Sheema Kirmani as founder of Tehrik-i Niswan, and Uzra Butt as Ajoka's leading actress.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Afzal-Khan, *A critical stage. The role of secular alternative theatre in Pakistan*, Calcutta 2005.  
 R. Bhattacharya (ed. and trans.), *Binodini Dasi. My story and my life as an actress*, New Delhi 1998.  
 J. L. Erdman, with Z. Segal, *Stages. The art and adventures of Zohra Segal*, New Delhi 1997.

- B. Gargi, *Folk theater of India*, Seattle, 1966.  
 S. Gupt, *The Parsi theatre. Its origins and development*, trans. and ed. K. Hansen, Calcutta 2005.  
 K. Hansen, *Grounds for play. The Nautanki Theatre of north India*, Berkeley 1992.  
 —, The migration of a text. The *Indar Sabha* in print and performance, in *Sangeet Natak* (Delhi) 127/128 (1998), 3–34.  
 —, *Stri Bhumika*. Female impersonators and actresses on the Parsi stage, in *Economic and Political Weekly of India*, 29 August 1998, 2291–3300.  
 —, Making women visible. Gender and race cross-dressing in the Parsi theatre, in *Theatre Journal* 51 (1999), 127–47.  
 L. Hess, Ram Lila. The audience experience, in M. Thiel-Horstmann (ed.), *Bhakti in current research, 1979–1982*, Berlin 1983, 171–94.  
 A. Lal (ed.), *The Oxford companion to Indian theatre*, New Delhi 2004.  
 N. de Mel, *Women and the nation's narrative. Gender and nationalism in twentieth century Sri Lanka*, Lanham, Md. 2001.  
 V. Raghavan, Sanskrit drama in performance, in R. Van M. Baumer and J. R. Brandon (eds.), *Sanskrit drama in performance*, Honolulu 1981, 9–44.  
 S. Rege, The hegemonic appropriation of sexuality. The case of the *Lavani* performers of Maharashtra, in P. Uberoi (ed.), *Social reform, sexuality and the state*, New Delhi 1996, 23–38.  
 F. P. Richmond, D. L. Swann, and P. B. Zarrilli (eds.), *Indian theatre. Traditions of performance*, Honolulu 1990.  
 F. Saeed and A. Nayyar, *Women in folk theatre*, Islamabad 1991.  
 A. Srinivasan, Reform and revival. The devadasi and her dance, in *Economic and Political Weekly of India*, 2 November 1985, 1869–76.

KATHRYN HANSEN

#### Southeast Europe

This entry examines twentieth-century theater in the Balkan region, focusing primarily on the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina. For more than ten years, the texture of daily life in the former Yugoslavia has been woven with the memories of war and horror, and the reality of collapsing economies and general uncertainty. This malaise, however, has also seen a counterpoint: growing optimism, particularly in an expanding arts community that is beginning to gain recognition for the quality and number of artists coming from this region.

Although the wars of the 1990s created upheaval and highlighted the tension between a neo-conservatism stressing women's traditional roles within the family and historically unconventional spheres for Balkan women's participation, women involved in the arts maintained throughout the twentieth century a greater degree of autonomy than political situations would at first seem to suggest. Three constants in twentieth-century theater can be traced as

follows: first, women have been in the past and remain actively involved in all aspects of theater; second, they are key figures in the articulation of a cross-ethnic, cross-religious artistic community that is both committed to their art form and involved in the political debates of their particular historical moment; and last, they have been actively involved since the early twentieth century in collaborations with other women from outside the region.

Bosnia and Herzegovina's theater community began to flourish soon after the First World War with the founding of the National Theater in Sarajevo in 1919. With the participation of both men and women of various ethnic and religious groups, the National Theater established a relationship with the Moscow Art Theater, whose visiting directors trained Bosnian actors in the new Stanislavskian methods. Of the Russian émigré directors, Yuri Rakitin and Vasili Uljanishchev were well known in the region, and helped Bosnian actors establish links with those in Zagreb and Belgrade. Women were, at this point in time, much less active in directing and dramaturgy than men. This period saw the founding of the first acting school in Sarajevo, where actors Jolanda Đačić and Avdo Džinović were trained. Women's participation in theater came to the fore when Russian Lidiya Mansvyetova began directing Chekhov and Tolstoy with considerable success, and recognition for both foreign and Bosnian women on stage increased. In 1930, the National Theater in Banja Luka opened its doors with a repertoire similar to the theater in Sarajevo.

The end of the Second World War saw the formation of Yugoslavia and the very brief prominence of the social realist style in all artistic fields. With the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Kominform in 1948 and Yugoslavia's intentional distancing from the Eastern Bloc countries, its arts scene underwent a massive change. The new political identity of Yugoslavia, "open to the West" and heavily involved in the non-alignment movement, allowed for a host of federally-funded programs under the rubric of "democratization of arts" in the Balkan region, which included special attention to raising the participation of women in the arts. Arts funding and active recruitment for women's involvement happened at a very local level all over Yugoslavia. Additional theaters were built in Tuzla (1949), Mostar (1949), and Zenica (1950). Amateur theater groups numbered in the hundreds and were dispersed all over the country. Not only were young urban and decidedly cosmopolitan women involved in theater, but women outside the city centers had ample opportunity to participate in performance troupes, even if only in smaller contexts or in

performances for regional or religious festivals. In this regard, Yugoslavia's stress on arts as a national project sought to overcome an urban/rural divide that was perceived as reflecting a modern/traditional lifestyle divide, and make the arts accessible to women as well as men everywhere.

In the 1950s and 1960s, there were still far fewer female than male directors, but female actors were thriving. Many women were sent to Belgrade and Zagreb to receive training, thereby connecting the network of artists in the region further. They then returned not only to act in the theaters, but also to begin intensively training a generation of local actors, including Mekrema Vukotić, Šefika Korkut-Sunje, and Darinka Gvozdenović. Mekrema Vukotić exemplifies the path a woman's career might have taken in the 1950s. She was trained at the Drama Studio of the National Theater in Dubrovnik (in present day Croatia), then moved around and acted with companies all over the former Yugoslavia: in Tuzla, Dubrovnik, Sombor, Titograd, Zenica, and Mostar. In the 1960s, a Bosnian production, an adaptation of Saint-Exupéry's *Le petit prince*, co-authored and performed by Katarina Kaća Dorić and Boro Grigorović, gained recognition in Europe after a performance at Sarajevo's Festival of Small and Experimental Plays. Dorić went on to become one of the first professors at the Drama Studio in Sarajevo, which later became the department of literature, theaterology, and scenic arts of the University of Sarajevo. There Dorić oversaw the training of a truly multiethnic generation of Bosnian female actors, including Jasna Diklić, Irena Mulamuhčić, Vesna Mašić, Nisveta Omerbašić, Nada Đurevska, and Jasna Beri, among others. The first generation of Bosnian female directors, including Violeta Dželova, and dramaturges, including Zehra Kreho, Dubravka Zrnčić, and Ljubica Ostojić, also appeared at that time. Female actors in the 1960s and 1970s began to receive opportunities to act on screen in film as well. With the establishment of the Academy of Dramatic Arts in Sarajevo in 1981, Bosnia and Herzegovina adopted a standardized training method for both its film and theater actors. Unlike in many other countries, actors are not trained differently for different media. They undergo the same training whether they are interested in film or theater, and most end up working in both genres. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Academy of Dramatic Arts graduated such outstanding artists as Danis Tanović (Oscar winner for *No Man's Land*), Pjer Žalica, and Srđan Vuletić.

The women most associated with theater during Bosnia and Herzegovina's wars in the 1990s

were foreign, in particular, Susan Sontag. In 1993, Sontag directed a production of *Waiting for Godot*, with minimal set pieces and lighting provided only by candles in a Sarajevo besieged by mortar fire. Her production brought together some of Sarajevo's finest actors, including Ines Fančović as a female Pozzo. Several theaters, including Kamerni Teatar '55 and SARTR, continued to work throughout the war. More recently, the Academy of Dramatic Arts graduated Jasmila Žbanić, a theater and film director who won the top award at the Berlin Film Festival in 2006 for her movie *Grbavica*, about a Muslim woman who was raped during the wars in the 1990s. Žbanić's work in theater and film has generated controversy in nationalist settings for her continued insistence on using multiethnic casts based on a strong Balkan network of female actresses in her productions, specifically casting women of one ethnicity or religion as a character of another ethnicity or religion. *Grbavica*'s main character, a Muslim woman, was played by prominent Serbian theater actress, Mirjana Karanović. Both Žbanić and Karanović, along with women actors of various ethnicities and religious backgrounds in the Balkans have incited strong reactions from various nationalist groups.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Alispahić, *Sir, the soldiers have arrived. The National Theater in Tuzla, 1992–1995* [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], Tuzla 1998.
- L. Čale Feldman, *Femina ludens*, Zagreb 2005.
- G. Muzafertija, *An anthology of twentieth-century Bosniak drama* [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], Sarajevo 1996.
- , *What one can do for the theater. A look from drama and theater* [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], Tešanj 2004.
- A. Lederer, *A time of personal history. A look at contemporary Croatian drama and theater* [in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian], Zagreb 2004.
- S. P. Ramet, *Social currents in Eastern Europe. The sources and consequences of great transformation*, Durham, N.C. 1995.

SABRINA ANA PERIĆ

### Sub-Saharan Africa

Although there are many examples of women taking part in indigenous performance forms in Sub-Saharan Africa they are generally underrepresented in contemporary theater companies, especially when it comes to playwriting, management, and directing. This lack of profile can be explained by a number of factors. Women are often discouraged or forbidden by their families and society from involvement in the commercial stage because such activity is seen as an immoral flaunting of the female body. Therefore for most women theater is

only an option when they are unmarried. Moreover, organizing theater performances is complex and requires extensive involvement in the public world – for women writers the more private areas of poetic or novel production are much easier to enter. Furthermore, theater productions often take place in the evenings and/or require freedom to travel. For women who bear the overwhelming majority of childcare and domestic labor burdens throughout Africa it is very difficult to organize sufficient time for theater work. For Muslim women all these factors obtain but are compounded by what many Muslims see as a double taboo: on women appearing in public and on theater production since it requires forbidden representation of human beings. In many Islamic African societies, therefore, women's involvement in performance is severely limited.

#### INDIGENOUS PERFORMANCE FORMS

There are many performance forms that predate Islamicization or originated outside its aegis in West Africa, and have been adapted or adopted for contemporary use. Unlike more strictly Islamic performances, which tend to be male only, a number of these allow for or indeed require the presence of women. Some of the more overtly theatrical of these forms, which occur in many ethnic groups, are discussed later.

One of the best-known forms is the *koteba* of the Bamana people of Mali. The *koteba* is a popular comic dance drama, performed by troupes of young men and women, originally in village centers but now also in urban settings. The performance is usually by three to five young men and women who are sponsored by a male and female patron who will be present at all performances. At the center of the event is the performance of up to 20 short skits, poking fun at such targets as bullying or cuckolded husbands, licentious Muslim clerics, or corrupt officials. There is much emphasis on sex, a subject that would normally be taboo, but is open to the comedy of the *koteba*. Since 1977 there has been a *Koteba* national troupe and the form has been embraced in the Ivory Coast and as a vehicle for contemporary theater for developing plays in Mali.

Another Malian youth performance form is the puppet theater form, *sogo bo*. *Sogo bo* puppets are made of wood, costumed, and manipulated by rods or string. The characters they represent include both men and women, animals and spirits; and again they are used to comment on social or domestic life. Like the *koteba*, *sogo bo* has been appropriated by a number of Francophone theater artists,



most notably that of the leading Francophone female play producer, Werewere Liking, as well as for making theater about development issues.

*Tyi wara* from Mali and *sougounougou* from the Ivory Coast were both originally sacred forms. By the 1920s *sougounougou* had become an entertainment form with a number of stock characters, both human and animal, elaborately costumed. A central figure is the beautiful Niofolityte, wife to the clown Nanzege. This is a dance drama form which is intensely physical.

The ability to look the part and to play it in a physical sense – miming the movements of various animals (galloping, crouching, hopping, and so forth) reproducing their grunting, hooting and roaring – are among the skills cultivated by *sougounougou* actors and prized by audiences. Even when a story is dramatized, the aim is not to focus attention on its meaning, but rather to showcase the various talents of the actors (Conteh-Morgan 2004, 98).

*Tyi wara* evolved from a pre-Islamic fertility dance to a labor dance for farm workers. It is performed by a man and woman (or a man impersonating a woman) backed by a female chorus. The dancers wear black costumes and a composite animal headdress, while the movements of the dance imitate the antelope, a Bamana agricultural diety.

#### FEMALE POSSESSION PERFORMANCES

A number of female only possession-based performance forms exist, mostly (though not exclusively) in Islamic areas of Sub-Saharan Africa. Often these have been seen as a means for women, usually expected to be secluded and publicly silent, to express themselves and make demands. For example, *zar* is a possession form common to many parts of Sudan and the Horn of Africa. Manifestations vary but in northern Sudan the women dance to percussion instruments until they enter a trance possession. When under the influence of the possessing spirit they may wear a costume suitable to the spirit concerned and all their wishes, which may include demands for alcohol or jewelry, for example, must be met. In the 1980s, *zar* was brought out of seclusion in Sudan and performed at the National Council of Arts and Letters in Khartoum. Khalid Almubarak Mustafa sees this experiment as “in some ways parallel to the emergence of drama out of ritual in ancient Greece” (Mustafa 2004, 80). However, religious intolerance subsequently pushed it back underground.

The case of Nigerien Hauka is interesting as this is a form developed by a woman out of an earlier

possession form, *holey hori*. In 1925, a woman called Zibo was possessed by a spirit she named Gommo Malia (Governor of the Red Sea). At this time Niger was colonized by the French and they were appalled by Zibo’s appropriation of a French character as a possessing spirit. Zibo was treated extremely harshly by the French, but when thrown out of her community she traveled and spread Hauka to both sexes across the country. Soon a whole pantheon of Hauka divinities arose under the leadership of a spirit called Istanbul – a pious Muslim from Istanbul who led all the other possessing spirits. Hauka characters mocked and parodied French colonialists. Since independence Hauka has lost some of its power but continues to operate as an anti-European force.

The *bori* performances of the Hausa of Niger involve initiates, primarily women excluded from the socially endorsed roles of wife and mother, performing their trance possession by spirits to an all-female audience.

In Senegal, the *ndépp* exorcism ceremony is about ridding women of evil spirits believed to be possessing them. Men may only attend if they are dressed as women. Part of the exorcism involves a group of performers dancing and miming a struggle between the evil spirits inhabiting the victim and the forces of good, under the leadership of a master of ceremonies.

#### TAARAB

An unusual example of a popular Islamic female-only performance form is *taarab*. *Taarab* is a performative ballad singing form that rose to prominence from the 1920s along the East African Swahili coast and in parts of India thanks largely to the fame of its first superstar, the Zanzibari Siti Binti Saad. *Taarab* remains enormously popular in Tanzania. By the 1950s there were *taarab* groups in many of the country’s major towns, and by the 1980s it had become a key element of the professional variety companies (around 40 in the capital of Dar es Salaam alone) that perform in bars and hotels with shows made up of comedy, music, acrobatics, short plays, and *taarab* performances. By the 1990s competition between leading companies was mainly focused on engaging the most highly regarded *taarab* performers. Virtuoso practitioners are admired for their ability to explicate a variety of issues and to demonstrate emotion, as well as for skilful use of double entendres. *Taarab* is pre-eminently concerned with matters of the heart, but the contemporary form is developing as increasingly dramatic, visual, and confrontational. This version is known as *Mipasho* and its megastar of

the early twenty-first century is Khadija Kopa, who commands an enormous following.

#### CONTEMPORARY THEATER

In popular theater troupes, such as exist to varying extent across the continent, it is difficult to find information on Muslim women's involvement. However, an interesting case study comes from the work of Janet Beik (1980) in Niger amongst the Muslim Hausa people. Beik researched among several popular troupes in the 1970s and 1980s that put on improvised plays about social and domestic issues and toured the country. She found that most of the women joining the troupes were either young and unmarried or – more rarely – divorcees and widows. The troupes, which were quite large, employed a minority of women (between five and ten) and often had to replace them as young women always left the troupe on marriage. She also found that the women tended to play little part in developing plays, working solely as actresses under instruction – often with men demonstrating to them how to portray stereotypical versions of women characters. The women were often reluctant to play the role of a non-respectable woman. Acting was already seen as *kunya* or shameful by many, and to act the part of a disreputable character would only reinforce this perception.

An illustration of the determination needed by some young Muslim women to continue a career in performance is demonstrated by Nuria Mohammed, the only Muslim woman in the Ethiopian Adugna Community Dance Theatre. Nuria Mohammed worked the streets as a young girl selling coffee beans spilt by delivery lorries. She won the opportunity to train as a dancer and actress, and has now worked across Ethiopia and traveled to Europe as a dancer. However, her father continued to beat her for disgracing the family by performing on stage.

In contrast, one might point to the example of women emerging from the Eritrean liberation struggle for independence in the 1970s and 1980s. During this war one-third of fighters were women, and in a country roughly equally split between Muslims and Christians this meant significant numbers of Muslim women were joining a secular liberation movement. Some fighters were selected to work in culture, and Muslim women performed alongside Christians for a number of cultural groups: the Red Flowers, a group emanating from revolutionary schools for the children of fighters; Bana Harnet, a women-only troupe made up of people displaced by the fighting; and Abbot, a fighters' theater company (still in existence and now state sponsored) working

in the Tigre language, whose people are almost all Muslim and which has produced actresses famous throughout Eritrea.

The only confirmed example this author has found of an African Muslim woman producer and playwright is Nimrat Hammad who formed and led a theater company in her own name in Khartoum, Sudan in 1987. Sudan produced a number of locally renowned actresses around this time, but after 1989 when an Islamic coup took place Nimrat Hammad was forced to leave for the United Kingdom.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Banham (ed.), *A history of theatre in Africa*, Cambridge 2004.
- J. Beik, *Hausa theatre in Niger. A contemporary oral art*, New York 1987.
- J. Conteh-Morgan, Francophone Africa theatre south of the Sahara, in M. Banham (ed.), *A history of African theatre*, Cambridge 2004, 85–137.
- C. Dunton, *Nigerian theatre in English. A critical bibliography*, London 1998.
- A. Lihamba, Tanzania, in M. Banham (ed.), *A history of African theatre*, Cambridge 2004, 233–46.
- C. Matzke, En-gendering theatre in Eritrea. The roles and representation of women in the performing arts, Ph.D. diss., University of Leeds 2003.
- K. A. Mustafa, Sudan, in M. Banham (ed.), *A history of theatre in Africa*, Cambridge 2004, 77–84.
- J. Plastow, Dance and transformation. The Adugna Community Dance Theatre, Ethiopia, in R. Boon and J. Plastow (eds.), *Theatre and empowerment. Community drama on the world stage*, Cambridge 2004, 125–54.
- P. Stoller, Horrific comedy. Cultural resistance and the Hauka movement in Niger, in *Ethos* 12:2 (1984), 165–7; and in F. Harding (ed.), *The performance arts in Africa. A reader*, London and New York 2002.

JANE PLASTOW

## Turkey

Women have participated in different ways and in many forms of Turkish theater. In the village plays (*köy oyunları*) – ritual orientated, traditional folk theater – women formed the audience as well as the performers. In these plays, women played the roles of men and women. The subjects of these plays are geared to the perception of their feminine environment. In forms of urban traditional folk theater, such as the shadow theater (*karagöz*), theater in the round (*orta oyunu*), and storytelling (*meddah*), women do not participate as performers. When in the nineteenth century Western orientated theater developed in the urban centers of Ottoman Anatolia, theater buildings were erected and folk theater performances, vaudevilles, and circus acts were organized in separated sessions for women. In the

nineteenth century, Armenian and other non-Muslim women actors started to perform, not without resistance from within their own community. The first professional Armenian actress was Arusyak Papazyan who started performing in 1861. Some Armenian actresses mastered Turkish very well, although most had difficulties with pronunciation – a grave handicap when they had to perform in realistic and naturalistic drama, fashionable at the end of the nineteenth century. This caused a tide of criticism. Meanwhile theater was so popular that Turkish girls of bourgeois families gave informal performances at their homes.

In 1918, four Muslim girls were accepted at the academy for drama and music founded by Andre Antoine: Behire Memduha, Beyza, Refika, and Afife. Afife was the only one who later worked as an actress with the accompanying theater group, the Darülbedayi-i Osmanî (Ottoman chamber of rhetoric); Refika worked as prompter. Afife made her appearance on stage in several plays under the stage name Jale. But when the censor got wind of it, the ministry immediately published a ban on the performance of Muslim women. The police raided the theater several times and finally they forced the management to dismiss Afife Jale. She never got over it; within her own milieu she was an outcast and she became addicted to morphine. Although she played in the private company of Burhaneddin Bey and even made a tour around Anatolia, she died lonely at the age of 35.

After 1923, when the Republic was established, Atatürk supported the development of Turkish theater, seeing it as a means of teaching people about the modern state he had in mind. He allowed, and even encouraged, Muslim women to participate in theater life. One of the first actresses of the Istanbul City Theater was Bedia Muvahhit (1897–1994). Between 1923 and 1975 she played in hundreds of performances. In those years the Turkish film industry was dominated by stage actors and directors. Thus the first Muslim theater actresses also became the first Muslim film stars. Other Muslim actresses from the early republican era are Neyyire Neyir Ertuğrul, Hülya Gözalan, Halide Pişkin, and Necla Sertel. From that time onwards the appearance of women on the Turkish stage was completely accepted by society in the urban centers. Many women became famous as actresses in Istanbul city theaters, the state theaters, and many private theaters, such as Perihan Tedü, Suna Pekuysal, Gülriz Süruri, Meral Taygun, Yıldız Kenter, Lale Oraloğlu, Ayla Algan, Zuhâl Olçay, Tilbe Saran, Jülide Kural, Işık Yenersu, Zeynep Tanbay, Sema Moritz, and Şebnem Köstem. Turkish stage

actresses played from the start in films. Nowadays many actresses participate in television series, soap operas, and movies. Although not many, starting with Bedia Muvahhit, Turkish women worked in the theater as directors as well, for example Perihan Tedü and Gençay Gürün. Many plays were written by women including Bilgesu Erenus, Adalet Ağaoğlu, Ülker Köksal, Nezihe Araz, and Nezihe Meriç and female critics and scholars such as Zehra İpşiroğlu, Sevda Şener, Ayşegül Yüksel, Zeynep Oral, and Sevgi Şanlı wrote on all aspects of Turkish theater.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Akçura, *Bedia Muvahhit. Bir cumhuriyet sanatçısı*, İstanbul 1993.  
 M. And, *Meşrutiyet döneminde Türk tiyatrosu 1908–1923*, Ankara 1971.  
 —, *Tanzimat ve istibdat döneminde Türk tiyatrosu (1839–1908)*, Ankara 1972.  
 —, *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1983.  
 —, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu. Köylü ve halk tiyatrosu gelenekleri*, Ankara 1985.  
 S. Şener, Cumhuriyet dönemi kadın oyun yazarları, in *Tiyatro Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (1975), 31–44.

PETRA DE BRUIJN

#### United States

Muslim women's contribution to theater in the United States – particularly in the last decade – is one of profusion as their dynamic presence is visible and growing in all areas of theater whether as writers, directors, producers, or actors. Their involvement in comedy and drama and classical and experimental theater demonstrates their diversity, aesthetically, thematically, and structurally. These women also challenge stereotypes, raise awareness, and create spaces for dialogues. Simultaneously, their works have at times been controversial among some Muslims, especially when dealing with issues of women and sexuality. Most of these women artists were born in the 1960s and 1970s in North America, the Arab world, or Asia.

One Muslim woman of the stage from an earlier generation stands out, the award-winning playwright, actress, and director, Bina Sharif, originally from Islamabad, Pakistan. Sharif, a pioneer, is one of the first Muslim women to be involved in theater in North America. Her powerful and provocative scripts and performances have been entertaining and challenging audiences for over 25 years. More than 24 of her pieces, ranging from one-act to full-length plays, have been produced. She wrote and performed her first one-woman piece, *Cosmo Girl* in 1981, the success of which led to the pro-

duction of her first full length play, *In Between* in 1983. *In Between*, like much of her tragi-comedy work, deals with an immigrant woman who dares to dream amidst the turbulences of exile and racism. Sharif was an integral part of the New York Lower East Side art and cultural movement in the 1980s. Initially, she did not feel it necessary to emphasize her Muslim identity but when the first Gulf War started and political tensions rose, she felt she had to address Islam in her work, so she wrote, *Kill* (1991) about the United States invasion of Iraq. She continues to write and perform today; some of her more provocative plays include *Afghan Women* (2002), about the life of a Muslim woman; *Sex Industry* (1997), about girls working in sex clubs in New York City; and *Democracy in Islam* (2005), about the representation of Muslims and Islamic culture in America and the West through the portrayal of a Pakistani American Muslim family living in Manhattan's East Village.

Important young Muslim women playwright-performers today include Iranian American Layla Dowlatshahi, who has written numerous plays including *The Joys of Lipstick* (Producers Club, New York), a drama about an Iranian lesbian who goes to Los Angeles to visit family with the intention of getting a sex change and returning to Iran to live as a man with her American girlfriend, and *Waiting Room*, about Muslim women in a Serbian rape camp. Kayhan Irani, another Iranian American playwright-performer, wrote *We've Come Undone*, which deals with post-11 September 2001. Palestinian American Betty Shamieh's play *Roar* was produced by the Clurman Theatre, New York. Shamieh's plays have dealt with various themes from Arab American identity to love. The Lebanese American Leila Buck's powerful one-woman show *ISite*, examines identity and childhood, and growing up in different cultural, social, and political climates. Iraqi American performer-writer, Heather Raffo, had tremendous success with her play *Nine Parts of Desire*, about the lives of contemporary Iraqi women. Najla Said, a Palestinian American performer-writer and founding member of Nibras, an Arab American theater collective, starred in Raffo's play at the Seattle Repertory Theatre. She has also written a one-woman show, *Palestine*, featured at the 2006 Public Theatre's "New Works Now." Pakistani American Fawzia Afzhal-Khan has been performing and writing for theater for decades, having been involved in all types of production, from classical to experimental theater.

Some important Muslim American directors are Iranian American Maryam Habibian, whose direc-

torial credits include *Theatre of the Reflecting Pool* and *Forugh's Reflecting Pool*, among many others, and Isis Saratial Misdary, an Egyptian American director, dramaturge, and actor who has directed and/or dramatized over 30 plays. Among other theatrical projects, she is also working on *The Details of Silence* by Palestinian American playwright Nathalie Handal at the Lark Play Development Center in New York. The play explores the internal and external landscapes of eleven Arab women coming from different parts of the world.

There are numerous Muslim American actresses; among the most well-known is the Palestinian American Maysoon Zayid, who has gained popularity throughout the United States as a stand-up comedienne. Zayid was the first comedienne to perform stand-up live in Palestine and she is also the co-founder of the Arab American Comedy Festival, which showcases numerous Arab American actors, directors, and producers. Other actresses include Helen Maalik, a Syrian American comedian; Lameece Issaq, Palestinian American writer, actress, and director, whose theater credits include *Dinosaur Within* (Austin Circle of Critics Nomination, Best Actress in a Drama) and *Seven Deadly Sins* (Austin Circle of Critics Award, Best Actress in a Comedy); and Jana Zenadeen, a Lebanese American actress and writer who co-wrote and performed in the hit play, *Live! With Pascale and Chantal!*

All the founding members and members of Nibras are also important theatrical writers, directors, and/or producers; they include Leila Buck, Maha Chehlaoui, Nathalie Handal, Rana Kazkaz, Najla Said, and Afaf Shawwa. Nibras, the first and only Arab American theater collective in the United States, a company-in-residence since 2006 at the New York Theatre Workshop, includes Muslim and non-Muslim women as its members. Its mission is to create a network for Arab American theater artists to share their talent, experience, and passion through imaginative and articulate productions and educational programs that increase the positive visibility and creative expression of Arabs and Arab Americans. Nibras's debut production, *Sajjil* (Record) won Best Ensemble at the 2002 NY Fringe Festival and they have since co-sponsored the Arab American Comedy Festival, co-produced *Acts for Palestine*, a festival of one-act plays by Palestinian playwrights, and in collaboration with New York Theatre Workshop co-produced two nights of "New Work Now" at the Public Theater and *Aswat: Voices of Palestine*, showcasing theatrical works from or about Palestine and the issues, challenges, and dialogues they raise.

Other important theater companies that are either run by or support works by Muslim Americans include SALAAM Theatre. Founded by its artistic director, actress and producer Geeta City-girl, SALAAM is a not-for-profit professional theater company that features works by South Asian Americans. The Kazbah Project Ltd. is a theater and film production company that has brought together world-class artists to tell timely, provocative stories that reflect a growing global community (co-founded by Syrian American actress, writer, director, and producer Rana Kazkaz and Nathalie Handal, Associate Artist and Development Executive). Kazkaz was one of the producers of the festival *Unexpected Journeys, Muslim Women Playwrights*. Other producing credits include *Imagine: Iraq* and *Venus*. Some of her acting credits are: *Closetland*, *Not in Front of the Baby*, *A Moment of Grace*, and *The Seagull*. Golden Thread Theatre Company's ReOrient Festival in California led by Torange Yeghiazarian has been an important supporter of works by Muslim women, and a new company, Palestinian Theatre in Motion (founded by Razanne Carmey and Nathalie Handal) has been created to bring Palestinian theater to the world.

These talented Muslim, Middle Eastern, and Arab women are gaining increased recognition as their presence in all areas of the stage is expanding. Their multilayered work is an invaluable contribution to world theater.

NATHALIE HANDAL

# Arts: Visual Arts and Artists

## Central Arab States

The discussion of women, gender, the visual arts, and artists in the central Arab states should be tied to a critical understanding of the role of aesthetics and gender in colonial encounters. While women in these states have long been associated with artistic production in various roles, the professionalization of the role of artist is a relatively recent phenomenon, and its value for analyzing the status of both women and the nation-states they are taken to represent must be scrutinized through a historical lens.

The Western academy's interest in women as artists in the East is motivated by a uniquely nineteenth-century (post-romantic) view that artistry is the result of creativity by a bounded individual (Nochlin 1978). In addition, Orientalism, a guiding ideology of colonialism, held that Eastern societies were best summarized by the roles and liberties their women enjoyed (Said 1978) and that Arab societies reflected a passive, anti-intellectual, feminine character (Yegenoglu 1998). Hence, it was during the colonial era that art production in the central Arab states was created and justified with regard to gender relationships and concepts of citizenry, modernity, and nationalism in ways that both challenged European colonialism and drew from it. While individually bounded creation is not possible in any art production system (Becker 1982), the history of women in art production in the central Arab states can be traced as a shift from naming the patron as "artist" or as the inspiration for art making to naming instead the executor, a shift that has posed certain problems for Arab women.

Like their counterparts in the Safavid and Mughal Empires (Hambly 1998, Blake 1998), the prominent women of royal households in the Ottoman Empire (fifteenth–eighteenth centuries) demonstrated the piety, beneficence, and wealth of their empires by endowing the urban scenes over which they presided with spectacular architecture (Peirce 2000, Thys-Senocak 1998). As patrons of such art, women were creators and propagators of forms and forums essential to the conduct of society, and they thus became publicly visible to their subjects. Deemed the true creators of the important public monuments and institutions they patronized, such

women also revealed their concern for and vulnerability to their public audiences.

With the advent of Western-based colonial empires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a different definition of artistry came to the fore in the central Arab states, one that focused on the relationship between artistic conception and execution within a single, highly trained and exclusively devoted individual. The 1920s to 1940s, a period of nation-state formation in many central Arab states, saw the introduction of drawing lessons into elementary and high school curricula. This educational policy decision was based on continental programs and colonial theories for creating an obedient, rational populace, but it also stemmed from women's innate sensitivity and concern for the refinement of their "rude" and "backwards" populations.

For women choosing to become professional artists in the central Arab states, this ambivalent role of art in society has posed a curious paradox. While the association of aesthetic sensibilities with femininity has facilitated the study of drawing, painting, and minor manual crafts by young girls, women's attainment of professional status in the field has appeared to challenge conventional female gender roles, with the result that few women practice art after marriage and child-bearing. A few Arab women during the 1920s to 1940s, who were enabled by familial circumstances (wealth or membership in a family of artists), did, however, become professional artists; examples are Marie Haddad in Lebanon, Fahrelnissa Zeid in Jordan, and Tamam Akil in Palestine.

By the 1940s and 1950s, however, only men could pursue artistic professions without seeming to have compromised something of their natural essence. Moreover, only masculine art could properly represent the new nations as an intellectual, rather than purely natural, achievement. The result has been that while many women practice visual arts as a hobby, few devote the majority of their working hours to it, and fewer still are acknowledged as makers of the visual representations of national or communal identities. Similarly, scholarly interest by both colonial and nationalist ideologues in the roles of Arab women as artists has been confined to art making that shows national moral superiority and

mental maturity and that specifically demonstrates among women an “authentic” (that is, instinctual and untrained) aesthetic sensibility and devotion to the health and refinement of the national community. Writing about Arab women as artists has thus generally sought either to prove their parity with Western women as self-determining, active members of society or to demonstrate ethnic and religious specificity (Lloyd 1999). Scholarship on the “rise” of female artistic practice (Ali 1989) should thus be scrutinized within this political agenda.

Women’s participation in art production expanded throughout the central Arab states in the 1950s to the 1970s, fostered by the national struggles for liberation and the formation of distinct national identities based on the assumption that each community should have its own way of looking at the world. Feeding and nurturing the market for national art, women took the lead in opening galleries that showed the art of both male and female professionals. In Beirut, Helen Khal directed Gallery One, which she had opened with her husband Yusuf in 1963, and Janine Rubeiz single-handedly ran Dar al-Fann, which she founded in 1967. In Amman, Fahrelnissa Zeid opened a salon and studio specifically for women in 1975. Likewise, many of the art critics writing for national newspapers were women: from Thuraya Malhas and Rose Ghorayeb, who were active in Lebanon in the 1940s, to Salwa Nashashibi and Wijdan Ali in Jordan in the 1980s.

Arab women have been vital actors in this vibrant field of cultural production, yet to some extent their ability to take up this role was determined by the notion that art is instinctual to women, not a result of study and commitment. In 1978, Helen Khal undertook a survey of women artists active in Lebanon which suggested that the local woman artist “has been able to utilize the path of ‘traditional woman’ to arrive at ‘modern artist.’” In other words, women artists of this period mostly conformed to conventional gender roles even as they pursued rather unusual careers. Their work was acceptable publicly as long as it conformed to standard expectations of decorative, figurative art, whereas art that strayed from that mold was not locally embraced.

In line with their quest for equality, many Arab women artists have explicitly stated that gender has been insignificant in their artistic pursuits. For example, the renowned sculptor Salwa Rawda Choucair declared in 1962, “I hate for my art to be described as *fann nisa’i* [women’s/feminist art].” Indeed, few Arab women in their role as gatekeepers of the art world deliberately sought in that era

to promote art making that could be characterized as female, or more radically, to challenge the implicit connection between woman, art, and nation that treats women as natural symbols of national communities.

It has become increasingly common since the 1980s, however, to explore gender through art. While this new stance has coincided with trends in the international women’s movement, it has received special impetus from critiques of Orientalism that seek to deconstruct visual practices as situated techniques of knowledge production. Examples of women artists active in the central Arab states who have devoted their oeuvres to critiquing assumptions about both gender and ethnic identity are Leila Shawa, Muna Hattoum, Rim al-Jundi, and Flavia Codsi.

While gender historically seemed to render women’s art an illegitimate representative of the community, religion generally played the opposite role. Many Arab women artists have long adamantly embraced the idea that religion could inspire art making and have cited Islam as a source of authenticity and independence that enabled them to perceive the world and interact with it outside the Western tradition of representation. Yet the translation of Islamic inspiration to plastic form has varied greatly. For some women artists, Islamic identity appears in the form of script-based compositions, while for others it appears in purely abstract, non-objectivist, or mathematically generated compositions.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- W. Ali, *Contemporary art from the Islamic world*, London 1989.
- S. P. Blake, Contributors to the urban landscape. Women builders in Safavid Isfahan and Mughal Shahjahanabad, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998, 407–28.
- G. R. G. Hambly, Becoming visible. Medieval Islamic women in historiography and history, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998, 3–27.
- H. Khal, *The woman artist in Lebanon*, Beirut 1978.
- F. Lloyd, Cross-cultural dialogues, in F. Lloyd (ed.), *Contemporary Arab women’s art*, London 1999, 13–45.
- S. Nashashibi, Elements of empowerment. Support systems in women’s art practice, in F. Lloyd (ed.), *Contemporary Arab women’s art*, London 1999.
- L. Nochlin, Why have there been no great women artists?, in L. Nochlin, *Women, art and power. And other essays*, New York 1988, 147–58.
- L. Peirce, Gender and sexual propriety in Ottoman royal women’s patronage, in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000, 53–68.
- E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.
- L. Thys-Senocak, The Yeni Valide Mosque complex of Eminönü, Istanbul (1597–1665), in *Muqarnas* 15

(1998), 58–70, repr. in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000.

M. Yegenoglu, *Colonial fantasies. Towards a feminist reading of Orientalism*, Cambridge 1998.

KIRSTEN SCHEID

## Egypt

Egypt's visual art world is the largest and oldest in the Arab Middle East. From the opening of the first art school in 1908 to the burgeoning art scene of today, thousands of women have participated as artists, critics, curators, teachers, and collectors – many of them playing central roles of recognized importance. In the colonial period, aristocratic women studied drawing and painting mainly under the tutelage of European artists resident in Egypt, as knowledge of the arts and expertise in matters of taste was considered an important component of upper-class female education. In this period, women such as the famous activist Huda Sharawi also started to become important patrons of visual art by hosting salons and shows, and by commissioning and purchasing art works as part of their social responsibility to create “tasteful” homes and instill arts appreciation in their children. Beginning in the 1930s and 1940s, women from the emerging bourgeoisie entered the art education field. In the 1950s, they started to make their mark in arts institutions and in the art critical press. Artists such as Gazbia Sirry, Tahiyya Halim, and Effat Nagi became known for their works which, like the works of male artists and artists in many post-independence countries, focused on the themes of national authenticity, identity, and change (Figures 1, 2). In the contemporary period, women still dominate the fields of art patronage and education, and a large percentage of women artists continue to work on themes related to cultural identity and change.

Like most artists in Egypt, women artists are primarily, though not exclusively, inspired by the material, visual, and social aspects of Egypt and its history. Their inquiries into the nature of national identity, its historical signifiers, and the visual markers of contemporary social, economic, and political change are all extremely varied. Many are inspired by one or more of the strands that have gone into visual constructions of the nation for decades: ancient Egyptian art, Islamic art, Coptic art, pastoral/peasant themes, and folk art. Male and female artists alike have frequently portrayed peasant women as signifiers of national authenticity. Meanwhile, some younger generation artists have begun to explore themes such as consumerism, industrial-

ization, rural change, the congestion, detritus, and kitsch of urban life, and communications technologies. There are also women artists of all generations who produce work that is purely abstract, decorative, or intensely personal and has little to do with Egypt as such. Those artists inspired by Egyptian culture often use materials seen to evoke past and present Egyptian locality, such as gold leafing to recall the Pharaonic; wood *mashrabiyya* pieces to evoke the Islamic; clay, mud, or palm fronds to refer to the pastoral; and newspaper, commodity packaging, or video to evoke contemporary urban change and globalization. Other than the relatively infrequent inclusion of calligraphy or designs from Islamic art, there is very little sustained engagement with religious themes because most artists identify with secular intellectual currents.

An important aspect of women's artistic production is the frequent aversion to “feminist” art. Artists often explain that feminist art is a Western category and that they prefer to combat gender discrimination in ways other than through art work. Many see feminist art as too blatantly political to be aesthetically interesting. This disinterest in outright political art is likely influenced by artists' low opinions of socialist state art produced in the 1950s and 1960s; there is also a sense that political messages in art can constrain aesthetic possibilities. Furthermore, most women artists view explicit feminist art as leading to the creation of a separate category of “women artists,” a separation which they see breeds inequality.

However, beginning in the 1990s, there has been an increased focus on writing about and curating shows of women artists as a distinct group. The ministry of culture has hosted several group exhibitions of women artists' work. These shows have no artistic thematic but rather serve to show the great diversity in women's artistic interests and styles, and honor their place in modern Egyptian art history. Private sector galleries, including those oriented to both national and international art markets, have launched similar exhibitions. Art writing in state and non-state publications has sometimes taken on “women” or “the feminine” as a subject, and the main trends are either to highlight women's contributions to Egyptian art or to interpret women's art as an expression of femininity – with particular attention paid to styles and themes seen as “delicate” or “beautiful.” Most often such articles are written by male art critics and criticized by female artists; many female art critics concentrate on themes unrelated to gender.

Especially notable is the emergence of Western curatorial interest in Middle Eastern women artists



that has resulted in the international recognition of artists such as Ghada Amer, Susan Hefuna, Amal Kenawy, and Sabah Naim. Feminism and resistance to Islam or patriarchal strictures are the dominant interpretative frameworks guiding the selection of these artists, Western art writing about them, and audience reception of their work. Such interpretations sometimes align with the artists' intentions but often do not, and thus have caused significant difficulties for women artists seeking to break out of the imposed external category of "Middle Eastern/Muslim women artist."

Every year, hundreds of women graduate from the state colleges of fine art, art education, and applied art throughout the country, as well as from the American University in Cairo's fine art department. Not all of these women become practicing artists, although many end up working in other related fields. Although there are notable exceptions, women generally diminish their artistic productivity in their thirties and early forties to concentrate on raising families, and working day jobs if they are employed. Women artists' main income is derived from a variety of forms of employment, the most common of which include teaching at the primary, secondary, and university levels, as well as administrative work at the ministry of culture. There are also many women who work in private sector graphic design, tourism, or family businesses. Those who become practicing artists are often drawn to the media of painting, graphic art, ceramics, installation art, weaving, and jewelry making. Fewer women enter the field of sculpture, which is partly due to the widespread belief that sculpture requires physical strength that women do not possess. It should be noted that women have been the main pioneers in the relatively new field of performance art.

Women's central role in the patronage of Egyptian art continues to this day. There are approximately twice as many female owners of private galleries than male. Since the 1980s especially, female entrepreneurs have opened galleries selling mainly Egyptian modern art. Gallerists such as Sherwet Shafie, Lotus Abdel Karim, and Salwa Al-Maghraby have played an important role in cultivating a large market of Egyptian art buyers. Their work has validated contemporary Egyptian art among audiences who were previously more inclined to consume European art, and has also cemented the creation of a modern Egyptian art canon. Women frequently purchase art from these galleries and others. As in previous eras, they take on the role of decorating the home, and many take charge of building family collections.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Karnouk, *Modern Egyptian art, 1910–2003*, Cairo 2005.  
 N. Madkour, *Women and art in Egypt*, Cairo 1991.  
 J. Winegar, *Creative reckonings. The politics of art and culture in contemporary Egypt*, Stanford 2006.

JESSICA WINEGAR

#### Georgia: Tbilisi

Georgians are in love with their past, more than they are connected to the present. Still the most vital figure in the imagination of the people, the most admired leader in Georgian history is Queen Tamara (Bagrationi) (1184–1212), the daughter of King David Bagratoni, who united all of Georgia. Tamara withstood the Mongols and through her marriages brought about a truce between Islam and Christianity. All over Georgia, churches and castles constructed under her royal patronage, with their beautiful mural paintings, still stand. This strength in a woman serves as a potent image for women aspiring to contemporary political power and patronage of the arts, even today. In the twenty-first century, a woman heads the parliament. The Heinrich Boll Foundation is working to encourage more women to take up government posts.

The first reproductions of early Byzantine necklaces, in gold, were showcased in 2001. A cultural heritage renewal non-governmental organization (NGO) sponsored employment and exhibitions among traditional craftsmen. Jewelry makers, women among them, are reviving the use of cloisonné production in tooled silver, with the widespread use of niello encasing garnet, the cherished stone in Georgia, sold in independent shops. The NGO has also secured grants, for mural restoration and painting in Georgian orthodox churches with World Heritage protection, from the George Soros Foundation.

An inheritance from Persian domination for more than a century under Shah Abbas is the portrait on cloth and the weaving of pictures or vegetal motifs in painting in threads in or on silk. All the weavers and painters remain anonymous, although there is some mention of a few having traveled to Abbas's court to receive instruction; some Qajar-style portraits are in the fine arts museum in Tbilisi. Although women are represented in the paintings, none of them were painted by a woman, according to the curator of the section, Irena Koshoridze.

The Persian carpet tradition of portait making transformed itself into silk painting and continued in wool kilim production, which was at

its zenith in well funded elaborate workshops created under Shah Abbas and in the Muslim period (eighth-eleventh centuries, during which Arabs, Khazars, Seljuks, and Ottoman Turks successively ruled Tbilisi; in the thirteenth-eighteenth centuries, the city was ruled by Mongols, Iranians, and Turks before coming under the Russian czars from 1800 to the end of the nineteenth century). Village weaving of highly embroidered costumes still persists, in isolated instances, but for the most part was abolished under Stalin. Folk art production survives in the mountains and craft items are sold to tourists.

The socialist era and the Russian exit from Georgia in 1991, after a massacre of citizens by Soviet troops in 1989, had a great political impact. The Soviet period left traces of pride in their native son, Stalin, whose mother lived in Georgia.

The forerunner of contemporary women artists was Elena Akavlediani, who was educated in Paris in the early twentieth century, and whose works came to the attention of Picasso; she set the tone for Georgians looking to Europe for their artistic identity. She fostered women artists in Georgia and set an example with her salon, where she hosted any important artist visiting Tbilisi. In a departure from the folk tradition epitomized by the most cherished Georgian painter, Pirosmiani, she painted in a European style; her landscapes of Tbilisi and her native Kakhetia became famous. Inspired by the folk arts and her own collection of pottery and textiles, Akavlediani's house museum embodies the spirit of the artistic life she promulgated for other women.

Since independence at the end of the twentieth century, the most prominent women visual artists, designers, and fashion artists in Tbilisi are a cooperative group of five women weavers, *La maison bleue*, who extend their range from dying old silk remnants to weaving new silk and employing a variety of dye techniques. All these creative and talented women have some formal college training in art and learn mastery in their cooperative. Some of them studied abroad, one in America and another in Italy, with the support of grants. The Georgian Textile Group, directed by Ms. Nino Kipshidze, art historian at the Department of Tapestry and Textiles of the Tbilisi State Academy of Arts, is the leading institution for textile studies and has a tapestry museum of its own. The Association of Georgian Textile Artists unites professional artists, designers, scholars, and students; it has held international textile symposiums since 1997.

One of the most influential women silk artists is Maia Tsinamdzgvrshvili, who has won fellowships

at the prestigious Abegg Foundation in Switzerland and has held exhibitions in Austria, Switzerland, France, and Japan. Paper making in Japan influenced her work on cloth. Contact with abstract art has inspired her to return to geometric forms found in Byzantine designs. The muted brown, purple, and red colors of mural painting are predominant in her silk scarves. Maia does not do representational work, but her abstract designs are highly evocative. She has her own studio and solo exhibitions, and sells at open studio presentations in her home. She has won national awards for her art on cloth, and has her work promoted in several galleries in Tbilisi and shown at United Nations Development Programme galleries.

The United Nations Development Fund for Women in Tbilisi inspired several unknown contemporary women artists to submit posters for a national contest, "Women for Peace," in 2001.

Women now work as gallery owners, art critics, and art teachers, extensions of their role in creating fashion boutiques. There is still no consortium of the galleries. Women such as Nino Metreveli, director of the leading N Gallery in Tbilisi, who has a doctorate in art history, have their own capital and are educated and trained in the arts. Her gallery participates in the Balkan equivalent of the Venice Biennale in Moscow each year. Western women have influenced Georgian women to be more transparent and to extend their range into male dominated fields of painting. "Feminine Fantasies," an exhibition which focused on the role of modern construction of gender identity, was held at the N Gallery in 2005. Cultural, sociological, and anthropological visions were expressed in video works. There has been no survey of gender programs in actual art production in Georgia, according to Nino Metreveli.

A historical consciousness of Azeri women's tradition of the veil plays a role in Maka Batiashvili's "Three Minutes through the Veil," a video of feminine fantasy with dream-like images of viewing shop windows, watching television, and walking on the street. For a Muslim or Azeri woman, there is no question of her traditional role. There is no movement here, as is the case in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Iran, to rebel against women's fate, in part because Azeri women are a fringe element and not an educated elite. The Azeris are concentrated on the borders of the country, as are the Armenians living in Georgia, as a result of the border conflicts in the twentieth century. Azeri women, in the main, are out of sight.

The Georgian Society in the United States and in other countries promotes artists and their

production, especially in Paris, France, where there is a history of Georgian celebrity. Globalization has only affected Georgia in terms of an oil pipeline, and has not transformed income generation in a country whose people survive at subsistence level, below the poverty line in World Bank terms.

JANET ROBERTS

## Iran

### INTRODUCTION

Women artists, gallery owners, and art educators have been actively involved in modern Iranian art movements since the late 1950s. Some, such as Behjat Sadr, the first woman to become a member of the art faculty at the University of Tehran, and Mansoureh Hosseini, a 1949 University of Tehran graduate, completed their art training in France and Italy respectively then returned to exhibit and teach in Iran. Influences in their work include abstract expressionism and Kufic calligraphy (Hosseini), and Western art forms (Sadr). Contemporary Iranian women artists continue to display a broad range of influences in their work, including designs derived from Iranian textiles, manuscript illuminations, Persian miniatures, and calligraphy, as well as contemporary Western and traditional Asian art forms.

### GALLERIES, PATRONAGE, AND ART CRITICS

Prior to the 1979 Revolution there were a number of galleries open in Tehran, and other spaces such as the Iran American Society, but few trained women artists to exhibit in them. Ma'soumeh Seyhoun's Gallery, the first woman-owned gallery, was an important place for new artists to exhibit; it continues to be a significant site for display of contemporary Iranian art. Alternative spaces were created by artists such as Mansoureh Hosseini who allocated an area in her apartment to exhibit her work and that of other artists. Exhibition access to the many galleries in Tehran was and continues to be heavily dependent upon personal and professional contacts. The Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art has held a number of exhibitions of women artists work since it opened in 1977. Before the revolution there were a number of important Iranian and international patrons for emerging artists. However in the immediate post-revolution period when art galleries were closed, artists had great difficulty in producing and displaying art even to small audiences. It was not until the establishment of new galleries in the 1990s that women

artists had a number of different places to exhibit and collectors again acquired new works. Although no publications focused exclusively on women artists they were included in newspaper feature articles about artists' exhibitions prior to the revolution. At the end of the 1990s, Mrs. Manijeh Mir-Emadi established *Tavoos Quarterly* (1999–2004) and *Tavoos On-Line Magazine* (2000–present), both designed to provide information about local and international exhibitions of Iranian artists. Mrs. Mir-Emadi, owner of Iranian Arts Publishing, continues to publish art books on contemporary Iranian artists and photographers.

### TECHNICAL TRAINING

While many artists continued to access advanced training in fine arts outside Iran from the early 1960s on, as new art programs were established in existing or newly formed universities, the number of female students studying painting and sculpture at universities in Tehran and in other cities in Iran increased. Whereas a number of universities offer both studio and architecture courses, Alzahra University, the women's university, offers courses in painting, sculpture, graphic design, and handicrafts, through their Division of Fine Arts. Many students choose graphic design as their major field of study as this provides more opportunities for work after graduation.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Farhangsarā Niyārāvān, *Manifestation of feeling. A selection of paintings by Iranian female artists*, trans. Mrs. P. Rahimi, Tehran 1994.
- , *Manifestation of feeling (2). A selection of paintings by Iranian female artists*, trans. A. Mehran, Tehran 1995.
- , *Manifestation of feeling (4). A selection of paintings by Iranian female artists*, trans. C. Karbassi and L. Jafari Tehrani, Tehran 1997.
- , *Manifestation of feeling (5). A selection of paintings by Iranian female artists*, trans. C. Karbassi and L. Jafari Tehrani, Tehran 1999.
- M. Mir-Emadi, Contemporary art, in *Tavoos. Quarterly of Iranian Art* 2 (2000), 184–214.
- J. Mojabi and J. Damija, *Selected works of Parvaneh E'temadi 1966–98*, trans. C. Karbassi, Tehran 1998.
- S. L. Parker, Embodied exile. Contemporary Iranian women artists and the politics of place, Ph.D. diss., University of Arizona 2005.
- J. Rahsepar, Farah Ossuli. Modernism with Iranian elements, in *Tavoos. Quarterly of Iranian Art* 3/4 (2000), 104–7.
- Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, *Iran contemporary painting. A selection of the works. Third Iran painting biennial*, trans. C. Karbassi, Tehran 1997.
- M. Zandi, *Portraits. A portfolio of Iranian artists*, intro. M. Momayez, trans. S. Rahmadian, Tehran 1995.

SHARON PARKER

## North Africa

This entry discusses women visual artists from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya, the artistic and social issues they address in their work, and the history and politics of the art worlds in which they operate.

The entry of North African women artists and designers into the visual arts has historically been a doubly difficult one due to male-dominated art movements and the politics of the international art market. Despite these ongoing obstacles, North African women artists exhibit abroad to critical acclaim and also present their work to varying degrees in their home countries. Because of societal constraints on the education of women and their responsibilities to family, from the 1940s to the 1960s many North African women practiced as artists without formal training. Today, however, most women artists have attended an art program or school and are involved in diverse media such as video art, photography, sculpture, and design. The major themes that can be found in their work include the assertion of identity and what it means to be a woman in the Islamic world; social commentary and critique; the re-articulation of traditional arts and clothing in the context of contemporary arts; and the re-appropriation of images of the North African woman from European and American art.

As a region, North Africa is by no means homogeneous in culture or history. Rather than highlighting the many achievements of women artists by country, this entry discusses the development of their art historically, thematically, and aesthetically. In order to do this, it should be noted that the political situation in Libya has severely limited access to the work of Libyan artists; very few publications on visual art exist, and those that are available do not privilege the work of women. Likewise, it should be noted that political events in Algeria during the 1990s account in part for the significant number of Algerian women artists who operate in diaspora.

Women visual artists from North Africa first came to the attention of the international art market during the late 1940s through proponents of the French surrealist movement who celebrated the spontaneity of unschooled painters for their ability to capture the workings of the subconscious. By the age of 16, the Algerian painter Baya Mahieddine (1931–98), whose dream-like canvases drew on Arabo-Berber motifs that celebrate the cycles of life, was consecrated by the French art world. The Moroccan self-taught painter Chaïbia Tallal

(1929–2004) became the next major female painter from North Africa in Europe. Her arrival in the art world is almost legendary: one night she dreamed that she had to paint, and the next day, encouraged by her artist son, she started to create gloriously colored whimsical canvases depicting village life. While valorized in Europe, the growing and predominantly male visual arts movement in 1960s Morocco often rejected Chaïbia's work. Male artists believed that "naïve" art contributed to the image of Third-World underdevelopment and drew attention away from academically trained painters interested in international aesthetic movements. While some contemporary women artists echo this sentiment, claiming that the celebration of artists like Baya and Chaïbia perpetuates the image of women artists from North Africa as uneducated, others celebrate their breakthrough into international circles as a precursor of their own.

The assertion of female identity and the correction of exoticized images and misrepresentations of women in North Africa is the most prevalent theme in visual arts created by women. Whether through the manipulation of Orientalist images of women or through the abstraction and interiorization of daily life, women visual artists comment upon their identities as North African women. The multi-media work of French-Algerian Zineb Sedira (b. 1963) and the photography of Moroccan Lalla Essaydi (b. 1956) both examine the politics and aesthetics of veiling, exploring the possibilities of representing the female body. In addition to her work on veils, Sedira has silk-screened images of women onto ceramic mosaic tiles, inscribing multi-generational faces into traditionally male-produced interior spaces that have historically defined the lives of women in North Africa. Combining painting with poetry in her *No to Torture* series, Algerian multi-media artist Houria Niati (b. 1948) repaints the depiction of North African women in the work of Delacroix while commenting on the ongoing silencing of women across the Middle East and in the contemporary international media. Explicit social critique, especially within the borders of the nation, has been a much harder avenue to pursue. However, the Casablanca-based photographer, furniture designer, and architect Souad Guennoun (b. 1956) has created and exhibited powerful photographic images of subjects that inhabit areas of misery or conflict in Moroccan cities.

Aesthetically, North African women artists have taken many directions from neo-realism to abstraction and have embraced diverse media including traditional artisanal forms. Libyan artists such as Afaf el-Somali participate primarily in neo-realist

movements in which landscape and historical culture are represented. Tunisian artist and critic Sabiha Khemir (b. 1959) references the work of Islamic miniaturists in her pen and ink pieces. Algerian artist Samta Benyahia (b. 1950) creates mosaic installation patterns on glass. Tunisian print-maker and engraver, Fawzia El-Hicheri (b. 1946) inserts a woman's voice into international male dominated abstraction, especially in her *Hommage to Paul Klee*. Moroccan sculptor Ikram Kabbaj (b. 1960) works with fiberglass and polyester to create tactile pieces that reference collective Islamic practices, such as her series of abstracted hooded or veiled figures assembling for prayer. Moroccan fashion designers Zhor Raïs and Fadilah Berrada have brought modern and avant-garde visual forms to women's caftans. There is also a vibrant community of women fabric weavers and jewelry makers who produce pieces that are presented in national and international art markets.

Within North Africa, women operate primarily in male-dominated art worlds. While women are slowly coming to positions of power within galleries and museums, at the turn of the twenty-first century only two major art institutions in North Africa were directed by women: the National Museum of Fine Arts in Hamma, Algeria and the Carthage Center in Tunisia.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- D. Bailey and G. Tawadros (eds.), *Veil. Veiling, representation and contemporary art*, Boston 2003.  
 F. Lloyd (ed.), *Contemporary Arab women's art. Dialogues of the present*, London 1999.  
 S. Nashashibi (ed.), *Forces of change. Artists of the Arab world*, Washington, D.C. 1994.  
*Revue noire. African Contemporary Art* 33/34 (2nd Semester 1999), special edition, *Maroc/Morocco*.  
 F. Taulli, *Arte e cultura in Libia*, in *Africa e Mediterraneo* 43/44 (2003), 59–60.  
 S. Zuhur (ed.), *Images of enchantment. Visual and performing arts of the Middle East*, Cairo 1998.

KATARZYNA PIEPRZAK

### The Ottoman Empire

Within the wide geographic expanse and long duration of the Ottoman Empire (1299–1922) women had a variety of roles in the visual arts, acting as patrons, consumers, and producers of art in different media. The range of objects considered under the category of the visual arts in the Ottoman context includes many beautiful and functional objects, a much more diverse assortment than the painting, drawing, sculpture, and architecture generally subsumed under the heading of visual arts

in the European context. An overview of women's interaction with the varied categories of objects that comprise the visual arts in the Ottoman period forms the subject of this entry.

In the premodern context, the highest quality arts were produced by artists who worked within a complex Ottoman court atelier system, the *nakkaşhane*. These artists, working under the direct patronage of the sultan, made illustrated manuscripts, illuminated Qur'āns, and other finely written documents, and also supplied designs for works in other media, for example ceramics and tiles, bookbindings, and textiles. There is absolutely no evidence in the extensive surviving court documents that women were involved in artistic production at the Ottoman court.

Works similar to those commissioned by the court, but of a lesser quality and reduced cost, were made by urban artists working within a guild system, for private patrons or for sale in the bazaars. Documentation concerning these artists is extremely limited, but it is possible that talented wives or daughters would have been involved in the production of such goods in home workshops. Legal documents reveal that some urban women owned weaving shops or produced embroidery and other textiles, both in workshops and out of their homes. An illuminated Qur'ān in the collection of the Konya Mevlana Museum signed by Fatima binti Maksud and dated 1544 is the only work known by a women calligrapher prior to the eighteenth century, but it is possible that other women studied calligraphy with their male relatives at home and produced work which has not survived. Outside major urban centers women were involved in textile production, weaving fine carpets and sewing luxurious embroideries for domestic use, but also for sale.

Although their role as artists was limited, it is important to acknowledge the significant part that women played as patrons of the visual arts. Royal and elite women, especially the mother of the sultan, had substantial means at their disposal from which to commission new buildings, as well as the illuminated Qur'āns, ceramic tiles, carpets, and other objects with which the new structures were furnished. These women, as well as women of more modest means, were also responsible for the purchase of household goods, expensive clothing, and jewelry. As patrons and consumers of a range of goods, women wielded some degree of economic power and had an impact on style.

Visual art production changed dramatically during the nineteenth century. The court atelier system, which had declined in importance during the

eighteenth century, became even less significant as a means of patronage, leaving artists to find their own patrons and commissions. Also, while textiles and calligraphy continued to be highly valued, the popularity of other traditional media, particularly illuminated manuscripts, ceramics, and metalware, diminished. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Ottoman artists began to experiment with new art forms, especially easel painting with oils, watercolors, and photography, and to seek training from European artists or even travel to Europe for training.

Increased access for women to the arts was an important aspect of these changes. In the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, with their family's permission, some elite urban women began to study with famous calligraphers in order to receive the certificates that allowed them to practice calligraphy professionally. With the opening of government schools for girls that included arts education, many more young women were exposed to the arts. A familiarity with the arts began to be perceived as a desirable part of the training of elite young women, who could study with private tutors and in some cases travel to Europe to advance their art education. Training in the arts was also included in the curriculum of the women's teacher training schools, which began to open in the last decades of the Ottoman period. The first women's institution dedicated to the arts, the Women's College of Fine Arts, opened in Istanbul in 1914 with classes, including life-drawing, taught by well-known artists, among them Mihri Müşfik Hanım, one of the earliest women painters in Turkey. In the first decades of the twentieth century, the number of women artists grew considerably and women took an active part in the burgeoning art world in Istanbul. The careers and art production of these ground-breaking women artists have recently begun to receive increased scholarly attention and their work has become known to wider audiences.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- T. Atagök, *Cumhuriyet'ten günümüze kadın sanatçılar/ Contemporary women artists*, Istanbul 1993.
- E. Frierson, Cheap and easy. The creation of consumer culture in late Ottoman society, in D. Quataert (ed.), *Consumption studies and the history of the Ottoman Empire 1550–1922*, Albany, N.Y. 2000, 243–60.
- H. Glassie, *Traditional Turkish art today*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993.
- G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, London 1998.
- B. Inel and B. Inel, Discovering the missing heroines. The role of women painters in early modernist art in Turkey, in *Middle East Studies* 38 (2002), 205–12.
- N. Micklewright, Negotiating between the real and the

imagined. Portraiture in the late Ottoman Empire, in İ. Schick (ed.), *M. Uğur Derman armağanı/M. Uğur Derman festschrift*, Istanbul 2000, 417–38.

- L. Peirce, *The imperial harem. Women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, New York 1993.
- G. Renda (ed.), *Woman in Anatolia. 9000 years of the Anatolian woman*, Istanbul 1993.
- D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000.
- L. Thys-Senocak, *Ottoman women builders. The architectural patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan*, Aldershot, U.K. 2006.

NANCY MICKLEWRIGHT

## South Asia

Our knowledge of Muslim women artists in South Asia is limited primarily to the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. From the 1970s onward, in particular, women have been visible contributors to the art scenes that flourish in various urban centers of South Asia. Women also played significant roles in the production of visual arts during earlier centuries; however, our knowledge of their contributions is limited primarily to artistic patronage by elite women.

As recorded in Indo-Islamic court histories and architectural inscriptions, during the medieval and early modern periods royal women frequently sponsored construction of large works of public architecture. For example, Nur Jahan (1577–1645), powerful wife of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27) built many structures throughout the empire, the most celebrated of which is the tomb of Itimad al-Daula in Agra. Nur Jahan had the elegantly ornamented white marble monument constructed between 1622 and 1628 in honor of her parents. Similarly, Jahanara (1613–83), daughter of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58) patronized a large Friday mosque in Agra as well as five buildings central to the plan of Shahjahanabad, her father's new capital in Delhi.

Though less information survives regarding women's contributions to painting than to architecture, we know that at least one noblewoman – Hamida Banu Begum (d. 1604), the mother of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605) – employed painters in her own manuscript workshop, and that others practiced painting at an amateur level. Dynastic accounts describe Nur Jahan and several other female members of the Mughal court as accomplished painters as well as calligraphers. Little evidence survives, however, of professional women artists from the period, reflecting the patriarchal structure of the royal ateliers and other

high-level artistic workshops in which traditions were passed down from father to son.

The lack of knowledge regarding professional women artists also stems from the general lack of surviving information on specific artists – whether male or female – in premodern South Asia. Identities of artists, particularly those working beyond the confines of the imperial workshops, seem not to have been widely recorded. For example, we know very little about the producers of textiles or village art, and these types of art are the ones in which women likely participated. Kanthas, distinctive embroidered and patchwork quilts mentioned in South Asian literature as early as the medieval period, furnish one known example of textile arts produced by women. Hindu and Muslim women from East Bengal employed scrap material to make the intricate quilts, even using threads pulled from worn saris for embroidery. The embroidered motifs, which typically featured large lotus medallions at the centers of the quilts, served both to decorate the kanthas and reinforce their thin fabric. The most elaborate kanthas often were used to cover the tombs of Muslim mystics.

Not until the mid-twentieth century do we have significant evidence of individual professional women artists. Zubeida Agha (1922–97), a Lahore-based painter, was one of the earliest women artists to make a name for herself. In fact, many considered her 1949 solo exhibition, which caused a stir in Karachi when it opened, to be Pakistan's first modern art show. Not allowed to train at the then all-male Mayo School of Art (later renamed the National College of Arts), Agha studied painting with an Italian futurist artist/prisoner-of-war, Mario Perlingieri, whose artistic style influenced her. Her semi-abstract paintings frequently feature cityscapes rendered in jewel-like colors. Another Muslim artist to gain renown in the mid-twentieth century was the Bangladeshi sculptress Novera Ahmed (b. 1930), whose figurative works, often based on village dolls, were commissioned for public spaces around Dhaka in the 1950s.

Their work, like that of twentieth-century South Asian artists in general, needs to be understood in terms of the major political developments of times – namely, the end of the colonial period, the partitioning of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan in 1947, and the 1971 creation of Bangladesh from East Pakistan following the war of liberation. Responding to local political and economic contexts, the art scenes in the three countries have operated and continue to operate independently of one another. Nonetheless, there are communalities among them. Most significantly, the growth of

international feminism in the 1970s led to a marked increase in the number of professional women artists in all three nations. That number continued to increase throughout the 1980s and particularly in the 1990s when the countries' gallery structures and art markets expanded. The growth in women's participation was so dramatic as to be perhaps the most significant development within late twentieth-century South Asian art. Currently women not only occupy visible positions as artists, but they also play important roles as art critics, art educators, and gallery owners. For example, the artist Salimi Hashmi (b. 1942) writes extensively on contemporary Pakistani art and is a leading figure at the National College of Arts in Lahore. Likewise, Nilofur Farrukh, an art critic and activist, has done important work to increase the visibility of the arts in Pakistan.

South Asian Muslim women artists active in the past few decades are so large in number and diverse in artistic approach that it is difficult to list the most influential figures, make summary statements, or even single them out as a distinctive subset within the larger field of contemporary artists. If they submit to be labeled at all, the artists are perhaps more apt to identify themselves by their nationality than their religious affiliation. Nonetheless, there are a few noteworthy themes and emphases discernable in their work, such as an affinity for geometry and abstraction, the merging of the personal and political through an emphasis on the body and self, the revival of miniature painting and small-scale works on paper, experimentation with artistic media (the bringing together of "high art" and everyday art), and finally, engagement with the issues of transnationalism, dislocation, and cultural hybridity.

The first of these themes, emphasis on geometry and abstraction, can be seen in the work of Indian artist Nasreen Mohamedi (1937–90). Mohamedi, influenced by geometry, Islamic calligraphy, and the modernist artist Kandisky, among other things, produced precisely drawn minimalist ink and pencil drawings as well as abstract photographs that captured the geometric lines and shapes of the built environment. Mohamedi studied at St. Martin's School of Art in London in the 1950s and traveled through the Middle East in the 1960s, during which time she became fascinated with Islamic architecture. Between 1972 and 1988 she taught in the Fine Arts Department at the University of Baroda, one of the leading art schools in India. The transnational artist, Zarina Hashmi, also creates minimalist work with a strong geometric focus, often in the form of woodblock prints inspired by floor plans and maps evoking ideas of home, dislocation, and memory.

Zarina (she uses her first name professionally) was born in Aligarh, India, but has lived in many parts of the world. Like Mohamedi, her art has a wide range of influences, from Islamic architecture, Urdu calligraphy, and Sufism to Zen Buddhism and the works of European abstract artists such as Piet Mondriaan.

The merging of the personal and political is central to the art of Rummana Hussain (1953–99). In her work from the 1990s, images of female body parts are juxtaposed with Indo-Islamic architectural forms, such as an open mouth with an archway. Hussain, who became very involved with political activism in her home city of Mumbai, self-identified as a Muslim female artist. Through her installations, she sought to address gender issues as well as the effects of communal violence in India, particularly after the 1992 destruction of the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya. Rokeya Sultana, a Bangladeshi painter and print-maker who teaches at the Institute of Fine Arts, Dhaka University, also combines the personal and political through her simple yet moving images of women. For example, a series of child-like watercolor images depict figures of mothers and daughters. Based on memories of her mother and herself fleeing during the war of liberation, the images also invoke the general struggle of women.

The use of small-scale works-on-paper took strong hold among Pakistani female artists, who also seem to favor politically charged work. During the 1980s, a number of artists, including Salima Hashmi (b. 1942), daughter of the celebrated Urdu poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz, began to experiment with miniature painting, papermaking, and other related media as a way of challenging the pre-eminence of oil-on-canvas and, by extension, prevailing societal and gender norms. Several artists, such as Qudsiya Nisar (b. 1948) and Nahid Raza (b. 1949), in their experiments with works on paper drew on a wide range of references to create highly narrative, personal visual vocabularies. The use of hybrid visual vocabularies to convey powerful messages in small-scale works has continued in the art of the next generation of Pakistani women artists, including Shazia Sikander (b. 1968), Talha Rathore (b. 1969), Aisha Khalid (b. 1972), Nusra Latif Qureshi (b. 1973), and Saira Wasim (b. 1975), all of whom studied at the National College of Arts, Lahore. These artists, by drawing on past traditions and imagery associated with miniature painting, pay homage to the rich history of South Asia while also subverting it.

Another identifiable theme is experimentation with diverse media, particularly the incorporation

of materials or forms traditionally associated with everyday art. Summaya Durrani (b. 1963), a Pakistani jewelry designer and painter, employs mixed media in unexpected ways in her installations to ironically comment on gender issues. Naiza Khan (b. 1968) makes use of hair, henna, and images of the body to examine the rituals and realities of women's lives in Pakistan. Similarly, Lahore-based artist Masooma Syed (b. 1971) comments on notions of femininity and beauty in her sculptures and jewelry made from strands of hair, nail clippings, and other abject objects. Both women's work can thus also be seen as merging the political and personal through an emphasis on the body.

Finally, with the intensification of globalization and the reality that – despite growing art markets and educational facilities at home – many South Asian artists still find it necessary to travel abroad to further their career, the issues of transnationalism, displacement, and hybridity have become common themes in recent years. Shahzia Sikander and Zarina Hashmi, both now based in New York, can be considered transnational artists who address such issues, though in very distinct ways. Zarina's minimalist, evocative art focuses on the idea of home and displacement, while Sikander's miniature paintings, with their highly eclectic and personal visual vocabulary, address the layered, fractured hybridity of a postcolonial/postmodern existence.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Ali, *Playing with a loaded gun. Contemporary art in Pakistan*, New York 2003.
- I. Berry and J. Hough, *Shahzia Sikander. Nemesis (Opener 6)*, Saratoga Springs, N.Y. 2005.
- E. B. Findly, Women's wealth and styles of giving. Perspectives from Buddhist, Jain, and Mughal Sites, in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000, 91–121.
- A. A. Hamid, Zubeida Agha, in *Arts and the Islamic World* 4 (1984–5), 59–64.
- S. Hashmi, Contemporary art of Pakistan, in F. M. Asher (ed.), *Art of India. Prehistory to the present*, Chicago 2003, 143–53.
- and N. Poobaya-Smith, *An intelligent rebellion. Women artists of Pakistan*, Bradford, U.K. 1994.
- Jehangir Art Gallery, *Ashish, Rajadhyaksha, Rummana Hussain. Fragments/multiples*, Bombay 1994.
- H. Khan (ed.), *Modernities and memories. Recent works from the Islamic world*, New York 1997.
- B. Khanna and A. Kurtha, *Art of modern India*, London 1998.
- M. Milford-Lutzker (ed.), *Zarina. Mapping a life, 1991–2001*, Oakland, Calif. 2001.
- Q. Mirza and S. Hashmi, *50 years of visual arts in Pakistan*, Lahore 1997.
- P. Mitter, *Indian art*, Oxford 2001.
- A. Naqvi, *Image and identity. Fifty years of painting and sculpture in Pakistan*, Karachi and Oxford 1998.
- H. Nasar (ed.), *Karkhana. A contemporary collaboration*, Ridgefield, Conn. 2005.



- M. Nesom-Sirhandi, *Contemporary painting in Pakistan*, Lahore 1992.
- S. Rahman, Symbols and rituals in the art of the Nakshi Kantha, in P. Boneventura and B. Stockley (eds.), *Woven air. The muslim and Kantha tradition of Bangladesh*, London 1988, 29–35.
- G. Sen, Contemporary art of India, in F. M. Asher (ed.), *Art of India. Prehistory to the present*, Chicago 2003, 130–42.
- G. Sinha (ed.), *Expressions and evocations. Contemporary women artists of India*, Mumbai 1996.
- , *The self and the world. An exhibition of Indian women artists*, Delhi 1997.
- , Feminism and women artists in India, in Y. Dalmia (ed.), *Contemporary Indian art. Other realities*, Mumbai 2002, 58–73.

DEBORAH HUTTON

## Sudan

Sudanese Muslim women artists' creative impact in social, political, and cultural arenas is irrefutable. They distinguish themselves with their creative work, which is deeply rooted in indigenous knowledge reflecting the amalgamation of the richness and sophistication of African culture and Islamic values. Islam and Arab culture played an important role in shaping Sudanese Muslim identity. In addition, the interplay between African and Middle Eastern culture resulted in a hybrid component that characterizes the Sudanese Muslim heritage. This has been reflected in many aspects of life, including art production. In this respect, Sudanese Muslim women are considered influential figures in creating visual art forms that promote religious and cultural values combining Islamic tradition and African aesthetics.

Within Sudanese Muslim society, the relationship between the sexes is not contrastive. It is interdependent, situational, and dynamic; women and men complement each other. The notion of power is perceived as the vitality of individual creativity rather than an element of control and domination that creates tensions between the sexes. Individuals are empowered by working to fulfill the communal will. Throughout their history Sudanese women have enjoyed a high visibility in social and political arenas. This was the result of long tradition that maintained a powerful position for women in the public space (al-Zaki 1982, 3, Mohammed Kheir 1987, 9).

Although the Sudanese in general have been known for their richness in literary art, documented history indicates that visual art production in Sudan can be traced back to ancient Nubia (Hassan 1995). With the coming of Islam in the fifteenth century A.D., literary art dominated other

aspects of artistic expression such as music and visual art among Sudanese Muslims (Abdul Hai 1976, O'Fahey 1994, Muhammad 1996b). The rulers of Sennar, the first Islamic Sudanese Kingdom (known also as the Fung Sultanate) adopted a modest way of life; they placed more emphasis on the spiritual rather than material aspects of life. Although Sennar was known for its wealth and grandeur, its rulers were noted for their piety and righteousness. Evidence from this era suggests that lofty or luxurious buildings were unknown except for a few royal palaces and some castles built out of mud and bricks (Crawford 1951, Shuqair 1967). The successive Islamic rulers of the Fur and Musabba'āt Sultanates, few of whom were known for their interest in worldly affairs, followed the example of the Fung Sultanate (Greenlaw 1976). Consequently, the material aspects of culture were of little interest to either the rulers or the ruled. Their simple way of life is reflected in their architecture, costume, tools, and equipment. In 1881, Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Mahdī, a well known Sudanese religious leader and an Islamic revivalist, led a revolutionary Islamic movement and defeated the Turkish occupiers. He established an Islamic state with very strict Islamic rules that promoted a modest and simple life, declaring, "Anā akharib al-dunyā wa-a'amir al-ukhrā" (I would care less about the mundane life and work rigorously to pave the road to the hereafter) (Abū Salim 1989, 90).

Despite the rules imposed by the Mahdī, Sudanese Muslim women artists were able to create sophisticated visual art forms using a variety of designs and patterns. Unlike traditional designs in other African cultures with embedded figural forms, designs in Sudanese Muslim traditional art were mostly restricted to abstract and geometrical shapes, and were dominant in basketry, leatherwork, pottery, and needlework. According to the Sudanese Muslim tradition, the depiction of figurative forms was restricted to legendary creatures that had a religious significance. In house decoration in the Nubian region (northern Sudan) animals such as crocodiles, lions, and snakes symbolizing Sudanese Muslim saints were commonly depicted (Muhammad 1996a). Needlework designs frequently included gazelles, peacocks, and al-Burāq (The Bright One, a legendary creature believed by Muslims to have carried the Prophet Muḥammad on his famous journey to heaven). In addition, women created images of the Ka'ba (the house of God in Mecca), the Prophet Muḥammad's mosque in Medina, trees, flowers, the crescent, and the stars. The crescent and stars were also used as shapes for

cookies for ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (the celebration at the end of fasting during Ramadan). However, children's toys made by women were an exception. The most famous were Bittum lu'ab and Waddum lu'ab, two dolls made out of local material in the form of a bride and groom. Women perceived these figures as toys with no religious significance attached to them. Women also made cookies in the form of boys and girls to emphasize children's involvement in the ʿĪd celebration. In general, figurative representations could be made as long as there was no intention to venerate and no attempt to compete with Allah, the Great Creator.

In the 1920s, a group of Sudanese artists (mainly males and self-trained) initiated a new trend in visual art. Their interest was in portraits and paintings representing themes related to metropolitan centers. Most Sudanese Muslim women who lived in urban areas at that time were confined to their homes. Girls' formal education was established in 1907 with the efforts of Sheikh Babiker Badri who, despite British colonial authority opposition, opened an elementary school and enrolled his own daughters as pioneering female students. But most Sudanese Muslim families feared that Western education would corrupt their daughters. Women found in traditional education a means of fulfilling their personal needs while at the same time providing them with the financial support that was much needed during that period (Muhammad forthcoming).

The institution of *bayt al-khiyāta* (house of sewing) was famous for providing a traditional education for young women. *Bayt al-khiyāta* was a designated area inside the house; a verandah, a room or even the shade under a tree might be considered an area where young girls could gather together to receive teaching intended to prepare them for their future life. Needlework was the main subject that young women learned in *bayt al-khiyāta*, although storytelling and some household activities such as cooking were also taught. Girls learned methods of sewing that helped them create a variety of designs and patterns in marketable products such as sheets, kerchiefs, turbans, and *taqiyya* (head gear, pl. *tawāqi*).

Older women worked as dealers in selling needlework production. During the Mahdiyya period (1885–98), Khalifa Abdullahi al-Ta'aishi, the Mahdi's deputy, designated a marketplace in Omdurman specifically for women in which they could sell and buy their home-made products. The women's market was present until the 1970s when the Nimeiri regime destroyed it and moved the women to a remote area (Muhammad forthcoming).

Basket-weaving was and still is the leading art product, especially in rural areas. Manawashai, Marsheng, Juruf, and Nyala in Darfur, western Sudan continue to be famous centers for the mass production of baskets. In the 1980s (during the height of famine), Darfuri Muslim women artists took the initiative to change the function of basketry from a utilitarian to a decorative form by inventing new designs, patterns, and shapes in order to create a marketable product that could save their families from starvation (Muhammad 2001). Their faith in God made them strong enough to face hardship and cope with their situation. Nyala was established, through the efforts of educated local people, men and women alike, as a center for the mass production of baskets during this time. Coordinators from Nyala worked with women to direct them and responded to their needs regarding raw materials, new patterns, shapes, and designs. New ideas were sometimes obtained from a talented woman artist and distributed to the rest of the women in the center, and her invention of a particular design was recognized and appreciated by the whole community. In addition, a gallery was located in the main center for displaying and selling basket products. The other locations for mass basket production in Darfur (Manawashai, Marsheng, and Juruf) have produced and sold baskets for over a century.

Careful analysis of basket designs in Darfur during the time of famine reveals that the patterns are accurately documented pieces of history that depict the horror of famine and record other social and political events. Many patterns and designs depict waves of famine encountered by Darfurians throughout their history. Among these designs are *miskīn daldam* (poor person crawling), *kadīs kashbar* (cat attacking, meaning the famine) and *julū* (wondering, an expression of desperation). These names are metaphors used to emphasize the famine's cruelty. Design in basketry can be classified into three types: geometrical, floral, and the use of calligraphy design on white background. The latter two were new inventions that marked the talent of Darfuri women in their struggle during the aftermath of famine. They represented a continuation of efforts of Sudanese Muslim female visual artists in creating and inventing in response to times of hardship.

The introduction of "modern" Western visual art in Sudan is a relatively new phenomenon. The Department of Art was founded in the 1930s at Gordon Memorial College, later renamed the University of Khartoum. In 1946, the department developed to become the School of Design. Its main function was to provide the British colonial

government with individuals skilled in carpentry, architectural draughtsmanship, drawing, surveying, and design (Hassan 1995). In 1951, the School of Design moved from Gordon College to Khartoum Technical Institute where it eventually became the College of Fine and Applied Arts in 1971. Today, the college has 8 departments, 40 faculty and staff, and about 400 students, of whom more than 70 percent are males; subjects include drawing, art history, basic design, graphic design, printing and binding, calligraphy, textile, ceramics, sculpture, industrial design, and art education.

In the 1940s, the ministry of education under the British colonial government sent a group of Sudanese teachers (all male) to receive training in England and Egypt to reinforce the teaching of art education. In the early 1950s, professional artists were also sent to England for further study in visual art. Kamala Ibrahim Ishaq was the first female artist who traveled to England in 1963 to receive training at the Royal College of Art, London, in mural painting, lithography, typography, and illustration after completing her studies at the College of Fine and Applied Art in Khartoum. Ishaq's work focuses on women-related themes such as *zar* (spirit possession) and other folkloric themes.

Several art movements have dominated Sudanese modern visual art. The first, called the Khartoum School, was founded by Ibrahim El-Salahi and his colleague Ahmed Mohammed Shibrain. This movement emerged and flourished as a cultural phenomenon during the 1950s and 1960s, a critical period in Sudanese history. During that time the notion of African Arab-Islamic identity was appealing to the masses. The founders of the Khartoum School adopted this trend by combining Arabic calligraphy, images from ancient Nubian and Coptic art, and local architectural elements in order to develop these motifs into a modern design. Their style contained figurative forms, although it never reached idealistic realism. The earthy colors, which represented integration with nature, were characteristic. Ishaq was a member of this movement.

The second art movement was an extension of the Khartoum School, yet its founders were more oriented to Western art in terms of media usage and technique. A third movement was called the Crystalist School and was founded by Ishaq in 1974 with two of her students, Muhammad Hamid Shaddad and Nayla El Tayib. Unlike the Khartoum School, with its adherence to Islamic values and African aesthetics, the Crystalist School emerged as a philosophical movement with its own agenda. In their manifesto its founders explained their philosophy and aesthetic values. They asserted that "the

essence of the universe is like a crystal cube, transparent and changing according to the viewer's position. Within these crystal cubes human beings are prisoners of an absurd destiny. The nature of the crystal is constantly changing according to degrees of light and other physical conditions" (Hassan 1995). Embracing this philosophy, Ishaq depicted distorted female figures imprisoned in crystal cubes addressing the situation of Sudanese women as she perceived it. Nonetheless, Ishaq's work still reflects the basic style of the old Khartoum School.

In 1986, another art movement called Madrasat al-wāhid (School of the one) emerged in response to a series of oppressive regimes' censorship of artists. The movement grounded its country's modern art in the traditional milieu, which espouses Islamic, Arab, and African culture. The group, whose members were all male, issued a manifesto outlining their ideas with emphasis on "freedom as the essence of religious and moral responsibility; it is a basic demand for artist; it is a means for revival and nation building" (Ali 1997, 149–50).

In Sudan, governmental support of art is limited and artists have to create their own avenues to promote their art. Thus, female as well as male artists who graduated from the College of Fine and Applied Arts are likely to end up working in the ministry of education as art teachers or in the ministry of culture and information. Graphic designers mostly seize the opportunity to work at printing presses, newspapers, and so forth. Textile design graduates work in the textile factories, while a few of them manage to establish their own business by painting *tobes* (Sudanese women's traditional costumes). Sittana Badri, a female textile designer, among others, initiated her own business in textile design in the 1980s.

Because of oppressive regimes in Sudan, political unrest, and economic crises, many Sudanese Muslim women artists found their way in the diaspora. Today, a number of Sudanese Muslim women visual artists are teaching art in the Arab Gulf areas, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and the Oman Sultanate. Others are dispersed across Europe and the United States, positioning themselves firmly within the global discourse of visual art and using their talents to express their ideas in connection to Sudan's political, economic, and social issues. Among them is Amna Abdalla who graduated from the National College of Art, Craft, and Design in Stockholm, Sweden. Her master's degree is in textile design and weaving. She apprenticed at Bayer of West Germany and at the Blue Nile Spinning and Weaving Factory in Khartoum. Abdalla has participated in many exhibitions in Scandinavia and pro-

duced a series of television programs, educational workshops, and postgraduate curricula in Saudi Arabia and Sudan. Iman Shaggag, a painter, Um al-Khair Kambal, a graphic designer, and Baqie Muhammad, a graphic designer, live in the United States. Muhammad is the first Sudanese woman to earn a Ph.D. in folklore. She graduated from Indiana University. Her dissertation, "Manawashai Basketry: Famine, Change and Creativity," focuses on Darfuri women artists and the use of basketry as an art form that could secure their families' well-being during times of hardship. Currently, Muhammad is conducting research on "Contemporary East African Artists: Global and National Discourses in Modern and Postmodern Art in the African Diaspora." She has published many articles on folklore, material culture, and art. Her book *Al-tashkīl fī 'amal al-ibra fī mantiqat Umm Durmān* (Needlework design in the Omdurman area), is forthcoming from Khartoum University Press.

Recently, young Sudanese artists, headed by painter Teyseer Abdelgadir Salim, established a non-profit, non-political organization, the Sudanese Women Artists Association. The association's members are all women who were trained at Khartoum's College of Fine and Applied Art. Currently, the association has over 100 members. Its goals are to encourage and support women artists to increase their artistic activities and have more productive roles. It serves as a forum for dialogue between artists and the community to help develop public awareness and recognition of Sudanese art and culture. Other goals of the association are to document artwork by Sudanese women artists, organize exhibitions around the world, and offer art classes for women and children within Sudan, in addition to workshops and lectures to help preserve and document local cultures. They also seek to establish communication with associations or organizations with similar goals and exchange knowledge and experience. The group held solo and group exhibitions in Khartoum, Cairo, Riyadh, and other major cities around the world. They hosted art workshops for street children and women in the rural areas. Among active members of the group who toured the world and participated in international exhibition and workshops are: Suzan Ibrahim, Fatima Hassan, Najat Elmahi, Mai Abdalaziz Salih, Omima Hasabalsoul, Amani M. Al-Hassan, Taissir Abdal-gadir Salim, Nahla Mahdi, Naema Hussein, Fatima Ibaof, Zeinab Tigani, and Sana M. Albashir (for more information see Sudan Women Artists Association n.d.). The group focuses on women's issues by exploring the intellectual feminine side

and emphasizing its power as a dynamic force on mobilization of social life. They employ painting, sculpture, textile, graphic design, and mixed media to express their ideas and thoughts. Although they adopt the same styles employed by other art movements in Sudan, the colors they use are more vibrant and luminous.

To summarize: Islam greatly empowered Sudanese Muslim women artists to work as an active force inside and outside Sudan. Female Muslim Sudanese artists have played an important role in Sudanese social, political, and economic life. Gender relations in Sudan are complementary, situational, and dynamic. Traditional education reinforces the emergence of artistic expressions, such as needlework, with characteristics that are an outcome of Islamic and African aesthetics. Basketry was and continues to be a flourishing art genre with a variety of designs, forms, and shapes that meet the economic needs of times of hardship. Modern Muslim Sudanese artists are a rising dynamic force contributing to the modern Sudanese art movement as well as actively engaging in an international art discourse. Although the number of modern Sudanese Muslim female artists is relatively small in comparison to Sudanese male artists, their work stands as a powerful, vibrant force testifying to their talent, commitment, and ingenuity.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Abdul-Hai, *Conflict and identity. The cultural politics of contemporary Sudanese poetry. A paper*, Khartoum 1976.
- M. I. Abū Salīm, *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, Khartoum 1989.
- W. Ali, *Modern Islamic art. Development and continuity*, Gainesville, Fla. 1997.
- O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung Kingdom of Senmar; with a geographical account of the middle Nile region*, London 1951.
- J.-P. Greenlaw, *The coral buildings of Suakin*, London 1976.
- U. Ḥajj al-Zakī, Dawr wa-makānāt al-nisā' al-malakiyāt fī al-mamlaka al-Marawiyya, 750-350, paper presented at the Nile Valley Conference, African and Asian Studies Institute, University of Khartoum 1982.
- S. Hassan, The Khartoum and Addis Ababa connections. Two stories from Sudan and Ethiopia, in C. Deliss (ed.), *Seven stories about modern art in Africa*, Paris and New York 1995, 105-25
- al-Haj H. Mohammed Kheir, Women and politics in medieval Sudanese history, in S. Kenyon (ed.), *The Sudanese woman*, Khartoum 1987, 8-39.
- B. B. Muhammad, Towards new perspectives of understanding African art. Nubian art. Contextual study, paper presented on panel on Songs of Paradise. Sufi Texts from Northeast Africa, Middle East Studies Association Annual Meeting, Providence, R.I., 22 November 1996a.
- , The role of oral poetry in reshaping and constructing Sudanese history (1820-1956), in *Folklore Forum* 27 (1996b), 60-77.

- , Manawashai basketry. Famine, change and creativity, Ph.D. diss., Indiana University 2001.
- , *Al-tashkîl fî 'amal al-ibra fî mantiqat Umm Durmân*, Khartoum University Press (forthcoming).
- S. M. Nashashibi, *Forces of change. Artists of the Arab world*, Washington, D.C. 1994.
- R. O' Fahey (comp.), *Arabic literature of Africa. The writings of eastern Sudanic Africa to c.1990*, New York 1994.
- Sudan Women Artists Association, n.d., <<http://swaa.freesevers.com>>.

BAQIE BADAWI MUHAMMAD

## Turkey

Women's rights, in particular to education and to access professions, gained importance in post-Reform (Tanzimat 1839) Ottoman Turkey and accelerated during the First and Second Constitutional Eras (Meşrutiyet). The İnas Darülfünun (University for women) and the İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi (Women's school of fine arts) were both established in 1914, during the Second Constitutional Era of 1908–18.

Before then, the daughters of high income families were educated in Europe. Talented girls, not able to afford to go to Europe, were taught painting privately either by European artists who were visiting Turkey or by Ottoman artists educated in Europe. Thus, women artists of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Turkey were the intellectual daughters of families educated in Europe, knowledgeable in European languages, and acquainted with European as well as Islamic and Turkish culture.

The first women painters, working in European schools, were Mihri Müşfik (born Mihri Rasim, 1886–1954), who was trained by Fausto Zonaro, educated in Italy and France in private studios and art schools, and lived in the United States, and Nuriye hanım, by whom there are a few sketches and cartoons kept in Paris. Naciye Tevfik Biren (1876–1960), Celile (Uğuraldım, 1883–1956), mother of Nazım Hikmet, the famous Turkish poet, Vildan Gizer (1889–1974), Müfide Kadri (1889–1911) (all of whom were trained by Halil Paşa upon Osman Hamdi's advice), Meliha Zafer Yenerden (1896–1979), and Emine Fuat Tugay (1897–1979), educated in Switzerland, constitute the following group.

The first studio teacher and director of the İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi, who began the training of 40 students, was Mihri Müşfik. Following a curriculum similar to that of the Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi (School of Fine Arts, established in 1883 under the administration of Osman Hamdi), students studied portrait and nude torso in the

studios in the mornings, and attended theoretical lectures in the afternoons at the university. During the summer, the students carried out studies in the open air, sometimes in Gülhane Park and Üsküdar, attended by Hoca Ali Rıza, sometimes at Topkapı Palace and Galata Bridge, attended by Mihri hanım, with special permits and under the protection of the police. During the administration of Mihri hanım, nude models from women's public baths and the streets began to be used. The issue of nude male models was resolved by using the statues and torsos in the Archeological Museum. Mihri hanım avoided any objections, saying that the statues were covered in bath towels while being depicted. But the students also used old men as models, in clothes, as much as possible. There was also a sculpture studio in the school headed by İhsan Özsoy, which was open to all. In 1925, following the establishment of the Republic, this school merged with the Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi (today Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University), to which only male students had been admitted. The merger established the school as a co-educational institution.

Among the first students of İnas Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi were Zehra Müfit (?–1955), Handan Rüştü, Hasibe hanım, Harika Lifij Sirel (1890–1991), Belkıs Mustafa (1896–1925), Melek Ziya (Melek Celal Sofu 1896–1976), Müzdan Arel (1897–1986), Güzin Duran (1898–1981), Fatma Nazlı Ecevit (1900–85, Bülent Ecevit's mother), Nazire Osman, Fahrnelisa Zeid (1901–91), Melahat Savut (1902–73), Sabiha Bozcalı (1903–98), Hale Asaf (1905–38), Maide Esat Hanım (Maide Arel 1907–97), and Saime Belir (1908–90s?). Aliye Berger (1903–974), Afife Ecevit (1908–90), Bedia Güleriyüz (1908–91), Semiha Berksoy (1910–2004, also an opera artist), were from the same generation but were not educated in the Sanayi-i Nefise.

These women artists depicted interior scenes, still-life, and landscape, generally using romantic and impressionist approaches. From the late 1920s to the mid-1940s, they concentrated on the Anatolian landscape and its social life. Later they painted the same themes adopting Cubism and Constructivism, and after the 1950s, displayed various tendencies toward abstract art, in line with the artistic approaches of the era. Semiha Berksoy is distinguished from the others by her interesting personality, understanding of painting, and performances.

Parallel to the increasing number of women artists during the Republican period, the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican Peoples Party), within the framework of its "Yurt Gezileri" (Homeland Excursions) project, sent Sabiha Bozcalı to Zonguldak,

Melihat Ekinci (1913-?) to Aydın, and Refia Erden (1913-?) to Ordu. The perception of the earlier women artists, who had stayed at home and painted flower arrangements and portraits, was changing with the Republic. The young woman artist of the Republic went out to Anatolia and various cities to capture and visualize the revolutions and utilize the rights she had gained, thus transforming the image of the elegant woman, painting flowers only, into a strong woman depicting sights from factories and the vast natural environment of her motherland.

The project of the Second Constitution was realized, actually and symbolically, in the first 20 to 30 years of the Republic. Being “*au courant*” was understood as working to create a liberal, democratic Western society model, in which the image of a new woman emerged, represented by a strong woman, doing everything a man could do, hard-working, effective, and at the same time an artist, symbolizing the modernization of Turkey.

The painting/applied art department of the Gazi Education Institute (today Gazi University) was established in 1930 to educate teachers for the arts who would spread the ideals of the Republic. This meant educating women teachers as well as men. From the 1930s, departments of painting/artwork were started in the institutes of education in various cities. Another important educational facility, established in Istanbul, based on the Bauhaus model, is the Tatbiki Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi (Academy of Applied Arts, today Marmara University Faculty of Fine Arts). Since 1982, the increasing number of faculties of fine arts, faculties of education, and professional educational faculties, in parallel to the formation of higher educational institutions, has enabled the education of many women artists. The women graduating from these schools have also succeeded in becoming instructors and teachers in the universities. Also, the state fine art galleries, as well as private galleries, foundations, and associations have established courses for painting, sculpture, and original prints. These have enabled many women to develop their talents following private courses in their own studios. Many young girls continue to be educated abroad.

Among this next generation are Fûrûmet Tektaş (1912-61), Naciye İzbul (1912-2000), Eren Eyüboğlu (1913-88), Emel Korutürk (b. 1915, wife of the 7th President Fahri Korutürk), Şükriye Dikmen (1918-2000), Melahat Üren (1918-69), Melahat Ekinci, Refia Erden, Leyla Gamsız (b. 1921), Kristin Saleri (b. 1922), Tiraje Dikmen (b. 1925), Seniye Fenmen (1918-97), Naile Akıncı (b. 1923), Nevide Gökaydın (b. 1923), Müşerref Rasim Köktürk (b. 1928), Leman Tantuğ (1926-2005),

Suna Solakoğlu (b. 1927), Sühendan H. Fırat (1929-2000), Mürşide İçmeli (b. 1930), and Gençay Kasapçı (b. 1932). Artists of the Republic, like Nevin Çokay (b. 1930), Zahide Özar, Nermin Pura (b. 1923), Bedia Taran (1920-95), and Ivon Karsan have produced works visualizing the urban and rural lives of the Republic, as well as depicting still-life and landscapes.

A younger generation of artists, whose birth, education, or training occurred after the Second World War, includes Kâinat Barkan Pajonk, Tomur Atagök, Neşe Erdok, Nur Koçak, Can Göknil, Gülsün Karamustafa, Ayşe Erkmen, Nevbahar Aksoy, Neveser Aksoy, Nedret Sekban, Şükran Aziz, Nevin Çokay, Jale Necdet Erzen, Gül Derman, İpek Aksügür Düben, Hale Arpacıoğlu, Canan Tolon, İnci Eviner, Seza Paker, Hale Tenger, Türkan Erdem, Bahar Kocaman, Müşerref Zeytinioğlu, and Selma Gürbüz. Artists born after 1960 include Aydan Mürtezaoğlu, Arzu Başaran, Şükran Moral, Gonca Sezer, Arzu Çakır, Esra Ersen, Sefa Sağlam, Ebru Özseçen, Leyla Gediz, Neriman Polat, Mukadder Şimşek, Fatma Binnaz Akıman, Elif Çelebi, Gülsen Bal, and Mürvet Türkyılmaz. These artists attract attention by their work in local events, especially the Istanbul Biennial Festival, and by their participation in international exhibitions. Most of these women are producing works of art involving concepts and problems of gender; sexuality; personal, political and cultural identity; migration; and otherness. They use photography, video, performance, digital media, installation, and also conventional art methods.

The first modern Turkish women sculptor is Sabiha Bengütaş (b. 1910). Her Atatürk statue, carved in stone, located in the gardens of the presidential residence in Ankara is a large application on a monumental scale. Nermin Faruki (1914-?), educated in Germany, was her follower. Lerzan Bengisu (1906-79) was directed to sculpture while being educated in a different field. Among the female students of German sculptor Rudolf Belling, who was appointed to direct the Istanbul State Fine Arts Academy's Department of Sculpture, Mari Gerekmeyan (1915-47), Günseli Aru (1918-77), Mari Ertogan, Zerrin Bölükbaşı (b. 1922), Ayperi Balkan (b. 1928), and Türkân Tangör (b. 1933) are well known.

Among the students of Ali Hadi Bara and Zühtü Müritoğlu, who directed the sculpture studios, and named as first-generation artists of the Republic, are Semahat Acuner (b. 1927), Işıl Küçük (b. 1942), Füsün Onur (b. 1937), and Aytül Kipkurt (b. 1937).

In the following years, the number of women artists increased, among them Servet Büyükbacı

(b. 1934), Seyhun Topuz (b. 1942), Meriç Hızal (b. 1943), Tülay Baytuğ (b. 1944), Sevinç Arman (b. 1945), Ayaç Katı (b. 1949), Berika İpekbayrak (b. 1950), and Handan Börüteçene (b. 1957). These artists have been oriented toward public spaces, using ready-made materials and conventional sculpture techniques. On the other hand, artists such as Seniye Fenmen, Ruzin Gerçin (b. 1929), Füreya Koral (1910–97), Melike Kurtiç Abasıyanık (b. 1930), Candeğer Fürtun (b. 1936), Alev Ebüzziya Siesbye (b. 1938), Ferhan Erder (b. 1939), Azade Köker (b. 1949), and Şeyma Reisoğlu Nalça (b. 1959) have used clay as a craft material while working on sculpture and wall applications as well. Women artists have mostly stayed away from monuments and have instead produced statues, environmental sculptures, and large-scale open-air sculptures.

The Maya Art gallery, established by Adelet Cimcoz in 1950, as well as being her property, was an art institute for a generation, but was closed in 2002 because of financial difficulties. Today in Turkey there are many galleries, museums, and art institutes directed by women. Women have been taught art history since the 1950s, and from the 1970s there has been an increasing number of women curators as well as more articles by women art critics in newspapers and magazines.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Aksel, Memleket resimleri, in *Ülkü* 13:1 (April 1942), 10–14.
- Y. Arat, Türkiye’de modernleşme projesi ve kadınlar, in S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (eds.), *Türkiye’de modernleşme ve ulusal kimlik*, Bekşiktaş, İstanbul 1998, 82–98.
- C. Beykal, Yeni kadın ve inas sanayi-i nefise mektebi, in *Yeni Boyut* (October 1983), 6–13.
- S. Germaner and Z. İnankur, *Oryantalizm ve Türkiye/Orientalism and Turkey*, İstanbul 1989.
- H. Gezer, *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türk heykeli*, Ankara 1984.
- D. Kandiyoti, Modernin cinsiyeti. Türk modernleşmesi araştırmalarında eksik boyutlar, S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (eds.), *Türkiye’de modernleşme ve ulusal kimlik*, İstanbul 2005, 99–117.
- B. Madra, *Adsız kadınlar. Çağdaş Türk resminde kadın üstüne yorumlar*, İstanbul 1988.
- T. Toros, *İlk kadın ressamlarımız/The first lady artists of Turkey*, İstanbul 1988.
- Z. Yasa Yaman, İnas sanayi-i nefise mekteb-i âlisi, in *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, iv, İstanbul 1994, 170–1.
- , Türk resminde kadının değişen imgesi, in A. Erkanal (ed.), *İn memoriam İ. Metin Akyurt. Bahattin devam anı kitabı*, İstanbul 1995, 411–20.
- , Yurt gezileri ve sergileri ya da “mektepten memlekete dönüş,” in *Toplumbilim* 4 (1996), 35–52.
- , Cumhuriyet dönemi Türk resmi (1923–1938) üzerine düşünceler, in *Arredamento Mimarlık* 10 (1998), 68–74.
- , The theme “peasant/farmers” in Turkish painting, in *Art turc/Turkish art. 10.e Congrès international d’art turc*, Geneva 1999, 751–6.

—, “Cumhuriyet” in ideolojik anlamı olarak anıt ve heykel (1923–1950), in *Sanat Dünyamız* 82 (2002), 155–71.

—, The existence of the other. Every painting tells a story/Transformation of the image of woman in modern Turkish art, in B. Akkoyunlu (ed.), *Women, painting, stories*, Pera Museum Publication 9, İstanbul, January 2006, 8–85.

ZEYNEP YASA YAMAN

#### West Africa

Relatively little systematic scholarly work has been done on African women *qua* artists in the contemporary global art community; less still on the role of religion in their work and lives. The experiences of women artists in Islamic cultures of Sub-Saharan Africa are by no means homogeneous – indeed, it is their very breadth that “assist[s] us in the process of shaping and comprehending the new discourse being created, without essentializing the work” (Hassan 1997, 3).

In the Sub-Saharan regions of West Africa where Islam has the greatest presence – in religious as well as daily practice – the visual arts would seem to remain largely the domain of men – or, at least, those that scholars have taken as their subject. In a global art market where Western men have traditionally dominated fields of visual production, “women of African descent suffer double jeopardy as the ‘marginalized other’ when shared elements of gender and race are juxtaposed and foregrounded” (Hassan 1997, 1). Aronson (1984) provides a review of literature focusing on “traditional” African women artists, noting that contemporary artists working in more global markets merit further attention. Although this has been slow to come, several West African artists have established notable profiles, and their experiences illustrate varied obstacles and opportunities women artists in this region face.

Oumou Sy (b. 1951), an internationally-known Senegalese fashion designer based in Dakar, Senegal, acknowledges the impact of patriarchal mores on her education. Raised in both the northern Fouta region and in the Casamance, her mother’s region of origin, Sy traces the beginning of her fashion career to age five, when her father died. She recognized that she would be responsible for her own livelihood, but in keeping with his wishes, forwent formal education and instead attended Qur’anic school to learn Islamic scripture. As a child she began by making clothes for her dolls, and then opened her first workshop at age thirteen, making clothes for friends and acquaintances.

Today, Sy is a formidable figure in the cultural community of Senegal's capital city, Dakar, as well as in West Africa and worldwide. She designs couture and *prêt à porter* collections, costumes for cinema and theater, and more. In her often flamboyant ensembles, she employs diverse materials, ranging from those associated with local indigenous knowledge such as amulets, cowrie shells, and raffia to those evoking the information age, such as CD-ROMs. Having conducted many training workshops abroad as well as teaching at the École des beaux arts in Dakar, Sy has made a significant contribution to her profession as a teacher, most notably through the Leydi workshops, forums in which she trains young fashion designers in both modern and traditional techniques. In the studio and through public forums, Sy provides career opportunities for emerging designers. Although she honored her father's desire that his daughter not pursue a formal education, a position held by many men in this predominantly Muslim region, Sy forged a career that has afforded her seemingly limitless opportunities, which she has parlayed into educational and professional opportunities for many young designers while also advancing her own stature and creative development.

Artists may learn their skills in informal workshops, such as those organized by Sy, as well as in the academy, attending more formal institutions in Africa and Europe or, less frequently, in other parts of the world. Most major African cities have university-level fine arts programs offered through national institutions and/or those sponsored by international non-governmental organizations. In Francophone Africa, for example, the colonial administration established fine arts schools as part of France's aggressive cultural assimilation policies. Following 1960s independence movements, these schools were appropriated by the new governments, which considered them instrumental in forging nascent national identities. Several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, then, have well-established art schools that date to the mid-twentieth century, and have produced many artists practicing today.

In Senegal, the well-known artist Germaine Anta Gaye (b. 1953) was trained at the École nationale supérieure d'éducation artistique (ENSEA). Exhibited widely in Dakar and elsewhere, Gaye's work is shown in galleries and exhibitions, including the Dakar Biennial of Contemporary African Arts, arguably the premier forum for contemporary African arts. Gaye is best known for her *souwere* paintings (from the French *sous verre*, under glass). This technique has its origins in the Islamic world, though today is frequently associated with Sen-

egal due to its continuing widespread popularity and practice there. Using this method, also called reverse-glass painting, the artist applies paint to the back of the supporting surface instead of the front, as one would if using canvas, so that the visible surface is smooth.

Gaye is one of the most successful academy trained artists working in *souwere* today. Born into a wealthy Muslim intellectual family in Saint Louis, Senegal, as a child she was encouraged in her formal education and also to pursue her interest in the arts, though the latter was considered a leisure activity rather than a potential vocation. As a student at ENSEA, she chose a thesis topic exploring the history of *signares*, a group of local women on Gorée Island and in Saint Louis, who married or had sexual relationships with early European traders in the fifteenth century. Through these relationships, they built extensive trade networks and personal wealth, and were very powerful in their communities. *Souwere* portraits constitute an important body of documentation of *signare* history, and Gaye came to *souwere* practice through this historical research (Harney 2004). To supplement her academic training, Gaye worked with accomplished master glass painters in Dakar – all men – who normally pass the skill on to their sons or other male apprentices. As she developed her skills with the medium, she departed from the rigid, frontal figurative tradition usually seen in *souwere* portraits, and etched the glass surface to achieve a more layered effect. She has continued to experiment by incorporating other materials such as textiles, different types of paint, tape, and gold leaf, drawn by the often unpredictable outcomes of the interacting elements. Though she began to work within the medium's figurative convention, today her work is largely non-figurative, drawing on the immediate environment as themes – for example, her glass paintings are often embedded in a piece of furniture, such as a glass-windowed cabinet or tabletop, a practice in turn appropriated by more traditional studios. As a woman and an academic, Gaye elides boundaries inherent in *souwere* practice, which may account in part both for her departure from rather rigid stylistic conventions and static compositions associated with the medium as well as for her success. In addition, her work is more often offered through art galleries rather than the local markets, where one finds *souweres* made for the tourist trade.

Like Gaye, an artist may use well-established techniques, but diverge from gender roles. Alternatively, she may conform to traditional gender roles of media use, but employ innovative techniques (Mack 2000, 215). Seyni Awa Camara, who lives



and works in the Casamance region in southern Senegal, works with clay, a material associated with women's creative production throughout many parts of Africa. Women potters are generally recognized for pots created for use in cooking, storing water, and other household purposes. However, it is Camara's figurative sculpture that has been exhibited internationally following her "discovery" by Italian collector Jean Pigozzi and subsequent exhibition in the landmark 1989 Paris exhibition *Magiciens de la terre*. Camara's figurative sculptures give form to stories, events, and emotions coming from life, dreams, or fantasy; they are more or less anthropomorphic, with features distorted in response to human indifference to the ancestors. She creates sculptures in a broad range of sizes: some stand less than twelve inches high; others tower at eight feet, all populating her home and representing the world as she sees it. It is notable that Camara's international renown hinges largely on the European, male dominated gaze that privileges sculpture as "art" in the global field of visual production.

Though current scholarship has not documented the degree to which Gaye, Camara, or Sy faced opposition, based on her work with women artists in Nigeria where a double standard in valorizing professional work predominates, Nkiru Nzegwu argues that women who diverge from convention with respect to medium or content encounter an "adversarial relationship with a section of the populace who harbor outmoded ideas about the gender capabilities of women and men" (1998, 106). For example, Ndidi Onyemaechi Dike, by opting for a career as a sculptor, rejected the limited options available to women who want to establish career as artists. In so doing, "Dike adopted a self-empowering language that discursively dispels the normativity" of the Nigerian middle-class gender codes of domesticity shaped by Islam and Christianity (*ibid.*, 110).

Regardless of religious affiliation, women artists throughout West Africa cite common obstacles related to societal conceptions of domesticity as fundamental to women's roles. Even where one finds infrastructures that permit women to realize artistic careers in theory, in practice achieving that reality may prove elusive, as women continue to face opposition from family or society at large. Two Cameroonian artists, Ginette Daleu (painter) and Justine Gaga (graphic artist) both faced opposition from their families when they opted to pursue careers as artists. Gaga (2006) emphasizes the gravity of familial rejection, which "means something different in Africa" where individualism is

neither prized nor praised as in American society. When Daleu chose to attend art school, she faced not only categorical rejection by family, but also gender-based debasement and sexual harassment from male students and professors. Daleu notes her dismay at her family's rejection, but she found the school's systematic opposition more disturbing because, although permitted entrance, it seems that the educational establishment had institutionalized the larger society's objection to women's professionalization in the arts.

Similarly, Nzegwu (2002) notes that, even after Dike had received wide acclaim as a sculptor, she suffered scathing critique from fellow male artists. This may perhaps be explained by the fact that, despite the opposition and rejection many women face as they pursue careers and lives as artists in traditionally male-dominated structures, the lack of distinct precedent and expectations may provide opportunities unavailable to men, who may be constrained by cultural or professional norms in a way women are not.

The artists highlighted here, when faced with opposition within their immediate circles, established legitimacy and opportunities within alternative, broader frameworks. Whether through spiritual conviction, dislocation, or sheer force of will, these women circumscribe spaces that allow for innovation and possibility to maintain their identities as women, and artists, in their own right.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- G. Daleu, interview with the author, Dakar, Senegal, 2006.  
J. Gaga, interview with the author, Dakar, Senegal, 2006.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- L. Aronson, African women in the visual arts, in *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 16:3 (1984), 550-74.  
E. Harney, *In Senghor's shadow. Art, politics and the avant-garde in Senegal, 1960-1995*, Durham, N.C. 2004.  
S. Hassan, *Gendered visions. The art of contemporary African women artists*, Trenton, N.J. 1997. [Exhibition catalogue.]  
J. Mack (ed.), *Africa. Arts and cultures*, Oxford 2000.  
N. Nzegwu, Subverting the power of masculinity, in N. Nkiru (ed.) *Issues in contemporary African art*, Binghamton, N.Y. 1998, 105-34.  
M. Odeyè-Finzi, *Solitude d'argile*, Paris 2004.  
O. Sy, My way, in C. Schöpf and G. Stocker (eds.), *Unplugged. Art as the scene of global conflicts*, Linz, Austria 2002, <[http://linztermine.aec.at/en/archives/festival\\_archive/festival\\_catalogs/festival\\_catalog.asp?iProjectID=9576](http://linztermine.aec.at/en/archives/festival_archive/festival_catalogs/festival_catalog.asp?iProjectID=9576)>.  
C. Uwatse, Chinwe Uwatse evaluates the Nigerian art scene, in *Ijele Arte Journal of the African World* 1:2 (2000), <<http://www.ijele.com/vol1.2/ikwuemesi.html>>. [Interview with K. Ikwuemesi.]

## EXHIBITS

*Gendered visions*, Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art,  
Ithaca, N.Y. 1997.

*Holding unto own space. Eight African women artists*,  
Savannah Gallery, London 1993.

KINSEY KATCHKA

# Arts: Women Journalists and Women's Press

## Central Arab States

A discussion of women's access to the media requires an understanding of the environment in which journalists are forced to work. Given that many developing countries, including those in the Arab world, face strife and economic upheaval, women's media presence often takes a back seat to men's priorities. According to Crosette (2002), "the result is often a surfeit of male-dominated, straight-forward event-driven news or superficial political reporting that avoids or brushes aside social and economic issues important to women and their families." Arab women in the media face a number of additional common obstacles: the proverbial glass ceiling; economic hardships; a lack of positive role models and mentors; censorship in various forms; and a lack of access to accurate information.

The proverbial glass ceiling continues to permeate the media landscape, with obstacles ranging from patronizing employers and colleagues to limited opportunities for upgrading Arab women's skills. Women in the Arab media either work hard to earn their stripes and make a name for themselves, while not quite reaching the top of the corporate ladder, or they claw their way to the top and wrench a piece of the action, but at a very high price. Newspapers and magazines are full of names of women reporters and correspondents or editors, but few are editors-in-chief or publishers. One exception, however, is Egypt, where women occupy countless key positions in the mostly state-run broadcast and print media as well as in the ministry of information (Abou Zeid 2005).

Accurate statistics regarding women's participation in the media are unfortunately hard to obtain. Finding large numbers of women covering "serious" topics such as politics, business, and sports is more the exception than the rule. Risking life and limb in war coverage is acceptable, but women pursuing careers as foreign correspondents do not always receive the accolades of male counterparts. Although women journalists may get stories and report them with more insight in instances where men have been barred by tradition or local restrictions (for example Tania Mehanna), being a female Arab journalist operating in a traditional society has drawbacks. She is treated as a *hurma*, a derogatory Arabic term for a woman, and can be marginalized,

ignored, and asked why she is unaccompanied by a *muharram* (male chaperone) (Moukalled 2005).

Additionally, women "experts" are not interviewed on television talk shows or in print media as frequently as men. Women's stories receive scant attention compared to men's successes in the corporate world – a reflection of their relatively small number. One is more likely to come across women journalists' contributions in women's segments in newspapers and magazines and in broadcast media.

Economic obstacles add to the difficulties Arab women face when trying to succeed in the media environment. Fierce market competition means women in the media often juggle several jobs to make ends meet. In a region where conflict of interest is a non-issue, it is not unusual to find a woman journalist working in a government job and freelancing for private media that cover that same government. At the same time, it is not uncommon for female journalists to get paid for stories by the people they cover in the form of cash, gifts, and benefits.

Professional training beyond university studies also falls victim to tight budgets and employers' whims. Unless news organizations have training centers, women journalists often pay for courses themselves or rely on workshop sponsors to upgrade their skills.

Slashed budgets and lower circulation figures for newspapers have also hampered investigative reporting that requires extended research, and the situation is even worse for more costly broadcast media. Female reporters may have to cover several beats, and economic realities often mean news organizations operate with skeletal staffs and journalists go without salary raises for years. Employers are more concerned with survival than improvement of quality. Since mostly state-controlled media are not market oriented, vast amounts are spent, or misappropriated, on facilities, personnel, and projects, thus yielding poor results. Moreover, there is usually a disconnect between the needs of women journalists and the caprices of top officials.

Positive role models and mentors are in short supply because women, already threatened by male counterparts, do not always feel compelled to reach out and help up-and-coming journalists of their gender. This leads to power-illiterate women who fear being shut out of the loop (Dabbous-Sensenig

2005). “In the era of masses, women are caught between two extremities, capitalist patriarchy and patriarchal fundamentalism,” with both ideologies making a cult of the female body (Abou El Naga 2004).

Few veiled women, for example, appear in Arab broadcast media. Women on channels like Lebanon’s Hizballah-run al-Manar and the occasional presenters or news anchors such as Khadija bin Qinna of al-Jazeera TV, appear on air with a head cover. Bin Qinna was for years “uncovered.” When asked whether the veiled presenter’s appearance was a hindrance, al-Jazeera’s editor-in-chief, Ahmad el-Sheikh, responded, “We opted to let her wear the veil on air rather than lose a good journalist” (el-Sheikh 2004).

The flip side is the challenge faced by veiled Egyptian television broadcasters barred from appearing covered on air. They have sued the country’s television authorities over the ban. Egyptian officials faced jail and fines because of it. Some conceded to letting anchors/presenters appear for no more than ten minutes in non-news shows. Most of the women were given the choice of accepting the ban or seeking jobs elsewhere. The case was to have been decided on 28 December 2005 (al-Sharqawi 2005).

Such matters have political implications, given Egypt’s struggle between Islamist forces and the government, as well as mushrooming “religious” outlets calling for freedom of expression (Khairy 2005). “Freedom is at the core of the profession of journalism,” says Mahasen al-Emam, director of Jordan’s Arab Women Media Center. “When we speak of press freedom, we’re not just talking of a professional issue or a privilege. What counts is citizens’ right to obtain true, objective and impartial media service” (Abu-Fadil 2002).

Arab women face a number of additional obstacles relating to censorship: stifling media laws that often bar the publishing (print and online) or the broadcasting of content not in compliance with set government rules; unclear guidelines regarding the publishing or broadcasting of unsavory content; uneven implementation of laws that are on the books; penalties ranging from fines to harsh physical punishment for perceived wrongdoing; the blocking of websites with perceived harmful content; and censorship of, delay in distribution, or blacking out of foreign publications with perceived “harmful” content. Self-censorship in the Arab world is also a common practice, and the 24-hour news cycle and competition from countless satellite channels offering all kinds of programming have also cramped women journalists’ style.

Lack of accuracy, balance, and fairness still plague Arab media. Functionally illiterate journalists who lack the computer skills needed to write, edit, or use the Internet and databases for research are plentiful. But positive elements exist. The web is an invaluable resource, medium, and tool for research and communication in an increasingly globalized world. For example, blogs have come of age as a source of news.

The information technology revolution is also producing cataclysmic psychological changes in Arab self-perception, with the web serving women as a powerful complement to traditional media (Mernissi 2004). Despite censorship or site bans in some countries, there are ways of circumventing them through mirror sites, short message services, text messages, and so on. Dr. Sonia Dabbous, assistant editor of Egypt’s *Akbbar El Yom* newspaper, believes technology and globalization offer women special opportunities: “There is power where women, news and the Internet come together.” (Dabbous 2002)

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Abou El Naga, Arab women and the new media. Empowerment or disempowerment?, in *Transnational Broadcasting Studies Journal* 13 (Fall 2004), <<http://www.tbsjournal.com>>.
- M. Abou Zeid, al-‘Alim al-miṣrī fi qabḍa al-nisā’, in *al-Sharq al-Awsat* 18 December 2005, <<http://www.asharqalawsat.com/details.asp?section=37&issue=9882&article=338919>>.
- M. Abu-Fadil, Arab women journalists slam Palestine/Iraq sieges, urge skills upgrade, Institute for Professional Journalists, Outreach, November 2002, <[http://ipj.lau.edu.lb/outreach/2002/10\\_onlinej/jordano1.php](http://ipj.lau.edu.lb/outreach/2002/10_onlinej/jordano1.php)>.
- B. Crosette, Access, employment and decision-making, paper presented at the Conference on Participation and Access of Women to the Media and The Impact of the Media on and Its Use as an Instrument for the Advancement and Empowerment of Women, United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, Beirut, 12–15 November 2002.
- S. Dabbous, comments made about a case study of women in the media in Egypt during the Second Annual Conference of Arab Women in the media organized by the Arab Women Media Center in Amman, October 2002.
- D. Dabbous-Sensenig, address to forum on the Role of Higher Education in the Empowerment and Achievements of Arab Women, Dubai, 3 December 2005.
- Institute of Professional Journalists, Tania Mehanna – woman war correspondent, <<http://ipj.lau.edu.lb/events/20031107/tm.php>>.
- A. Khairy, Religion for God, satellite channels for all, al-Hayat, 5 December 2005, <<http://www.daralhayat.com/culture/media/12-2005/Item-20051209-10cd8d21-coa8-10ed-0041-2f4b2a5b2f7/story.html>>.
- F. Mernissi, The satellite, the prince and Scheherazade. The rise of women as communicators in digital Islam, in *Transnational Broadcasting Studies Journal*, 12 (Spring–Summer 2004), <<http://www.tbsjournal.com/archives/spring04/mernissi.htm>>.

- D. Moukalled, al-Ṣaḥāfiyyāt fī qafaṣ al-ḥarīm!, in *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 18 June 2005, <<http://www.asharqalawsat.com/leader.asp?section=3&article=306302&issue=9699>>.
- M. al-Sharqawi, Veiled presenters await ruling “punishing every official” barring their appearance, in *al-Hayat*, 10 December 2005, [http://daralhata.com/culturetv/12-2005\\_1208-obbo71c8-coa8-10ed-0041-2f4b96of390c/story.html](http://daralhata.com/culturetv/12-2005_1208-obbo71c8-coa8-10ed-0041-2f4b96of390c/story.html).
- A. el-Sheikh, comments to author during a visit to al-Jazeera TV, Qatar, December 2004.

MAGDA ABU-FADIL

## The Gulf

This entry covers the work and status of women journalists in the six Gulf Co-operation Council (GCC) countries – Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) – and Yemen.

Women's journalism in the Gulf has been subject to structural changes since the 1960s, as individual states launched their own radio and television stations and later exploited satellite broadcasting and the Internet. In general these changes have seen a rising profile for women journalists, often with establishment support. However, as with any media-related development, women's journalism reflects tensions and adjustments in wider society. While their output is clearly important as a potential source of influence on readers and viewers, it must be recognized that most mass media in the region require government backing in order to circulate. Thus officially sanctioned visibility of women media professionals does not always entitle them to write or say what they want.

Women's entry into media professions has been affected by local custom. In Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the UAE, traditional resistance to women being exposed to public gaze limited the numbers going into television, regardless of government encouragement. In others, especially Kuwait and Yemen, attitudes to women in public roles polarized over time. Early opportunities came with the growth of Gulf newspaper publishing. For example, the owner of Qatar's weekly *al-Uruba*, launched in 1964, groomed his daughter to join the paper by putting her through Cairo University, where she became the first Qatari woman to graduate with a degree in mass communication. Of the Qatari women who took up jobs in radio and television in the 1970s, some were still there decades later, mostly as presenters of family and children's programming. But a lack of response to Qatar TV's constant advertising for female staff kept the numbers small. In publishing, new Qatari titles such as

the monthly *Al-Jawhara*, which started in 1977, were aimed at women readers and attracted women writers. Again, however, the latter were sometimes reticent about their identity, using pseudonyms to avoid exposure for their families.

Despite similar taboos in Kuwait, several women there gained prominent media positions and a women's press developed. This gained ground in the 1980s with the Islamist monthly *Manbar al-taliba* (Female student's forum) and later included both the Islamist *Nisā'* (Women) and the liberal *Samra*, edited by Fatma al-Hussein, an activist and television presenter who had burned her face veil in the schoolyard in 1953. *Samra*, started in 1991, tackled issues such as domestic violence for the first time. Like Hussein, Hidaya Sultan al-Salem, a relative of the Kuwaiti ruling family, started her career in the 1960s. Formally educated only to the age of 15, she went on to interview Arab heads of state and in 1970 bought a Lebanese weekly, *al-Majālis* (Gatherings), becoming its editor-in-chief. In March 2001 she was assassinated, apparently by a policeman, in a busy Kuwaiti street. The unexplained attack appeared to reflect increasing tensions between liberal and tribal forces in Kuwait.

In the 1990s, Gulf-owned satellite channels proliferated, increasing the visibility of women but also exposing the persistence of political constraints on journalism generally. In 1996–8, Hala Omran, a Bahraini woman, headed the Middle East Broadcasting Centre (MBC), allied to Saudi Arabia's late King Fahd. With the only commercial FM radio licence inside Saudi Arabia, MBC was on hand to back reformists in the ruling family who manoeuvred to improve Saudi women's status. When MBC launched a news channel, al-*Arabiyya*, from Dubai in 2003, its intake of women editorial staff was substantial. Saudi state television followed suit with al-Ikhabariyya in 2004, making a point of having female newscasters read the opening bulletins. Al-Jazeera, the Qatari-funded news channel, had meanwhile broken new ground with all-women panels discussing contemporary issues in the weekly series *Li al-nisā' faqat* (For women only), which ran from 2002 to mid-2005. Behind the screens, however, controls on politically sensitive content continued to constrain reporters, regardless of their gender. To take just one example from 2003, the Bahraini authorities prevented local female correspondents of Abu Dhabi TV and al-*Alam* from reporting political news about Bahrain.

Contesting such prohibitions requires unionization. Yet journalists' associations in Gulf countries lack the power of trade unions and some restrict their membership to the print media. Thus women's

increasing role in these bodies, including the election of two female members to the newly-formed Saudi Journalists Association's nine-member board in 2004, represented only a partial advance. The first task facing Saudi activists in 2004 was to increase women's access to media education and journalism training in the kingdom, from practically zero, and to secure job security for the large number of freelance women newspaper journalists. Elsewhere other contradictions prevailed. By 2005, Oman and Yemen both had female suffrage, women government ministers and women journalists (organized in Yemen into the Yemeni Women Journalists Forum and Women Journalists without Constraints). But continuing female illiteracy and state control of local broadcast media in both countries restricted opportunities for women journalists to deliver important local content to female audiences.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- H. al-Mughni and M. A. Tétreault, Engagement in the public sphere. Women and the press in Kuwait, in N. Sakr (ed.), *Women and media in the Middle East. Power through self-expression*, London 2004, 120–37.
- N. Sakr, Women-media interaction in the Middle East. An introductory overview, in N. Sakr (ed.), *Women and media in the Middle East. Power through self-expression*, London 2004, 1–14.
- , Women in the GCC media industry, in A. Alsharekh (ed.), *Challenging limitations. The redefinition of roles for women in the GCC*, London 2005, 69–72.
- , Women, development and Al Jazeera. A balance sheet, in M. Zayani (ed.), *The Al Jazeera phenomenon. Critical perspectives on new Arab media*, London 2005, 127–49.

NAOMI SAKR

#### Iran

Iranian women entered journalism shortly after the 1906 Constitutional Revolution and became very prominent in the profession following the 1979 Islamic Revolution, which had initially limited women's public presence.

The first Iranian women's newspaper, the weekly *Dānish* (Knowledge), was published by a woman optician, Dr. Kaḥḥāl, in 1910, to cover family matters and women's education. Low circulation in a poor, rural, and widely dispersed nation of just over 10 million, most of them illiterate, led to the paper's closure in less than a year. *Dānish* was followed by several similar papers with names such as *Shukūfza* (Blossom), or *Nāma-i bānūvān* (Ladies' Letter).

The most openly political women's journal of the era – and the first to use the word “woman” in its title – was the bimonthly *Zabān-i zanān*

(Women's tongue). The paper appeared in 1919, in the deeply religious city of Isfahan, where the publisher, Ṣadīqa Dawlat'ābādī, had already set up the city's first girls' school and an organization for women's education, *Shirkat-i khavātin-i Iṣfahān* (Isfahan women's company). In its second year, *Zabān-i zanān's* office was attacked by stone-throwers, who also fired shots at the police. Dawlat'ābādī moved the paper to Tehran, before traveling abroad in 1922. Back in Iran in 1927, she became prominent in women's education and advocated removal of the veil. She later joined in promoting Reza Shah Pahlavi's policy to end the Islamic dress code, *bijāb*.

Iran's occupation by the Allied powers and Reza Shah's abdication in favor of his son, Muhammad Reza, in 1941 allowed the publication of political papers such as *Zanān-i pīshraw* (Progressive women), *Qiyām-i zan* (Woman's uprising), and *Ḥuqūq-i Zanān* (Women's rights). The radical press was suppressed after the 1953 coup that overthrew Prime Minister Muhammad Mussadeq and restored Muhammad Reza Shah, but non-political, professional journalism survived.

The first commercial women's newspaper, the weekly *Ittilā'āt-i bānūvān* (Ladies' *Ittilā'āt-i*), was published in 1956, followed in 1964 by *Zan-i Rūz* (Woman of the day). By now, Iran had a population of 24 million, 40 percent urban. Thirty percent of the people were literate, one-third of them women. The first journalism course for women was held in 1966. The first women journalists' union, *Anjuman-i zanān-i rūznāma-nigār-i Irān* (Association of Iranian women journalists), was set up in 1971 and by the mid-1970s had 88 members.

In the first year after the 1979 Islamic Revolution, more than 500 newspapers appeared in Iran, about 30 of them published or edited by women. A few were Islamic, including *Nihzat-i zanān-i musalmān* (Muslim women's movement) and *Payām-i Hājar* (Hagar's message), named after the Prophet Abraham's wife. Most, however, were left-wing, with titles such as *Bidāri-i zan* (Woman's awakening), *Paykār-i zan* (Woman's struggle), and *Rahā'i-i zan* (Woman's emancipation). The polarization of internal politics and the 1980–8 war with Iraq led to the closure of all left-wing and secular political papers. New journals addressing women and families began to appear after the end of the war. In 1996, women were managing a total of 27 titles – including academic journals on nursing and midwifery – amounting to less than 5 percent of Iran's newspapers.

Women's journalism took off after Muhammad Khatami's presidential victory in May 1997, thanks

largely to women's and young people's votes. By the end of Mr. Khatami's second term in 2005, the number of women's publications had risen to 130, 10.6 percent of the total. The number of women in the press – estimated at 1,200, comprising nearly one quarter of Iran's journalists – had risen much faster than that of men and several times faster than the country's population in 1979.

Women increased their share of awards at the annual Press Festivals from 8.8 percent in 1995 to 14.3 percent in 2004, and worked in large numbers in computerized production areas such as typesetting, layout, and graphic design. They were represented by several trade unions, most notably the Association of Iranian Journalists and the Iranian Women Journalists' Association.

Three women's newspapers were most prominent under the Islamic Republic: *Zan-i rûz*, which was taken over by the state after the revolution; the independent monthly *Zanân* (Women), established in 1992; and the daily, *Zan* (Woman), which appeared in 1998. *Zanân* has had the greatest contributions from women, including two of Iran's most prominent lawyers: Mehrangiz Kar, who went into exile after being imprisoned in 2000, and Shirin Ebadi, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2003. *Zan*, owned by former President Rafsanjani's daughter, Faezeh Hashimi, was closed down in April 1999 for publishing parts of the exiled former Queen Farah's Iranian New Year's message and the cartoon of a man pointing to his wife and telling an armed assailant to kill her, "because her blood money is less than mine."

Many more newspapers were closed down during the confrontations between the state and the press that lasted into the early 2000s, leading to hundreds of jobs losses, many of them women's. Several women journalists were detained. One journalist, the Iranian Canadian Zahra Kazemi, died in custody in July 2003 after suffering a blow to her head. A year later, the Iranian judiciary said the death must have been accidental. Zahra Kazemi's family and her supporters said the ruling was part of a cover-up to protect a senior intelligence official.

Nonetheless, women journalists continue to be active, both in the press at large, and in the rapidly rising online media, including women's news agencies, feminist websites, and personal diaries, or weblogs.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Babrân, *Nashriyât-i vîzha-i zanân*, Tehran 2002.  
 Zh. Baniyaqub, *Ruznamahnigaran*, Tehran 1997.  
 BBC News, Canada rejects jail death theory, 29 July 2004, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle\\_east/3936021.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3936021.stm)>

- J. Bharier, *Economic development in Iran (1900–1970)*, London and New York 1971.  
 G. Cohen, *Târikh-i sânsûr dar maṭbūʿât-i Īrân*, ii, Tehran 1981.  
 M. Houshmand-Razavi, Secretary of the Association of Iranian Journalists, interviewed by the author, Tehran, 4 January 2005.  
 Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance, *Rasaneh quarterly in media studies and research*, various issues, Tehran 1990–2005.  
 —, *Sâlnâma-yi maṭbūʿât-i Īrân*, Tehran 1996.  
 M. Muḥîṭ Ṭabâṭabâʾî, *Târikh-i taḥlîl-i maṭbūʿât-i Īrân*, Tehran 1988.  
 Persianblog, Iranian weblog hosting service, <<http://www.persianblog.com>>.  
 V. Pür'ustâd, *Muḥākama-i Zan*, Tehran 2001.  
 S. F. Qâsimî, *Râbnâma-i maṭbūʿât-i Īrân 1357–1371*, Tehran 1993.  
 A. Razzazifar, *Guzârish-i nashriyât-i zanân va khânivâda*, Tehran 2002.  
 M. Šadr-i Hâšimî, *Târikh-i jarâyid va majallât-i Īrân*, iii, iv, Isfahan 1984.  
 G. H. Salehyar, *Chihrah-yi maṭbūʿât-i muʿâsir*, Tehran 1972.  
 M. Šan'atî (Dawlat'âbâdî), Šadiqah Dawlat'âbâdî. Zindigînâma, in *Nimûh-i digar* 17 (1993), 64–76.  
 P. Shaykh al-Islâmî, *Zanân-i rûznâma nigâr va andîšmand-i Īrân*, Tehran 1972.  
 "Zan" dar *Rûznâma-i zan*, Tehran 2000.

HOSSEIN SHAHIDI

#### South Africa

The South African media landscape is characterized by constitutionally protected freedom of expression, well-developed state, private, and community media, vigorous political debate, tertiary level journalism education, media monitoring mechanisms, growing audiences, and significant journalism awards and fellowships. There are no Muslim presses, though Muslim women are represented in all these sectors. Prominent Muslim women journalists include Zubeida Jaffer, Nura Tape, Nawaal Deane, Khadija Magardie, Nadia Davids and Ferial Haffajee, the editor of a leading, politically important weekly Johannesburg newspaper, the *Mail and Guardian*. Many Muslim women journalists have additional public profiles; for instance, Jaffer is a respected political activist, memoirist, and political commentator and Davids is a scholar and playwright.

In considering Muslim women, journalism, and presses in South Africa, two factors are critical: first, the character of Islam in South Africa. Islam has a long history in the country. The first Muslims arrived in the territory as slaves in 1658, and played a prominent role in the colonial era, at one point forming the majority of the population of the Cape. In the contemporary history of the country, Muslims also participated visibly in the political

struggle against Apartheid (separateness) from 1948 until the country's first democratic elections in 1994. Therefore, though today they constitute a small minority of the total population – under 2 percent – Muslims are well integrated into South Africa and, in proportion to their numbers, well represented in the media. A corollary of this is that there is no single, cohesive Muslim community in the country – issues of “race,” class, and region affect the experience of Islam in South Africa.

Second, the history of racial division that characterized the media under the political system of Apartheid is evident in the media in skewed ownership, thematic interests, and audience profiles. The impact of the political transition to a democracy in 1994 was also seen in the media, which started to undergo its own transformation of ownership, focus, and audience in the 1990s. Progress has been fitful and uneven, but nonetheless significant. In Cape Town, where a significant proportion of South Africa's Muslims live, Muslim women journalists work in the *Cape Times* and e-tv, the national television channel based in the city, and the community newspaper sections of *Independent* newspapers.

The creation in 1996 of a new category of media organizations (community media, including Muslim radio stations), intended to diversify the highly concentrated South African media landscape, was crucial to creating openings for Muslim women journalists. Such community radio stations, among them Radio 786 and the Voice of the Cape in Cape Town, and the Voice in Johannesburg, produced religious programming but also generated sophisticated discussion programs. Community radio not only employed Muslim women journalists such as Munadia Karan, the first female news editor at the Voice of the Cape radio station, but also gave them an opportunity to shape news content and agenda. The subsequent ten years of Muslim popular media resulted in substantial growth in audiences, reshaped concepts of Muslim identity, and broadened links with both non-Muslim South African media and international Muslim media. However, Muslim women are not well represented in management in any media organizations.

The new Muslim community radio stations, as well as mainstream media that employed Muslim women journalists, joined long-running Muslim newspapers, distributed largely through mosques but supported primarily by advertising, such as *Muslim Views* in Cape Town and *al-Qalam* in Durban. The female journalist Akieda Gabie-Dawood has acted as editor of *Muslim Views*. The universities are important sources of informed commentary

on Islam, though most columnists in national and regional newspapers are male, for instance, Farid Esack, Shamil Jeppie, and Naeem Jeenah. Nadia Davids's award-winning column in the *Cape Argus* was an exception.

There are no Muslim women's publishing presses in South Africa, where cultural industries still tend to be dominated by large white-owned companies and recently by some black-owned media companies. However, compelling books dealing with Muslim women's lives have nonetheless appeared. Rayda Jacobs's novel *The Slave Book* (1998) was the first historical novel to give sustained attention to the slave-holding society in colonial Cape Town from the perspective of the slaves. Another prominent Afrikaans company, Struik, has recently started Oshun books, an imprint to publish women's writing specifically. Among its publications is *At Her Feet*, the groundbreaking play about Muslim women in South Africa written by Nadia Davids.

What role do Muslim women journalists play in South Africa? Muslim women journalists are not necessarily assigned to cover topics on Islam, nor do they automatically write from predictable perspectives. Nonetheless, a human rights culture in the news in South Africa, as well as the development of an indigenous media idiom about Islam means that representations of Muslim women are relatively sensitive and complex compared to those in Britain and the United States. Growing discussion of Islam, the presence of Muslims in political parties, and the relatively well-organized Muslim civil sphere in South Africa have had an impact on changing patterns of representation of Islam. Groups like Positive Muslims, an organization that deals with HIV/AIDS education, prevention, and treatment in the Muslim community, is such an example. Nawaal Deane wrote for five years on health for the *Mail and Guardian*, specifically the climate of discussion around HIV and AIDS in South Africa, a politically important topic in the country. Muslim journalists are able to access local voices in Muslim communities, and through their own journalistic positions, to help craft local perspectives that reshape stereotypical views of Islam, for instance, Khadija Magardie and Nurene Jassiem have both written on the subject of wearing the *hijāb* from a South African perspective in the *Mail and Guardian*.

Religious programming on the state television broadcasting service, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), reflects the country's commitment to diversity, for instance, in programs such as *Awakenings*, on SABC's Channel 1, which covers



Islam and African traditional religion. A broader concept of spirituality is found in programs such as *Free Spirit* on SABC's Channel 3, which features items on Muslim women. Artists such as Malika Ndlovu have also created spiritually-inspired art which has been featured on television, radio, and other prominent South African cultural forums. The documentary films *Tales of the Tukamanies* by Akiedah Mohammed and *MamaAfrika* by We-aam Davids have appeared on South African television. New opportunities for directing documentaries and short narrative films on M-Net and e-tv, South Africa's privately owned television channels, have allowed Muslim women to produce work for broadcast. Feature film making remains very expensive and relatively inaccessible, though Zulfah Otto-Sallies's films *Raya* and *Taxi* have been shown at film festivals.

Muslim Internet publishing in South Africa tends to be small-scale and either online editions of existing print publications such as the *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, a collection of articles, essays, interviews, an important annual bibliography of scholarship on Islam and poetry published by the Centre for Contemporary Islam at the University of Cape Town, or small women's e-zines (Internet periodicals) such as *Fito*, which carries interviews and articles by Muslim women. However, the significance of the Internet as a source of new audiences means that online Muslim media in South Africa is growing.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Davids, *At her feet*, Cape Town 2006.  
 R. Jacobs, *The slave book*, Cape Town 1998.  
 Z. Jaffer, *Our generation*, Cape Town 2003.  
 L. Switzer (ed.), *South Africa's alternative press. Voices of protest and resistance, 1880s-1960s*, Cambridge 1997.

GABEBA BADERON

### Turkey\*

The media is arguably one of the most "women-friendly" sectors in Turkey. Women journalists in Turkey have continually increased in number, venues of publication, and fields of specialization, ranging between print media and broadcast journalism. But obstacles remain, as the "glass ceiling" in media management leaves women unequally represented.

Women's entry into media professions predates the Republic's foundation in 1923. Following the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, the number of women's magazines grew and a handful of women also started writing for various political and liter-

ary magazines other than women's. Halide Edip is the most prominent pioneering journalist from this period. A political activist and novelist, Edip wrote in Turkey until her exile in 1924 and continued writing thereafter. Thus, the post-1923 era is an outgrowth of this earlier period that gave rise to women's entrance into the field of journalism.

The young Republic's reforms in the 1920s and 1930s encouraged women's presence in the public space but had little effect on women's journalistic careers in the male-dominated field. Women's magazines and women journalists actually declined when compared to the post-1908 period. Grassroots feminism became increasingly subsumed under the state's emerging brand of feminism, which considered the women's movement "unnecessary" as Kemalist reforms allegedly provided women with all necessary rights. This type of discourse is exemplified in magazines such as *Kadın Yolu* published by Nezihe Muhittin, a prominent journalist and a political persona who founded the Women's Party, which later became Turkish Women's Association.

During the period 1920-40, a few women authors did manage to navigate and influence the traditionally masculine field, though their political personas complicated their journalistic careers. Women journalists in this period commonly had upper-class backgrounds through either their fathers or husbands. They were educated abroad or had elite private education. The two most prominent were Sabiha Sertel and Suat Derviş who delivered remarkably leftist critiques on social problems and the new regime for its undemocratic turn, a brave stance considering the single party regime's authoritarianism. The cost was high; both were subject to repression.

Sertel was under constant scrutiny from both the executive and judiciary because of her critiques of the regime and alleged communist propaganda. She wrote for the dailies *Cumhuriyet* and *Tan*, and magazines such as *Resimli Ay*, and was banned twice from writing, prosecuted several times, and imprisoned once. Her career in Turkey ended in 1945 when she left the country following the infamous "Tan incident" where the *Tan* printing house – partly owned by her husband – was destroyed by state operatives in collaboration with a right-wing student group.

Suat Derviş was a pioneer of the interview-reporter tradition in Turkey and a columnist for dailies such as *Son Posta* in the 1930s. As a novelist, she also led the way in publishing fiction in serial format in daily papers such as *Cumhuriyet* and *Tan* in the 1930s and 1940s. Like Sertel, Derviş's leftist politics caused her difficulty. She founded

the Association of Revolutionary Women of Turkey in 1970, for which she was prosecuted.

By 1950, the regime's repressive measures had curtailed such political stances; during the war years many women had entered the media as translators and reporters, rather than columnists or editors. This continued throughout the 1950s, moving women from home offices to news bureaus. Elite educated journalists such as Müşerref Hekimoğlu and Leyla Umar followed Derviş's lead on interview journalism, using their language skills to publish interviews while working in foreign news bureaus. A few became columnists, like Hekimoğlu, originally a reporter at *Hayat* magazine who later became a columnist at *Cumhuriyet* and *Akşam*, then a co-founder of ANKA news agency.

A new constitution in the 1960s enhanced freedom of speech and spurred a revival in the media and demand for women's magazines such as *Hayat* and *Ses*. While the majority of authors continued to be male, by the late 1960s new faces entered into the profession, carving out new genres. These women mostly wrote on gendered subjects (home, cooking, fashion), arts, travel, and the like. Zeynep Oral is one such journalist. She wrote for *Cumhuriyet*, which, since the 1970s, has housed a number of prominent women columnists such as Hekimoğlu, İpek Çalışlar, Şükran Somer, and Meral Tamer. Tamer started a tradition of women journalists writing on the economy, currently followed by Funda Özkan of *Radikal* and Serpil Yılmaz of *Milîyet*. A few women entered other male-dominated fields such as sports in the 1970s, for example Gül Sökmen of *Dünya*, a still-prevalent exception.

The 1980s was another turning point for women in journalism. Women have appeared in growing numbers in the newly emerging media towers, or "plazas," following the relocation of the media sector from Babiali where it had been hosted since the nineteenth century. Women's magazines have expanded, with a variety of viewpoints, a diversity reflected by, for example, *Kadınca* and *Pazartesi*. The feminist movement of the 1980s influenced these magazines' discourses in different ways. *Kadınca*, dating back to 1978, was instrumental in shaping a "new woman" identity: individualistic, emancipated, professional, and eager to enjoy life (Kırca 2000). Duygu Asena, *Kadınca*'s chief editor, also edited other women's and youth magazines such as *Bella* and *Kim*. Her public persona of challenging conventional norms and her controversial book *Woman Has No Name*, have helped further her career and that of others publishing in similar venues.

Within the diversification of the 1980s, Islamist women's magazines also emerged, paralleling the up-and-coming Islamist movement. *Kadın ve Aile*, *Bizim Aile*, and *Mektup* all started publishing in the second half of the 1980s, each aligning with a certain religious order and achieving considerable readership. Focusing on subjects such as motherhood, matrimony, and leading an Islamic way of life, these magazines opened venues for religiously conservative women journalists and played an important role in women's socialization in those circles regarding readership as well as authorship (Arat 1995).

In the 1990s, several feminist magazines appeared, for example *Pazartesi*, *Feminist*, *Kaktüs*, *Mavi Çorap*, *Eksik Etek*, and *Rosa*, whose distribution was limited to Istanbul, except for *Pazartesi* which was distributed nationally. They were managed and published by women independent of the media conglomerates and provided a platform for a feminist dialogue. Authors in these feminist magazines, such as Ayşe Düzkan and Gülnur Savran, usually rejected the title "journalist" to refrain from constructing a hierarchy between the author and audience (Köker 1997). Women's journals in languages besides Turkish also appeared in the 1990s, such as the Kurdish women's magazines *Feminist Roza* and *Jujin*.

Since the 1980s, both authorship and forms of media have diversified. The plethora of women's magazines has been reflected in the growing number of women journalists. In the 1990s, media conglomerates obtained rights to publish Western magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Marie Claire*. Women constitute a majority of the staff of these magazines, including the editorial board. Between 1928 (signifying the transition to Latin alphabet) and 1996, a total of 195 women's magazines appeared; most were published in Istanbul and owned by men (Davaz-Mardin 1997).

Major newspapers' weekend and women's supplements (also gendered subjects such as house-keeping and cooking) increasingly employ women including chief and managing editors such as İpek Çalışlar of *Cumhuriyet*'s weekend edition. Columnists such as Ayşe Arman of *Hürriyet*'s weekend edition and popular writers of the interview genre have also gained notoriety, publishing bold commentaries on relationships, marriage, and sexuality. The so-called "Ayşe Arman phenomenon" signifies the popularity of these younger-generation pop-journalists and the allure of their individualistic discourses on freedom and sexuality.

Columnists at major dailies have also increased and expanded their specializations, though less

so than at the weekend editions. Some prominent contemporary columnists – some of whom have penetrated into male-dominated fields such as politics – are Zeynep Atikkan and Ferai Tınç of *Hürriyet* and Nuray Mert of *Radikal*.

Although women are present in almost all media outlets in Turkey today, they are strikingly under-represented in the top managerial/editorial positions. According to Somersan (1997), there are 0.85 women managerial editors per newspaper – excluding their gendered supplements – only 17 female editors as opposed to 331 men in the leading 20 newspapers. Only a limited number of women journalists have held upper management/editorial positions. One of them is Nurcan Akad, a former managing editor of *Hürriyet*, who later became the executive editor at *Akşam*.

Within the ranks of recently burgeoning Islamist media, there are no women holding top editorial positions. Nevertheless, family and women's pages are usually managed by women in the dailies like *Zaman*, where Şirin Kabakçı manages women's and family pages. Ayşe Böhürler is another journalist who has taken editorial positions in women's and family sections of the Islamist media, also including television.

The rise of private television in the 1990s opened more space for women journalists, some working in print media and television owned by the same media conglomerate. As Kanetti (2002) argues, "the media pie has grown, but women still take a small slice which, then, gives rise to considerable competition between journalists." The space opened by new outlets only perpetuated the existing unequal pattern, as the gendered division of labor persists: men in charge of "serious" news; women restricted to "gendered" fields, proving the "gendered" state of the Turkish media (Somersan 1997).

Though their representation is low in editorial/managerial positions, there are women "bosses" in the media. Berin Nadi took ownership of *Cumhuriyet* following her husband's death; Nazlı Ilıcak owned *Tercüman*, *Dünden Bugüne Tercüman* with her former husband; and Vuslat Doğan Sabancı and Arzuhan Yanardağ are high-level executives at *Milliyet* and *Kanal D*, owned by their father's media conglomerate, Turkey's largest. There is a trend of women pursuing their fathers or husbands in their media careers and this pattern is also observed among writers in Turkish media.

#### NOTE

\* The author would like to thank Eser Köker, Suheyra Kırca, Jennifer Petzen, Joseph Shaughnessy, and Semra Somersan for their generous help.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Y. Arat, Feminism and Islam. Considerations on the journal *Kadın ve Aile*, in Ş. Tekeli (ed.), *Women in modern Turkish society. A reader*, London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1995, 66–78.
- A. Asker, *Türk basınında kadın gazeteciler*, İstanbul 1991.
- A. Baykan and Belma Ötüş-Baskett, *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk kadını*, İstanbul 1999.
- A. Bergin, *Babiali'de topuk kıpırtıları*, İstanbul 2004.
- A. Davaz-Mardin, *Hanımın aleminden roza'ya, kadın süreli yayımları bibliografya, 1928–1996*, İstanbul 1997.
- A. Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib Türk modernleşmesi ve feminizm*, İstanbul 2000.
- Y. G. Inceoğlu and Y. Korkmaz, *Gazetecilik 24 saat. Medyada kadın ve kadın gazeteciler*, İstanbul 2002.
- V. Kanetti, *Koş süreye koş, şampiyon olacağız*. İstanbul 2002.
- S. Kırca, Popularizing feminism. A comparative case study of British and Turkish women's magazines, Ph.D. diss., University of Warwick 2000.
- , A profile of Turkish women's magazines, in *Bogazici Journal* 18 (2004), 1–2.
- E. Köker, Feminist alternatif medya üzerine, in *Ankara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yıllık 1995/1996*, Ankara 1997, 23–44.
- I. Özel, 1930'ların İstanbul basınında kadın, in *Toplumsal Tarih* 31 (1996), 30–8.
- H. Özen, *Tarihsel süreç içinde kadın gazete ve dergileri (1868–1990)*, İstanbul 1994.
- S. Paker and Z. Toska, Suat dervişi'nin kimlikleri, in *Toplumsal Tarih* 39 (1997), 11–22.
- A. Saktanber, Women in the media in Turkey. The free, available woman or the good wife and selfless mother, in Ş. Tekeli (ed.), *Women in modern Turkish society*, London and Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1995, 153–71.
- S. Somersan, Erkek şoven ülkenin erkek mesleği. *Gazetecilik*, in *Radikal* 2, 11 May 1997.
- O. Tokgöz, Türkiye'de kitle iletişim, in *Ankara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yıllık 1995/1996*, Ankara 1997.

IŞIK ÖZEL

#### Western Europe

European Islam has many faces. It is practiced principally by people of Maghribi, Sub-Saharan African, Turkish, Middle Eastern, Indo-Pakistani, Malaysian, and Indonesian origin as well as by converts. The roles and the degree of involvement of Muslim individuals active in civil society and the media vary from one place to the next, changing according to the institutional settings of the country of residence and the resulting constraints or opportunities. There is no single model for the manifestation of Islam and its influence in European societies. Muslims living in France – the largest group in Europe – are struggling to establish representational structures, whatever form these might take, within the secular state. On the other hand, Great Britain's multicultural policies have facilitated the public embrace of a

new religious identity. Germany has followed yet another approach, for example granting its Alevi minority the institutional status of a public rights corporation at the regional governing level.

“Muslim media” refers to written media – including online – as well as radio and, when applicable, television programs targeted at the Muslim community. Muslim media are present in Great Britain more than in any other country in Europe. The written press, represented by the *Muslim News*, *Q-News*, *Trends*, *Crescent International*, and *Impact International*, among other publications, as well as the media committees of Muslim associations including those of the Muslim Council of Britain and the Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism have become skilled and demanding discussion partners, who apply significant pressure on the British authorities. As is the case in other countries, for example Germany’s *Islamische Zeitung*, converts play an important, and sometimes decisive, role.

#### ACCESS TO PRODUCTION AND MANAGEMENT POSITIONS

Muslim women now have access to prominent roles as heads of magazines and associations or as conference organizers. Sarah Joseph was the first woman to become editor-in-chief of a Muslim magazine in Great Britain. She converted to Islam at the age of 16 and studied religion at university on a scholarship provided by the King Faysal/Prince of Wales Chevening Foundation. After her experience at the helm of *Trends* in the second half of the 1990s, she reoriented her career toward consulting in Islamic affairs and the teaching of training courses. However, she is still a presence in the media, with appearances on televised programs such as *Panorama* and *Jonathan Dimbleby*. Other pioneers include Sara Kahn, the president of the Young Muslim Sisters, and Rehana Sadiq, who played a key role in the creation of the female branch of Young Muslims UK at the end of the 1980s, and then became an active member of the Islamic Society of Britain, a lobbying group associated with Muslim media organizations, which broadcasts on the Internet.

Since then, other young women in Great Britain have risen to production and management positions. Shagufta Yaqub was only 24 years old in 2000 when she became the editor in chief of *Q-News*, a news and analysis monthly magazine distributed mainly in Great Britain but also in some parts of the United States (especially since September 2001), as well as in Canada, South Africa, and some Middle Eastern countries. In 2004, she was

replaced by Fareena Alam, another recent university graduate. Such young women often come from families who immigrated in the 1960s and 1970s. Most of them say they have “rediscovered” faith during their adolescence or in the transition to adulthood. Their religious commitment is intellectualized and their Islamic practice is reinterpreted. Particularly telling is the case of young British women who grew up in families where the practice of Islam was not always common and who started to wear the veil as adults, sometimes after a stay in a Muslim country in the Middle East or the Maghrib. In a Western context and in a country where Islam is not the religion of the majority, the decision to wear the veil is an especially strong statement. Some of these young women explain their wearing of the veil in terms of a personal quest for spirituality, others as proof of their political engagement in a world where they consider Islam threatened, and for some, both reasons are equally relevant. Other young women active in the Muslim media came from families who were more religious and they benefited from this spiritual heritage or, more simply, from the religious values and morals passed on to them from their parents. Although these women reinvent and adapt religious practices, their personal development does not constitute a rediscovery of their faith.

The role of young women in the Muslim media in other European countries is also worth noting, despite a more recent and limited development. In France, several Internet sites were launched in the first years of the twenty-first century (for example <[www.oumma.com](http://www.oumma.com)>, <[www.saphirnet.info](http://www.saphirnet.info)>, <[www.aslim-taslam.com](http://www.aslim-taslam.com)>), and *Hawwa*, a print magazine specifically targeting young Muslim women was founded in 2000. Its staff, mostly female, are directed by Dora Mabrouk, a young woman of Maghribi heritage. In Germany, a group of Muslim women, the *Netzwerk für muslimische Frauen e. V.*, started *Huda* magazine, available online at <[www.huda.de](http://www.huda.de)>.

In each case, a personal connection to Islam has influenced Muslim women’s professional orientation. While some mention the difficulties they have faced finding a place in the mainstream media, their strong commitment to and participation in the Muslim media is the result of a personal choice closely tied to their religious activism. This choice does not prevent them from occasionally contributing to the mainstream media, particularly since 11 September 2001. These contributions are considered complementary to their involvement in the Muslim media, and at the same time, serve both pedagogical (presenting information about Islam)

and advertising purposes (by providing exposure to Muslim media).

#### FEMININITY, FEMINISM, AND ISLAM

The recent rise in influence of young Muslim women who hold an increasingly large number of management positions and have, as a result, emerged on the public scene has numerous implications in the realm of social relations between the sexes. A sort of "Islamist feminism" was born in the 1980s and 1990s, promoted by educated urban women who sometimes went as far as contesting the male monopoly of the defense and practice of Islam – a phenomenon that had international manifestations (Göle 1993, Abdelkhah 1998). These young women are fighting for a new and theorized practice of Islam. Their adherence to Islam is often a reaction to that of their parents, which they view as an archaic form of religion, where simply belonging to the group motivates and justifies the adherence. It is also a reaction against a sexist reading of Islam. These "new Islamist women intellectuals" often possess a university degree and experience their faith as a means of self-affirmation. This phenomenon, documented elsewhere (Weibel 2000, Amiraux 2001, Rigoni 2001), is confirmed in the Muslim media.

This trend, in which femininity and feminism are intertwined, is particularly apparent in several publications of the Muslim press in Great Britain. When Fuad Nahdi left the reins of *Q-News*, which he had founded, to Shagufta Yaqub, the magazine transformed under her direction, with an added emphasis on its aesthetics as well as the creation of new sections, including a page devoted to children's books, another one on singles issues, and yet another addressing marital problems. Women's concerns and the medical aspects of sexuality are no longer taboo: for the first time since the end of the 1990s, a number of Muslim magazines such as *Q-News* in Great Britain and *Hawwa* in France address questions pertaining to contraception, infertility, and the like. Likewise, the general theme of interpersonal relationships between men and women is discussed with greater regularity. Classified advertisements have started to appear in the print media as well as on the Internet sites of some Muslim organizations, such as the Islamic Society of Britain, in which single and divorced Muslims, converts included, look for their soul mates within the shelter of their common faith.

Whether the young professional women who work for Muslim media outlets are converts, have rediscovered their religion, or have grown up in the faith, they dream of a "purer Islam": a version of

Islam that they deem original, unencumbered by some of the constraints of patriarchal societies or by cultural deviations that mar its universalist mission. Their discourse sometimes evokes the nostalgia of an Islam of the past that they represent as egalitarian between men and women. Veiled or not, they are fighting for a redefinition of the "Muslim female identity," with a shift of emphasis from the object (Islam) to the subject (themselves as individuals). For them, changes will be brought about by individuals and not by groups or the system. They strive to rid themselves of the image of traditional femininity, in order to acquire a social identity. These young, religiously active, urban women no longer look to Islam as a promise of a collectively egalitarian way of life, but rather as a means to attain personal and individual affirmation or even liberation.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Abdelkhah, *Etre moderne en Iran*, Paris 1998; trans. J. Derrick, *Being modern in Iran*, London 1999.  
 V. Amiraux, *Acteurs de l'islam entre Allemagne et Turquie. Parcours militants et expériences religieuses*, Paris 2001.  
 N. Göle, *Modern mahrem. Medeniyet ve örtünme*, Çağ loğlu, Istanbul; trans. J. Riegel, *Musulmanes et modernes. Voile et civilisation en Turquie*, Paris 1993.  
 F. Khosrokhavar, *L'islam des jeunes*, Paris 1997.  
 I. Rigoni, *Mobilisations et enjeux des migrations de Turquie en Europe de l'Ouest*, Paris 2001.  
 N. Weibel, *Par-delà le voile. Femmes d'islam en Europe*, Brussels 2000.

ISABELLE RIGONI

### Zanzibar and Tanzania

Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous part of Tanzania and consists of two main islands, Unguja and Pemba, in the Indian Ocean; it is part of the larger Swahili Coast. The majority of its approximately 1 million inhabitants are Sunni Muslims. The nation of Tanzania was created in 1964 when the former mainland protectorate of Tanganyika and Zanzibar united. Mainland Tanzania has the largest Muslim population. Kiswahili is the national language.

Zanzibar has a long media history, with its print press starting in 1888 and broadcast media in the late 1930s. It is arguably the first East African country to have a female news broadcaster and has had many women media pioneers, including women working in the early Kiswahili broadcasting services of international companies such as Radio Cairo, the British Broadcasting Corporation, and Deutsche Welle. Zeyana Seif and Sanura Sheiksy

are well known personalities locally and internationally. These women entered the field at a time of significant political developments in the region, especially the assertion of local political autonomy, a process to which they contributed while giving visibility to this career choice.

Women worked in radio within the first few years of its establishment, initially as announcers and later as technicians and managers. Local Zanzibari women who were employed in the radio during colonial times were mostly of Arab or Comorian heritage, reflecting their privileged social status and educational opportunities. During this period, women were frequently called upon as authorities in a variety of fields, including religious programming, Taarab music, cooking, social issues, and poetry. After the revolution in 1964 there were deliberate attempts to “Africanize” government services, which resulted in the successful integration of radio. Nevertheless, it took a while before women in the isles assumed leadership positions in radio management and, despite its privileged history, women in Zanzibar still lag behind their counterparts on the mainland.

In mainland Tanzania women were initially employed on a part-time basis. In the early days of *Sauti ya Dar es Salaam* (Voice of Dar es Salaam) women featured in radio plays or read greetings and requests from listeners. The majority of these women (including Mwalima Amina Mohammed, Flora Mgone, and Victoria H. Mandawa) were teachers. In the mid-1950s, Khadija Said Salmin became the first woman to be employed by *Sauti ya Tanganyika* (Voice of Tanganyika) on a full-time basis but she was only hired after she was put on the air on a trial basis to see how the public would respond to a woman’s voice. Despite her great popularity it was some time before more women were employed because the colonial administration was reluctant to hire women. Preference was initially given to women from coastal areas with a mastery of spoken Kiswahili; additionally, a background in education was favored for a career in broadcasting. As was the case in Zanzibar, women often served as local experts on social and religious matters. Women’s employment in the media drastically increased overall after independence.

Despite some preliminary reluctance, a number of women announcers were taken abroad in the early 1960s for short training courses, establishing a precedent for overseas studies. Where they went tended to reveal political ties: most broadcasters from Zanzibar went to Eastern Europe and most broadcasters from the mainland went to Western Europe. Whereas both Britain and Germany had

former colonial links with the new nation, association with Soviet Bloc countries was also logical given Zanzibar’s Marxist and Tanzania’s socialist orientations. Importantly, this exposure further promoted the ideals of gender equality and social activism and counteracted colonial notions of Victorian womanhood. Female students in foreign universities also filled in as part-time announcers.

Television was introduced in Zanzibar in 1973 in order to support its mass education campaign. While women’s work in television was expected to reflect their gender roles, especially in producing women’s and children’s programs, they were also active participants in more mainstream programming, fulfilling the functions of floor managers, announcers, editors, and news readers. Women also worked behind the scenes as technicians, camerawomen, and graphic designers. Television on the mainland was introduced much later, in 1994. For a long time, therefore, the radio was the main medium for information in Tanzania. However, Tanzania was among the first countries to introduce a legal framework for licensing private radio and television services and, since the mid-1990s, phenomenal growth has occurred. Privately owned television stations first began on the mainland with the support of women from the broadcasting sector. For example, Asma Bassafar was instrumental in assembling the crew and announcers that launched ITV (Independent Television Ltd.) while Anne Idrissu headed programs at DTV (Dar es Salaam Television).

Despite their many achievements, women’s representation in the leadership of media institutions has remained disproportionately low, partly due to their limited education. While radio at its inception employed women who by local standards were considered educated, very little was done subsequently to upgrade the academic credentials of women broadcasters. A number of veteran female broadcasters admit that they were complicit in this since most were content with the fact they were popular personalities, an achievement beyond their wildest imagination. It therefore took a while before they actively sought further skills and recognition. Whereas both men and women with comparable education were employed in the early years, traditional attitudes and outright gender bias ensured that men were given greater opportunities – including academic ones – to advance themselves, facilitating their assumption of leadership roles in nationally-owned radio. Yet some women have managed to rise up in the ranks of government broadcasting services by virtue of their experience as well as through political support. In Zanzibar,

Tatu Ally became the first woman director of Information and Broadcasting in 1981. Before her retirement, Mariam Hamdani was the highest-ranking female journalist working in government. She served as Deputy Permanent Secretary for both the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting and of Youth and Tourism.

Recent economic, political, and media liberalization has challenged women to move beyond the traditional media to explore new opportunities; thus, a number of women broadcasters are venturing into other fields using their experience and popularity to build careers or to gain popular support. On the mainland, veteran radio journalist Edda Sanga served as the acting director for RTD (Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam) for two years before it merged with TVT (Televisheni ya Taifa), while Joyce Mhaviile, who trained in the former Soviet Union in print journalism, is the managing director of ITV and Radio One, the biggest private audiovisual media institution in Tanzania. During Tanzania's post-socialist economic liberalization transition of the 1980s, Violet Maro was the first woman broadcaster to be employed by a private firm as a publicist; other female broadcasters have also found careers in public relations and marketing for private firms. Women journalists Kijakazi Kiyelula, Tatu Ally, and Fatma Abeid went into politics where, backed by the powerful women's wing of the party, they secured parliamentary seats and served in government. Sarah Dumba, Halima Kihemba, and recently Betty Mkwasa serve as district commissioners. This trend continued in the 2005 general elections where even more women broadcasters entered politics, mostly under the auspices of the ruling party's youth or women's wings, including Shy-Rose Bhanji and Amina Chifupa.

In spite of their long involvement in national media, women have struggled with ongoing gender oppression, including the prevalence of sexual harassment by superiors, negative attitudes toward them and their abilities – which limit opportunities for advancement – and family and health concerns, especially for married women. In some cases, jealous husbands refusing them permission to appear in public or to fulfill work-related duties have held women back. Their lower educational levels result in women receiving lower pay. Moreover, safety is a concern considering the long hours and late shifts that the work demands, especially problems with public transportation that expose women to harassment and physical harm.

Professional women have organized themselves to respond to some of the challenges they face in the media industry. TAMWA, the Tanzanian Media

Women's Association, was established in 1987 with a dual agenda: to represent the interest of women journalists and to give visibility to women and women's issues in mainstream as well as alternative media (see <[www.tamwa.org](http://www.tamwa.org)>). In this regard, the advocacy role of women journalists was amplified as they began incorporating global concerns in local advocacy agendas by addressing taboo subjects such as rape, domestic and sexual violence, as well as the killings of old women accused of witchcraft. This concerted advocacy using the media led to the amendment of the Penal Code in 1998. Zanzibar Media Women (ZAMEW) was formed in 2004 with objectives similar to TAMWA's. Women have also sought to influence mainstream media organizations' policies and practices via advocacy and training of media personnel.

The twenty-first century and the promises of a modernizing media pose great challenges to women, especially those who work in the industry. Women in Zanzibar and Tanzania have historically used the broadcast media as an effective channel for advocacy, particular by promoting literacy and social development programs. Yet presently, anti-women forces in the form of commercial interests and conservative religious groups dominate the airwaves. Over half of new radio stations operating in Tanzania are owned by religious organizations that preach a conservative message and promote traditional gender roles. Commercial stations offer no better with women becoming objects of capitalist exploitation, a trend that continues in emerging media such as cell phones, the Internet, and virtual television, and threatens to eclipse women's voices and presence.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

Interviews by the author, 2005–6: Tatu Ally, Chiku Lweno Aboud, Joseph Asama, Mohammed Dahman, Mussa Haji Foum, Hasina Hamadi, Mariam Hamdan, Suleiman Hega, Nasra M. Hilal, Asma Ismael, Fatma K. Hassan, Ashura Mahaji, Violet Veronica Maro, Maulidi Himid Mbaye, Joyce Mhaviile, Deborah Mwenda, Salim Mzee, Zena Abdallah Othman, Khadija Said Salmin, Edda Sanga, Sanura Sheikhshy, Paul Sozigwa, and Ally Sykes.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- M. Zam Ali, *The fall of local programmes in Television Zanzibar. Pros and cons, diploma thesis, Tanzania School of Journalism, April 1989.*  
 Y. O. Chunda and Z. A. Othman, *Radio news. Case study of Sauti ya Tanzania, Zanzibar Newsroom, Diploma Thesis, Tanzania School of Journalism, March 1983.*  
 H. Hamadi, *Historical context of women and the media, paper presented at the Consultative Meeting on the Internalization of Human Rights in Islamic communities, organized by Institute of the Study of Islam in the Modern World (ISIM) and Sahiba ☆ Sisters Founda-*

- tion, Zanzibar Safari Club, Uroa, Zanzibar, 22-3 June 2002.
- M. M. A. Hamdani, Zanzibar newspapers 1902-1974, diploma thesis, Tanzania School of Journalism, February 1981.
- S. W. Head (ed.), *Broadcasting in Africa*, Philadelphia 1974.
- G. Hemedi, Public perception of women journalists in Tanzania media, diploma thesis, Tanzania School of Journalism 1992.
- J. S. Losai, The role of women in radio drama. A case study of *Let's Go with the Times* [*Twende na Wakati*] radio/TV serial drama, diploma thesis, Tanzania School of Journalism 2003.
- R. Masasi, Women's radio programmes in Tanzania, diploma thesis, Tanzania School of Journalism, 1982.
- E. K. Mrutu (ed.), *Media and society in Tanzania*, Dar es Salaam 2003.
- M. Sturmer, *The media history of Tanzania*, Tanzania 1998.

SALMA MAOULIDI



# Arts: World Music

## Overview

The performance of music and, in particular, that by women in Islamic communities has been continuously contentious throughout the history of Islam. Yet, no age or region of the Islamic world has been without either music or Muslim women performing to appreciative audiences. Instead of employing a geographical approach for the discussion of music performed by Muslim women around the world, this entry employs a taxonomy of the multiple functions of music found in Islamic communities around the world. The taxonomy provides a structure with which to understand the multiple roles of Muslim women as performers of music today and in the past.

The pitched recitation of the holy Qurʾān – *qiraʿa* – has been heard throughout the vast reaches of the Muslim world for more than fourteen centuries with only modest variations due to individual and regional style. Like the *adhān* (call to prayer) and the *tablīl/talbiyya* (chants of pilgrimage, *hājīj*), the performance of *qiraʿa* has been carefully husbanded, with numerous works written over the centuries to prevent the assimilation of indigenous or local musical habits and styles into the sound that is generally understood to be iconic of the practice of Islam itself. With the exception of the chants used for pilgrimage, it is rare to hear Qurʾānic and other types of religious cantillation performed by Muslim women in public. The recitation of religious chant is performed almost exclusively by Muslim men. It should be noted that the performance of Islamic religious chant, and many other performance genres accepted as legitimate within Islam, is not considered music by Muslims. The generalized term for organized sound is *handasa al-sawt*, best translated as the “art of sound.” In Arabic, the term most related to the English word “music” is *mūsīqā* and tends to refer to music genres that are considered controversial or even forbidden (*harām*).

Beyond the basic patriarchal structure of Islam itself, the fact that women almost never perform religious chant in public is tangentially related to what might best be described as the “problem” of music in Islamic society. While no society is monolithic in its perspectives, the antagonism between music and morality is particularly well-developed and articulated in Islamic discourse across the world. Music is

obviously appreciated and nurtured in most Islamic societies, as is demonstrated by the many highly developed art musics and the much-loved popular genres and stars found throughout the Islamic world. Yet, music is simultaneously reviled as dangerous and despicable by some in many of those same places. The practice of, and pleasure generated by, music has fostered the production of reams of polemical writings and opprobrium of varying degree for performers and listeners alike over the centuries. Islamic commentators through the ages have regularly noted that because of the visual and aural pleasures involved, musical performance by people of either gender tends to be associated with a relaxing of morals. This loosening of morals, it is observed, often causes a breakdown in proper public demeanor of both the listeners and the performers, either spiritually or in an embodied way. A breakdown of proper demeanor, in turn, disrupts the proper relationship of the individual to society and to Islam itself. When women are involved in performance, it is commonly assumed that they themselves are not pious. Indeed, their presence in the company of men outside their own families, in particular, is cause enough to justify this castigation. This is especially true in communities where *purdah* of any degree is the norm, irrespective of how the female performers themselves perceive and enact their own piety and morality. Male performers are not immune to castigation and opprobrium but they do not contest as many cultural and religious mores when they perform; thus the net effect on their position in society is not as severe, in general, as it is for female performers.

The separation of women from general society was present in varying degrees in Islamic areas long before Islam began. But Islam’s doctrinal embrace of this separation has served to articulate and enhance the “difference” of women from general – read male – Islamic society. The definition of women as “other” to male public society generates conditions whereby Muslim women must constantly reconfirm and actively demonstrate both their adherence to and acceptance of the restrictions that make them “other” within society or risk the perception of impropriety for themselves and their family. Although there are real differences between Islamic societies with respect to the issues of women and performance, it is reasonable to say

that a basic assumption about female performers in Islamic communities is that they are immoral to some degree. Whatever their lived reality, female performers of any sort merge at some level in the public imagination with courtesans, prostitution, and other kinds of public and private entertainment found in different Islamic communities at various times in history.

TAXONOMY OF MUSICAL GENRES

Lois Ibsen al Faruqi, scholar of Islam and music among other things, has sorted through the discourse on music in Islamic societies and outlined some of the methodological pitfalls that have encumbered research into music in Islamic societies (Ibsen al Faruqi 1985). Instead of attempting to juggle the wide-ranging perspectives recounted in innumerable opinions, polemical and otherwise, Ibsen al Faruqi argues that we need to use sources and interpretations that the majority of Muslims would recognize as authoritative. The Qurʾān and the *sunna* of the Prophet Muḥammad as explicated in the *ḥadīth* are the logical beginning. Ibsen al Faruqi warns against using anything other than those sources that are considered *ḥadīth mutawātir* – those *ḥadīth* reported by large numbers of people at one time and then consecutively over succeeding generations, such that it would be impossible for them all to agree to a lie. To use other sources weakens the authority of an argument and yet, Ibsen al Faruqi notes, this is precisely the mistake that many of the polemicists, both for and against music, have committed. Another common problem for the perception of music in society occurs when authors attribute to musical activities the characteristics of non-musical activities with which some music is occasionally associated. Ibsen al Faruqi argues strongly that the condemnation of specific cultural and private practices at which music may be heard should not result in the condemnation of all music or even of the music that may be heard to accompany those practices but also in other less compromising situations.

Ibsen al Faruqi derives a taxonomy of music genres based on function and organized in a hierarchy determined by perceived relative legitimacy. Her continuum ranges from most legitimate or *ḥalāl* through controversial to illegitimate or *ḥarām* as determined in Islamic law, based on tracts and opinions that are generally accepted by most Muslims. The taxonomy is useful in a discussion of Islamic women performing music. It allows us to see that while Islamic women do perform music (*handasa al-sawt*) that is considered legitimate and is therefore valuable within the hierarchy,

they do not usually perform the genres considered most legitimate, Qurʾānic and other forms of religious chant. Additionally, although there is not an absolute linear relationship, the further down the taxonomy – toward music that is considered *ḥarām* – one looks, the more likely it is that women may be the performers. There is, thus, a convergence of women and illegitimate music at the end of the continuum representing the hierarchy of cultural valuation and legitimacy of music genres.

Hierarchy of *handasa al-sawt* (the art of sound)

NON-MŪSĪQĀ, HALĀL OR MOST LEGITIMATE

- Qurʾānic Chant  
(*qiraʿa*)
- Religious Chants  
(*adhān, tahlilltalbiyya, takbīrāt, madīb, tasbīh, and tahmīd*)
- Chanted Poetry with Noble Themes  
(*shīʿr*)
- Family and Celebration Music  
(lullabies, wedding songs, women’s music)
- Occupational Music  
(caravan chants, shepherd’s songs, work songs)
- Military Music  
(*tabl khāna*)

MŪSĪQĀ

- Vocal and Instrumental Improvisations  
(*layālī, āvāz, taqāsīm, istikhbār, etc.*)

MUBĀH, MAKRŪH OR CONTROVERSIAL

- Serious Metered Songs  
(*dawr, muwashshah, taṣnīf, etc.*)
- Instrumental Music  
(*bashraf, dāʿira, samāʿī, dūlāb*)
- Music related to pre-Islamic or non-Islamic origins

HARĀM OR ILLEGITIMATE

- Sensuous music associated with unacceptable contexts

(Adapted from Ibsen al Faruqi 1985.)

UNDERSTANDING THE TAXONOMY

There are many genres of *handasa al-sawt* that are considered *ḥalāl* or legitimate, including genres performed by both men and women. All of these genres fall in the non-*mūsīqā* range. The dotted line that separates non-*mūsīqā* from *mūsīqā* genres signifies a shift from music with a clear religious and/or cultural function to music intended primarily as art or entertainment. The improvisatory and unmetred vocal and instrumental genres are classified as *mūsīqā* because they are generally not associated with any particular cultural function except the entertainment of an audience. Yet, these genres are still considered to be legitimate because of the distinct performance and music-theoretical connections between them and Qurʾānic and other religious chant. Once music is organized

by a steady beat or meter of any kind, be it vocal or instrumental, it is immediately considered to be controversial. The perceived problem with a steady pulse is that it is liable to encourage physical expression of the sound, which, from some perspectives, may in turn disrupt the correct moral rectitude of both the performers and the audience.

#### SUFI WORSHIP, MUSIC WITH A STEADY PULSE, AND FEMALE MYSTICS

While there are many metered musics that are highly valued within the Islamic communities that create them, from a broader, doctrinal perspective these musics are all suspect to some degree. The general prohibition on listening and movement to metered sound renders as illegitimate, to some degree, much of the music used by followers of Sufi Islam in their personal and group worship. Sufi Muslims often perform group movement to the melodic recitation of mystical poetry and the recitation of the names of Allah (*dhikr*). These recitations may or may not employ melodic musical accompaniment but they always require some kind of steady pulse to organize the movements and words of the worshipers. The occasionally extreme physical responses of Sufi worshipers, some of whom may go into trance as a method to attain nearness to Allah, are not always appreciated by followers of other kinds of Islam. It is likely that at least some of the polemical discourse on the use and limited legitimacy of music in Islamic societies has been generated over the centuries by differences in religious practice between Sufi and non-Sufi Muslims. (For instance, some Wahhabi Muslims do not recognize Sufis as true Muslims.)

During the early years of Islam women participated fully in public worship and prayer, although even then there were restrictions on physical appearance such as a prohibition on wearing perfume and ornaments to the place of worship. Efforts were made early on, however, to restrict women's presence both in public and in public religious ritual. Many smaller historical and contemporary mosques have no room allocated for women who wish to pray, although most larger mosques do reserve some such space. Women were thus physically and philosophically prevented from serving as imam or functioning in other leadership roles within Islam, except in the female-only congregations that were formed inside large harems.

As the less restrictive Sufi forms of Islam developed in the eighth and ninth centuries and beyond, however, women seized opportunities to participate in ritual practice. Women regularly became Sufi mystics, writing and performing poetry and music

as well as functioning in leadership positions. In fact, it was Rabī'a al-'Adawiyya (98–184/717–801) from Basra, Iraq, who first expressed the relationship with the divine in a language we have come to recognize as specifically Sufi by referring to God as the Beloved. In one study of performers of Sufi ritual, Shemeem Abbas (2002) examines the role of female singers in India and Pakistan and of male singers singing the words of female characters. She demonstrates the importance of the female voice in Sufism through analysis that links historical and contemporary Sufi practice with the many female mystics and poets, descendants of Muḥammad, who brought Sufism to South Asia. Her study presents performers, such as Abida Parvin, who regularly sing *Sufiana Kalam* (mystical poetry), in three or four vernacular languages as well as the Hindi, Urdu, Persian, and Arabic commonly used by men in singing the more elitist *qawwālī*. The use of vernacular languages means that the female performers, possessing varying degrees of formal education, have grassroots appeal that reaches beyond the musical and linguistic tastes of the urban elite, effectively spreading Sufism and appreciation for *Sufiana Kalam* and female ritual specialists throughout South Asia.

#### FAMILY AND CELEBRATION GENRES: CONSTRUCTING GENDER THROUGH WEDDING SONGS

It is in the categories of family and celebration music that most Muslim women participate in the musical world of their communities. Women actively participate in music for weddings, lamentation, birth commemoration, healing, and harvest in Muslim communities around the world. Often referred to as women's music, these kinds of genres are considered legitimate and are often viewed as essential to the successful outcome of a celebration. In many communities where there is an importance placed on music, there are performance genres that are specifically associated with each gender. The gendering of the genres is significant and, traditionally, members of the opposite sex may even be nominally forbidden from hearing the music. Jane Sugarman (1997) describes the wedding and courtship music of women and men amongst Prespa Albanians, both in Albania and in diaspora. Some of the songs sung by the mother of the bride are similar to those sung for mourning the death of a loved one, articulating a parallel sense of loss for the daughter as she prepares to move away from the home of her youth and her parents. Other songs tease the girl who will be married or teach her how to behave appropriately in the house of

her new family. The songs men sing at weddings describe heroism and often recount historical events. Sugarman notes that the highly ornamented and rhythmic irregularity of the men's songs contrasts with the less-ornamented, steady-pulsed style of the female songs and her cultural analysis suggests that gender differences in melodic style are an aural representation of appropriate public behavior for men and women in Prespa Albanian culture. Her work with Prespa people outside Albania reveals the gendered restrictions to be relaxing somewhat in both musical performance and personal comportment.

In Morocco, amongst the Riffian Berbers, young unmarried girls regularly sing songs in the evenings before weddings. At the event, the girls rise and, in groups of four, dance and sing in front of the whole community. Their dancing is subdued at first but gradually becomes more suggestive and sexually energized. The girls compose their own songs and verses, using the opportunity to criticize their communities, social situations, the immigration of young Berber men to Europe, and even the Moroccan government, as well as airing their opinions on various marriage matches – their own and others – that may be planned. In her research Terri Brint Joseph (2003) observed that these girls are the only social group in the community that ever has the option of speaking directly on such topics in a public forum. When she asked community members about the apparent dissonance of unmarried girls dancing suggestively while simultaneously critiquing their communities, many replied that it was the girls' only chance to effect some control over the decisions that will ultimately determine the courses of their lives and observers deemed it an important part of the Berber marriage rituals and a confirmation of Berber gender relations.

#### OCCUPATIONAL AND MILITARY GENRES: *PRAJURIT ESTRI* IN CENTRAL JAVA

There is little documentation of occupational songs sung by women, although there is no doubt that women in most cultures sing while performing repetitive labor or in their daily activities such as soothing babies and children with lullabies. Of the occupational music traditions that do exist among women in Muslim communities, such as Hausa yam-pounding songs, many could also be classified in the category of music related to pre- or non-Islamic origins, as there is no clear evidence of the relationship of many of these musics to Islam in particular, only that Muslim women are performing the music. Occupational songs are often performed alone or within same-sex groups and, as

such, are classified as legitimate in Ibsen al Faruqi's taxonomy; they have not garnered much attention in the ongoing discourse on music in Islam.

While military music is usually associated with men, in Southeast Asian courts in general, but also in the Islamic courts of the region, it was generally the case that the inner sanctum of the court was populated solely by women and the children of the Sultan. No man other than the Sultan and – if some were in the service of the court – the occasional eunuch was allowed to enter. These gender restrictions naturally also prevented any male military personnel from entering, which would have left the inhabitants of the inner court unprotected should the palace be attacked. In the Javanese courts, an army of women known as the *prajurit estri* protected the Sultan and his household both in the court and when they traveled. Skilled in dance and martial arts as well as in the performance of the musics that accompanied those activities, these women functioned as primary protectors of the rulers and their kin (Kumar 1980a 1980b). The visage of armed and visibly fierce women, occasionally dancing or performing music, was often alarming and strange to colonial and other European visitors to Southeast Asian courts (Carey and Houben 1987).

#### IMPROVISATORY GENRES: *MŪSĪQĀ* BUT NOT CONTROVERSIAL

The line between genres that are non-*mūsīqā* and therefore legitimate and those that are considered *mūsīqā* and controversial marks a sharp division in most Islamic world-views. The musics below the dotted *mūsīqā* line are performed for entertainment, without a function beyond aesthetic fulfillment. It should be noted that many of the musics considered legitimate are derived from or developed alongside the art musics of the same geographic region and, hence, share musical traits but are not controversial or forbidden. This suggests that it is the function of the music that is more significant than the musical style itself in determining its relative legitimacy.

The unmetered, improvisatory vocal and instrumental genres are highly valued by musicians who perform them and their audiences. It is here that the performer demonstrates her or his knowledge of and talent for music. Be it an Azerbaijani *mugham*, a Hindustani *raga*, a Persian *dastgah*, or an Egyptian *maqām*, most serious musical performances begin with some kind of improvisatory section. The musical purpose of an improvisatory section is to introduce the mode and scale of the upcoming piece or suite to the ears of the audience

and to allow the performers to ease into the sound and feeling of the mode. The vocal styles used in these types of performance are akin to the timbre and quality used in Qur'ānic cantillation, as are the timbres of the bowed-string and reed instruments used in these same traditions. The point here is not to argue precedence for Qur'ānic chanting or any of the other genres, but rather to highlight the fact that these multiple traditions have developed in tandem in similar places in the world and reflect the sound aesthetics of the local populations to some degree. That said, it is rare to hear the penetrating, almost nasal, vocal timbre common to Qur'ānic chanting in places where Islam has not been at some point.

#### UMM KULTHUM AND THE POWER OF THE SUNG WORD

The Islamic world is filled with women who are skilled in singing the art music traditions of their communities, in particular the unmetered improvisatory segments. The most famous was surely the Egyptian singer Umm Kulthum (ca. 1321–94/1904–75). Her father was an imam at the local mosque and augmented his meager salary by singing at weddings and other community celebrations. Umm Kulthum learned to sing those songs by rote, listening to her father teach them to her older brother who was meant to accompany the father in their performances. She had attended the *kuttāb* or Qur'ān school attended by her brother. There she learned to read from the Qur'ān as well as other primary school basics. Her father discovered that she had been learning to sing by listening to her brother's lessons and invited her to join. She began to sing with the family group after she stepped in for her brother when he was ill. The strength and quality of her voice as well as her youth brought immediate local fame and eventually the family was urged to move to Cairo so Umm Kulthum could develop her career. As they became familiar with urban life, the family realized that Umm Kulthum would have a future as a performer if she had professional accompanists. She learned the pleasures and dangers of life in the public eye and vigorously protected her private life. She cultivated a film career beginning in the 1930s and regularly performed on the radio on Thursday evenings, eventually reaching a pan-Arab audience as radio technology improved. She was befriended by Egyptian politicians of all sides, both before and after Independence in 1371/1952. Kulthum was a champion for Egyptian arts and started a charitable foundation for their support. After the Egyptian defeat in the war of 1386/1967, Umm Kulthum traveled the world collecting funds for Egyptian art and culture. She became the voice

and public face of Egypt both in the Arab world and beyond (Danielson 1997). Throughout her life she was concerned with the impact of other world musics on Egyptian classical performance. Her competition and eventual collaboration with the modernist composer/performer/film actor Muhammad Abd al-Wahab reveals a fusion of old and new such that Kulthum accepted new instruments into her ensemble but maintained her commitment to performance without music notation and to the importance of the sung word. Kulthum regularly performed unmetered vocal improvisations both before and in the middle of her metered songs. She would demonstrate the power of words and meaning over regular pulse by repeatedly stopping the flow of the music once it began after her improvisatory introduction. Often this involved halting the pace of an ensemble of over 50 musicians in order to elaborate on specific words, repeatedly singing them each time with increased and more elaborate musical ornamentation. So meaningful were Umm Kulthum's voice and singing to her audience, that when she died more than four million Egyptians mourned her in the streets of Cairo along with countless others elsewhere in the world.

#### SERIOUS METERED SONGS: QIYĀN, CORDOBAN POETESSES, AND GHAZAL SINGERS

Serious metered songs draw from the vast repertory of poetry composed in Islamic communities in which the power of the spoken word is highly valued. Popular performers such as Umm Kulthum or Fairuz (b. 1353/1935) from Lebanon often draw from classical Arabic poetry for their lyrics. The performance of the lyrics involves much more than a simple statement of the text. The elaboration of the text, the clear articulation of the words in the context of a beautifully reticulated melody enhances the meaning of the words such that a longing for one's lover can be instantly equated with a longing for Allah. As in unmetered genres, these multiple layered meanings are also revealed by the ornamentation of the words in melodic gesture in metered musical contexts.

The setting of poetry to song is a long-standing practice in many Muslim societies, reaching back before the advent of Islam in many places. Female performers who sang poetry took on a variety of roles. The *qayna* (pl. *qiyān*) or singer/servant during the period of early Islam and the caliphs either had her own house where she entertained many different clients by singing classical poetry and performing other kinds of music for multiple patrons or she lived and entertained in a court as a courtesan.

*Qiyān* were often talented women enslaved during conquest and war and they usually brought their own musical traditions to the performance styles of the courts in which they were enslaved and whose music they were expected to master. Famed for their virtuosity, the strength of their voices, and their sensuousness, *qiyān* sang two kinds of songs: the *sinad* texts which dealt with human themes of fame, pride, seriousness, dignity, and arrogance written in long classical metrical feet of Arabian poetry; and the simple tunes of the Hijaz intended as lighter entertainment. *Qiyān* accompanied themselves, or were accompanied by another female performer, on the lute, the hand drum, or various kinds of flutes and reed instruments. Free *qiyān* were often wealthy and were always well dressed and bejeweled. Their literary and musical skills as well as their beauty made *qiyān* highly valued by some either as slaves in Islamic courts or as free agents in society. The names of some famous *qiyān* have been preserved, including Jarāda of 'Ad, Mulayka, Bint 'Afzār, and Hurayra, but usually without any real personal detail.

The vibrant musical culture of Arabian Hijaz in the seventh and eighth centuries was the source of the Arab classical instrumental and vocal music tradition. Despite the increasing restrictions of early Islam, the elite rulers in many Islamic areas were reluctant to give up their musical pleasures and remained defiant of doctrinal law to some degree. The influence of Hijaz began to wane in the ninth century because of changes driven by developments in the music cultures of Persia and Baghdad. Moving away from the classicism of Hijaz, proponents of the new developments competed with one another in founding new styles. One student, Ziryāb, fled to Cordoba in 206/822 after his teacher sensed that Ziryāb might be siding with another famous musician on issues of performance. The court of Cordoba had been established when the Umayyads were defeated in Damascus and fled to al-Andalus in 132/750. They welcomed Ziryāb and, in turn, Ziryāb brought to the Spanish court the early Arab musical tradition and founded a school of performance that soon after released itself from some of the strictures of Arab musical and poetic context. The relaxing of restraints on who was allowed to perform and how fostered the careers of many female musicians and poets including Wallada (d. 479 or 482/1087 or 1090) who was the daughter of a caliph and Ḥafṣa bint al-Ḥājī (ca. 529–85/1135–90), the most famous of Spanish poetesses who both maintained the complicated Arab poetical structures and developed other simpler forms. Although we have no direct docu-

mentation of their actually singing, in most cases poets were also singers. Although they were free and usually of aristocratic stock, the women poets of Cordoba often wrote and performed love poetry and much gossip about their liaisons, true or imagined, was circulated.

*Ghazal* involves the recitation of poetry in particular verse forms in Urdu and is based on the Arabic *qaṣīda* as it was developed in Persia. The topics of *ghazal* range from love of another to love of Allah and the sung poetry is usually accompanied by both a melodic instrument and some kind of drum. Brought to the subcontinent in the twelfth century with the Persian invasions, the genre is regularly performed by women, occasionally as courtesans in the past and often by professionals in the present. Begum Akhtar (1327–93/1910–74) and Noor Jehan (1344–1420/1926–2000), who was also a movie actress, as well as Abida Parvin mentioned earlier, are three of the best-known twentieth-century performers.

#### METERED INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The performance of music on instruments by Muslim women is as controversial as the performance of music on instruments by men. Devoid of the moderately ameliorating presence of words or text, instrumental music with a pulse is considered even more controversial than metered vocal music. Today, the tradition of performing on instruments in public is largely a male occupation in most places where Islam is the dominant religion. Women are specifically allowed to play the hand drum and many other indigenous, often percussion, instruments at the festival of Eid and in other legitimate ceremonial and family events. It is usually the case, however, that women only play these musical instruments in the company of other women or in the presence of their families. That this has not always been so is clear from descriptions of female courtesan performers over the course of many centuries and in the many miniature depictions of women performing on instruments, in particular from the Ottoman period. The existence of instruments like the *zenne 'ūd* made specifically for women suggests that women still do perform on instruments but not regularly in public.

#### SUFISM AND MUSIC RELATED TO PRE-ISLAMIC CONTEXTS

The Islam that traveled with traders and conquerors around the world beginning in the tenth century was not as restrictive as many forms of Islam were in Arabia or as many have become over the centuries, especially since the significant spread of Wahhabi

Islam starting in the nineteenth century. Generally, the Islam that traveled throughout the world was of the Sufi variety. Hence, Islam found many converts wherever it landed precisely because the variant that was promulgated was liberal with respect to the performance and ritual traditions that were already practiced in the newly Islamicized regions. The search for ecstatic physical experience as a way to approach Allah was similar to the many different rituals involving trance in Africa and South and Southeast Asia. Scholars have long noticed similarities between Tantrism and Islam as they were practiced in Java (Becker 2004, Zoetmulder 1995) and speculated on the fusions that have emerged. Thus, it is that the birth of Muḥammad is celebrated in the Central Javanese courts with cacophonous performances of sacred gamelan, or bronze gong ensembles, in the public courtyards of the palaces. Devout Javanese Muslims will purchase flowers drenched in sacred water to place at spiritually dangerous intersections or gravesites on culturally auspicious days and personal and public anniversaries. Both are practices that seem antithetical to Islam as it is practiced in contemporary Arabia. Similar kinds of indigenous fusions can be heard throughout Islamicized Africa. In upper Guinea, a song sung by women at circumcision ceremonies praises Alpha Kabine, an early Muslim leader, who lifted restrictions on traditional drumming and singing at such life-cycle ceremonies (Charry 2000). Praise singing is found in much of Islamic Africa, in particular the Western regions, and demonstrates a convenient fusion of Islamic and African high valuation and appreciation of the sung and ornamented word.

#### ILLEGITIMATE SENSUOUS MUSIC

Selecting the genres of performance that should be relegated to this category depends upon one's perspective. While there are some who would relegate any *mūsīqā* genres to this category, Ibsen al Faruqi suggested that the category include musics used to accompany belly dancing and other forms of movement associated with the pleasures of the body. These musics and performance styles delighted the aristocratic caliphs of early Islam and the rulers of the Ottoman Empire. Today belly dancing to the accompaniment of an hourglass drum and some melodic instrument is a regular feature at many Middle-Eastern and Central Asian restaurants all over the world and may well be iconic of Islamic and/or Arabic music for the uninformed majority of the world's population.

#### BEYOND IBSEN AL FARUQI'S TAXONOMY: CONTEMPORARY POPULAR GENRES

If the development of recording technology has gradually increased the audience for the musics of Islamic regions of the world, it has also increased access to the musics of other places for Islamic peoples. This ongoing exchange process continues today, rapidly producing diverse hybrid genres that reference the sound world of the globalized world music market. The Afro-funk music of singer Angelique Kidjo from Benin features sounds that fuse hip hop, salsa, funk, and reggae styles with pan-Arab and pan-African rhythms, sung in vocal timbres that range from the sound of a muezzin to that of a rhythm and blues ballad singer. Many popular female artists articulate their identity as Muslims through their music, often addressing issues that confront women in their own societies. Oumou Sangare, a Muslim Wassoulou star from Mali, regularly sings about the injustices of multiple marriages to women and the role of fate in the lives of Muslim women in Mali. She incorporates traditional sounds and patterns of Malian instruments such as the *kamelengoni* and the *djembe* into her music, occasionally appropriating the sounds of men's traditional hunting music to make her social critique audible through her music as well as her words.

These contemporary Muslim female artists are not the first popular performers to break social and musical gender boundaries. The famous Algerian singer, Cheikha Remitti, often described as the Edith Piaf of Rai, sang laments about the state of women and men in Algerian society in the first half of the twentieth century. Instead of singing about life through the analogy and simile of classical poetry, Cheikha Remitti directly addressed the despair of ordinary, Islamic Algerians in and out of love and life. Her exotic appeal and *joie de vivre* in the face of such despairing lyrics inspired many other women to throw caution to the wind and follow her ways (Broughten et al. 1994) while ensuring that her mostly male audiences were full and appreciative. Cheikha Remitti brought to the public stage topics, sounds, and emotions commonly experienced only in women's quarters. Scorn and opprobrium were heaped upon her but, unmarried and uncaring, she persisted. The legacy of today's popular Muslim female performers remains to be determined, although their worlds and fan bases are global, less homogeneous, and, therefore, less liable to be subject to unified opprobrium. *Qiyān*, Spanish poetesses, Ottoman singer-musicians, Umm Kulthum, all these musicians performed

commentary on their communities through their music while treading the thin line between decorum and disgrace. Their individual legacies are determined by the complex interactions between their own comportment and the cultural constructions of gender and music performance in their own historical and geographical contexts.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Abbas, *The female voice in Sufi ritual*, Austin, Tex. 2002.
- L. Ahmed, Western ethnocentrism and perceptions of the harem, in *Feminist studies* 8 (1982), 521–34.
- J. Becker, *Gamelan stories. Tantrism, Islam, and aesthetics in Central Java*, Tempe, Ariz. 2004.
- S. Broughton et al., *World music. The rough guide*, London 1994.
- P. Carey and V. Houben, Spirited Srikandhis and sly Sumbadras. The social, political, and economic role of women at the Central Javanese courts in the 18th and early 19th centuries, in E. Locher-Scholten and A. Niehof (eds.), *Indonesian women in focus. Past and present notions*, Dordrecht, Holland and Providence, R.I. 1987, 12–42.
- E. Charry, Music and Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa, in N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels (eds.), *The history of Islam in Africa*, Athens, Ohio 2000, 545–73.
- V. Danielson, *Voice of Egypt. Umm Kulthum, Arabic song, and Egyptian society in the twentieth century*, Chicago 1997.
- E. Doumato, *Getting God's ear. Women, Islam and healing in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf*, New York 2000.
- S. Graham-Brown, *Images of women. The portrayal of women in photography of the Middle-East 1860–1950*, New York 1988.
- L. Ibsen al Faruqi, Music, musicians, and Muslim law, in *Asian Music* 17 (1985), 3–36.
- T. Joseph, Poetry as a strategy of power. The case of Rif-fian Berber women, in T. Magrini (ed.), *Music and gender. Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, Chicago 2003, 233–50.
- M. Kassam, Some aspects of women's voices from Northern Nigeria, in *African Languages and Cultures* 9 (1996), 11–25.
- A. Kumar, Javanese court society and politics in the late-eighteenth century. The record of a lady soldier, I, in *Indonesia* 29 (1980), 1–46; II, *Indonesia* 30 (1980), 67–112.
- L. Lengel, Performing in/outside of Islam. Music and gendered cultural politics in the Middle East and North Africa, in *Text and Performance Quarterly* 24 (2004), 212–32.
- I. Naroditskaya, *Songs from the land of fire. Continuity and change in Azerbaijani Mugham*, New York 2002.
- A. Shiloah, *Music in the world of Islam. A socio-cultural study*, Detroit 1995.
- J. Sugarman, *Engendering song. Singing and subjectivity at Prespa Albanian weddings*, Chicago 1997.
- H. Touma, *The music of the Arabs*, Portland, Or. 1996.
- W. Walther, *Women in Islam. From medieval to modern times*, Princeton, N.J. 1993.
- P. Zoetmulder, *Pantheism and monism in Javanese suluk literature. Islamic and Indian mysticism in an Indonesian setting*, trans. M. Ricklefs, Leiden 1995.



# Islam: Critiques of the Impact of the Emergence of Islam on Women

## Overview

The question whether and if so, how, Islam has impacted the position and status of women in Arabia and the Middle East is a highly complex one. Both for pre-Islamic Arabia, and for the earliest history of Islam, sources about women are scant; the very limited material available is furthermore problematic, since the relationship between the sources and historical reality is not as yet fully understood. Additionally, the extant materials are open to various interpretations, and do not provide a uniform picture.

### SOURCES FOR PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA AND EARLY ISLAM

Poetry, the narratives of the *ayyām al-ʿarab* ([battle-] days of the Arabs), Qurʾānic materials, and early Muslim literature (*Ṣīra Maghāzī*, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, biographical dictionaries) are our main literary sources for pre-Islamic Arabia and the early history of Islam. Many of these materials come down to us colored by later ideological, theological, and political motives, and using these materials to explore the impact of Islam on perceptions of gender is difficult. While the extant materials do allow the historian to study later Muslim understandings of the second and third century after the *hijra* concerning the origins of their society and religion, they do not provide historically reliable witness about the beginnings of Islam “as it really was” (Humphrey 1991).

### STUDIES ON PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIA

A number of studies on the position of women in pre-Islamic Arabia come to different conclusions. While Muslim apologists often emphasize a supposed prevalence of pre-Islamic female infanticide, and other unilateral rights of male domination in a highly patriarchal society such as unlimited polygyny, unilateral rights of divorce for males, and absence of female inheritance and property rights, among others, thus intimating that the revelation coming through Muḥammad radically improved the position of women (Haykal 1976, Muhammad 1995), many scholars have challenged the

view that pre-Islamic Arabia can be characterized as uniformly denigrating of women. Robertson-Smith (1885) posited the existence of a matriarchal society, including the practice of polyandry for pre-Islamic Arabia. While most scholars by now reject Robertson-Smith’s findings, his data seem to suggest that pre-Islamic Arabia featured a variety of different sociosexual institutions and practices, rather than a unified structure. Nabia Abbott (1941a) has also shown that up to the fourth century C.E. women occasionally gained high political status in Arabia. Likewise, Ilse Lichtenstädter (1935) came to the conclusion that the position of women in pre-Islamic Arabia was far from being uniformly subservient, pointing out that women did exercise influence in the affairs of a tribe before the arrival of Islam. Gertrude Stern (1939) argues that polygyny was not widespread in pre-Islamic Arabia (see also Tabari 1983). Pre-Islamic poetry similarly seems to suggest that free-born Arab women were held in high esteem. In contrast, Barbara Stowasser (1984) has argued that for most pre-Islamic urban women life was characterized by a low status and negligible rights. Significantly, the term “pre-Islamic Arabia” can refer to vastly different time-spans, and thus lacks specificity (Smith 1985, 20f.) Yet even for more closely circumscribed periods of pre-Islamic Arabia the assessments of scholars are divergent. Al-Hibri (1982) suggests an improvement in the status of women in the time immediately preceding Islam, others argue to the contrary (Smith 1985, 21). The overall picture that emerges for pre-Islamic Arabia seems to indicate a wide variety of sociosexual practices. Critical scholarship ought to remain cautious when deriving conclusions from such literary evidence. The various sources discussed reference only a small segment of pre-Islamic societies, usually upper-class free women; furthermore, much of the source material pertaining to pre-Islamic times comes down to us through Muslim scriptural tradition and thus might be affected by ideological, sectarian, religious, or political motives of later transmitters, either through selective transmission, or editorial emendation, elision, or alteration.

TRANSITION BETWEEN PRE-ISLAMIC  
ARABIA AND ISLAM

While to date there exists no consensus among scholars concerning the position of women in pre-Islamic Arabia, there is also no agreement on the question of how or even whether early Islam affected the position of women in seventh-century Arabia. Sources on the early history of Islam are used by scholars in a number of different ways, with varying degrees of critical distance and sophistication in methodology.

Some scholars utilize contrastive readings that strongly differentiate between pre-Islamic Arabian and Islamic sociosexual practices to argue that the coming of Islam had a positive impact on women's lives. An emphasis on supposed pre-Islamic vices such as unlimited polygyny, the practice of temporary marriage (*mut'a*), unilateral divorce rights for the husband, absence of female property and inheritance rights, absence of codes of female honor and/or veiling, and female infanticide, contrasted with Qur'anic legislation and Islamic practices that abandon such vices, characterizes many of these approaches (al-Faruqi 1988, el-Nimr 1996, Esposito 1982).

Other scholars utilize a reverse strategy, which highlights pre-Islamic Arabian women's freedoms and achievements to portray a later, supposedly more restrictive Islamic system of new sociosexual norms as negatively affecting the position of women in Arabia in particular, as well as Islamdom in general (Hekmat 1997, Ahmed 1986, 1992).

Common to both approaches is the emphasis on discontinuity between pre-Islamic and Islamic times. Questions as to whether continuity or discontinuity is to be emphasized in an assessment of Islam's impact on the position of women in Arabia, and later Islamdom, continue to occupy scholarly critical discourse.

Nabia Abbott (1942) alludes to a historical continuity between pre-Islamic Arabia and Muḥammad's message, pointing out that Muḥammad spurned extreme innovations and tolerated such pre-Islamic practices as were compatible with the new religion. Yet at the same time, Abbott also hints at discontinuity, arguing that "Mohammed strove successfully for the improvement of the economic and legal status of all Moslem women and . . . , on the other hand, . . . left woman forever inferior to man, placing her on a step below him." While not outrightly positing a dichotomy between the pre-Islamic woman and her Muslim successor, Abbott vacillates between continuity and discontinuity, and claims both an improvement in women's status, as well as a resultant inferiority. Yet the typology

Abbott uses, differentiating between free women in pre-Islamic Arabia and "Moslem women . . . forever inferior to man" has become ingrained in subsequent scholarly discourse, and prefigured the two main directions that research will take – both the questions asked as well as the answers conditioned by these questions.

Much scholarship on women in early Islam henceforth concentrated on the question of whether the move from the pre-Islamic (*jāhili*) to the Islamic woman was one of progress or regress in terms of women's rights. Barbara Stowasser (1984), for example, argues, after carefully laying out observations on the status of women in pre-Islamic Arabia, that the new Qur'anic legislation elevated Muslim women's social status and their legal rights, placing responsibility for the development of restrictions on women's dress and seclusion on later developments of Islamic exegesis. Jane I. Smith (1985) cautions that attempts to portray the lot of women in pre-Islamic Arabia as dreadful, in order to emphasize subsequent Islamic improvements, can be overly simplistic. Balancing both continuity and discontinuity, she argues that while the Qur'an helped to improve women's legal capability regarding family relations as compared to the situation immediately preceding Islam, at the same time Islam as a "religio-cultural system" limited women's opportunities to participate more fully in society.

More recently, in her seminal work studying women's roles in different historical contexts of Islam, Leila Ahmed (1992) has emphasized discontinuity. Focusing on contrasts between pre-Islamic and early Islamic societal realities, Ahmed lists the various public roles women occupied in pre-Islamic Arabia. Thus, women are said to have been warriors, nurses on the battleground, priestesses, soothsayers, rebels, and purportedly occupied other public roles. Shifting Abbott's and Smith's nuanced assessment, Ahmed now emphasizes discontinuity between the Jāhiliyya and Islam. In an earlier article Ahmed (1986) is more interested in specific injunctions within the Qur'an regarding marriage, divorce, and similar matters. The fact that a large fraction of rulings in the Qur'an is concerned with marital relations and the conduct of women leads Ahmed to surmise that as much as the arrival of Islam constituted a new religion and a new polity, it also instituted new sociosexual norms. Islam thus rejected most types of pre-Islamic marriage in favor of one form of Islamic marriage that privileged men's rights, thus vanquishing many of the opportunities and rights open to pre-Islamic women.

Characterizations of pre-Islamic society as presented in Muslim historiographical sources are

often suspect because of the stark contrast between pre-Islamic and Muslim realities that such texts present (Karmi 1996). Recent historiographical interest in discontinuities (White 1978) notwithstanding, in religious literature interruptions and breaks frequently function as a topos that posits divine intervention in human history. The assertion that Islam radically altered the social structures and gender roles among the newly converted Arab tribes is primarily a theological claim, not necessarily a historical one. Students of the early history of Islam know of many pre-Islamic institutions and practices that survived or were appropriated by the new religion. In fact, in the debate about the origins of Islamic law, it is now commonplace to stress the importance of the Schachtian *ius consuetudines*, which is so inextricably linked with Muslim legal practice.

More recently, some scholars have studied early Muslim historiographical materials pertaining to the transitional period utilizing literary techniques (Stetkeych 1993). Denise Spellberg's work (1994) opened up new lines of research; focusing on 'Ā'isha's role in early sectarian discourse, Spellberg showed how different interpretations of 'Ā'isha's legacy affected the construction of meaning and identity for Shī'ī and Sunnī communities.

Other scholars argue that the portrayal of the emergence of the Muslim community in some of the earliest biographical accounts of Muḥammad can be characterized by an interest in portraying pre-Islamic Arabian realities as dichotomous opposites to an idealized early Islamic realm of godliness and order (Karmi 1996, Teipen 2002). Both the portrayal of pre-Islamic realities as well as the portrayal of Islamic realities in such texts must be regarded as suspect.

#### POST-MUḤAMMADAN ERA TO 'ABBĀSĪD TIMES

Scholarship is less divided on the further development of women's position after the death of Muḥammad. There is by now a general consensus among scholars that the status of women, as evidenced by post-Muḥammadan practices and jurisprudic injunctions, declined as a result of highly patriarchal sociosexual norms and practices already ingrained in Arabian social structures or in newly conquered territories. Many factors are held responsible; Al-Hibri, for example, talks about a "patriarchal takeover of Islam" (1982, 215) after the death of Muḥammad. The role of the second caliph, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, as negatively impacting the lives of women in early Islamdom is emphasized by Fatima Mernissi (1987). Nawal El Saadawi

likewise argues that from the time of the second or third caliph onwards rights of women were curtailed, and "in the eighth century A.D., history was to plunge the Arab women into a long night of feudal oppression and foreign domination in which women were condemned to toil, to hide behind the veil, to quiver in the prison of a Harem fenced in by high walls, iron bars, windowless rooms" (1982, 198). Leila Ahmed, on the other hand, who posits that the original message of Muḥammad contains both "an ethical egalitarianism" as well as "patriarchal marriage and male dominance" (1991, 58), cites Umayyad adaptation of Byzantine administrative practices that allowed for the incorporation of non-Islamic notions into Islamic law (see also Stowasser 1994).

Yet some scholars reject notions that Islamic jurisprudence has been affected by non-Islamic sources, and argue that later Islamic jurisprudence is a natural outgrowth of the sources of Islamic law without outside interference (Haykal 1976).

Promising directions for future research lie in the application of literary methodologies to the study of early historiographical materials, as well as closer attention to the historical context within which Islam arose (Cameroon 1997, Cook 1983).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Abbott, Pre-Islamic Arab queens, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58 (1941a), 1-22.  
 —, Women and the state on the eve of Islam, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 58 (1941b), 259-84.  
 —, Women and the state in early Islam, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 1 (1942), 106-26.  
 L. Ahmed, Women and the event of Islam, in *Signs* 11 (1986), 665-91.  
 —, Early Islam and the position of women, in N. R. Keddie and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history. Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven, Conn. 1991, 58-73.  
 —, *Women and gender in Islam*, New Haven, Conn. 1992.  
 A. Cameroon, Hellenism and the emergence of Islam, in *Dialogos. Hellenic Studies Review* 4 (1997), 4-18.  
 M. Cook, *Muhammad*, Oxford, 1983.  
 J. Esposito, *Women in Muslim family law*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1982.  
 L. L. al-Faruqi, *Women, Muslim society and Islam*, Plainfield, Ind. 1994.  
 M. H. Haykal, *The life of Muhammad*, trans. I. R. A. al-Fārūqī, Delhi 1976.  
 A. Hekmat, *Women and the Koran. The status of women in Islam*, Amherst, N.Y. 1997.  
 A. al-Hibri, A study of Islamic herstory. Or how did we ever get into this mess?, in A. al-Hibri (ed.), *Women and Islam*, Oxford 1982, 207-19.  
 S. Humphreys, *Islamic history. A framework for inquiry*, Princeton, N.Y. 1991.  
 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishām, *The life of Muhammad. A translation of Ishāq's [sic] Sirat Rasūl Allāh*, with intro. and notes by A. Guillaume, Oxford 1955.

- G. Karmi, Women, Islam and patriarchalism, in M. Yamani (ed.), *Feminism and Islam. Legal and literary perspectives*, New York 1996, 69–85.
- I. Lichtenstädter, *Women in the Aiyâm al-ʿArab. A study of female life during warfare in preislamic Arabia*, London 1935.
- F. Mernissi, *The veil and the male elite. A feminist interpretation of women's rights in Islam*, trans. M. J. Lake-land, Reading, Mass. 1991.
- S. A. A. Muhammad, *Women in Islam versus women in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. The myth and the reality*, Dammam, Saudi Arabia 1995.
- R. el-Nimr, Women in Islamic law, in M. Yamani (ed.), *Feminism and Islam. Legal and literary perspectives*, New York 1996, 87–102.
- W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885.
- R. Roded (ed.), *Women in Islam and the Middle East. A reader*, New York 1999.
- N. El Saadawi, *The hidden face of Eve*, trans. and ed. S. Hetata, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1980.
- , Woman and Islam, in A. al-Hibri (ed.), *Women and Islam*, Oxford 1982, 193–206.
- J. I. Smith, Women, religion and social change in early Islam, in Y. Y. Haddad and E. B. Findly (eds.), *Women, religion, and social change*, New York 1985, 19–35.
- D. Spellberg, Political action and public example. 'A'isha and the Battle of the Camel, in N. R. Keddie and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history. Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven, Conn. 1991, 45–57.
- , *Politics, gender, and the Islamic past. The legacy of 'A'isha bint Abi Bakr*, New York 1994.
- S. P. Stetkevych, *The mute immortals speak. Pre-Islamic poetry and the poetics of ritual*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1993.
- B. F. Stowasser, The status of women in early Islam, in F. Hussein (ed.), *Muslim women*, New York 1984, 11–43.
- , *Women in the Qur'ân, traditions, and interpretation*, New York 1994.
- A. Tabari, The rise of Islam. What did happen to women?, in *Khamsin* 10 (1983), 59–72.
- A. Teipen, Jähilite and Muslim women. Questions of continuity and communal identity, in *Muslim World* 92 (2002), 437–60.
- W. Walther, *Women in Islam. From medieval to modern times*, Princeton, N.J. 1995.
- H. V. White, *Tropics of discourse. Essays in cultural criticism*, Baltimore, Md. 1978.

# Islam: Early Expansion and Women

## Central Asia and Eurasia

Conversion to Islam occurred in the tenth century in Eurasia mainly among three different groups of people who acted independently from one another. These were the Bulghar near present Kazan in the Volga-Ural region, the Oghuz in western Central Asia, and the Qarakhānids in eastern Central Asia. After simultaneous but independent conversion of these three different groups to Islam, the regions they inhabited functioned as nodes of culture for Muslim Turks in the ensuing centuries. By the twelfth century Anatolia became the fourth cultural region of the Muslim Turks. Eastern and western Central Asia came to be known as Turkestan (lands of the Turks), while the Volga-Ural region was called Dasht-i Qipchaq after the Qipchaq, one of the Turkic tribal populations.

Among these initial cultural regions, the Volga-Ural region was at the crossroads of the fur trade. The Bulghar were centered around towns, although they were still living in tents when Ibn Faḍlān visited them around the 920s. The newly converted Bulghar ruler had asked for religious instruction from the caliph in Baghdad, and Ibn Faḍlān came to these regions as the caliph's envoy and left a travel account full of information about this period. He tells us that the Bulghar ruler went around unaccompanied through towns, shopping areas, and markets. In accordance with their customs the queen was publicly visible sitting beside the ruler. Although Ibn Faḍlān felt a bit uneasy about this visibility, he put the *kbil'at* (ceremonial robe) from the caliph on her shoulders (text 206b, Togan 1939, 60, Şeşen 1995, 58). There was no gender segregation in the Bulghar society; men and women swam naked, which made Ibn Faḍlān somewhat alarmed and he unsuccessfully tried to segregate them. He further remarks that there was no adultery among them, and that it was not tolerated irrespective of position and gender (text 207b, Togan 1939, 67, Şeşen 1995, 61). However, with inheritance there was both gender and age hierarchy. When a male child was born, the grandfather would take the newborn child and raise him – a trait still visible among Kazakhs of Central Asia. When a man died his inheritor would be not his sons but his brothers (text 207a, Togan 1939, 62, Şeşen 1995, 59). Uncles, as senior members of the family, had rights

over nephews; in other words seniority had precedence over gender hierarchy. A similar hierarchy can also be found among women.

In western Central Asia, in contrast, some of the Oghuz had already converted to Islam, while others had not. The nomadic Oghuz women's uninhibited ways of behavior struck Ibn Faḍlān. Among the Oghuz who were living in the Syr Darya Aral region there was an emphasis on the absence of adultery, too. These characteristics of the Bulghar and Oghuz continued to dominate later historical travel literature, as well as recent research, as characteristics of nomadic Turks.

The Qarakhānids, about whom we have other accounts, present a different case. Accounts in historical sources sometimes provide contradictory information, which would indicate that the society was multicultural both politically and in terms of gender relations. Women appear in the mythological and ideological sphere as ancestresses, and in real life as part of the ruling elite, members of the ruled, nomads, sedentary townswomen or villagers, and Muslims/non-Muslims. It could even be said that the Qarakhānids represent the early stages of the later Central Asian society where the motto was coexistence, which we see at work in different locations and among different cultural groups.

Some of the different cultural constructs of gender in which women found themselves during the Qarakhānid period gained precedence in later centuries in a diachronic way. During some periods women were part of nomadic or sedentary lineages or principalities; at other times they were part of migrating groups and armies of conquest separated from their kin (Muslim or non-Muslim). In the Qarakhānids we can see all these features in coexistence.

The Qarakhānid ruling family represented a supratribal leadership. Yet dynastic women were involved in reciprocal marriage connections rather than practicing only hypogamy. This reciprocal relationship is indicative of the politics of power-sharing prevalent among the Qarakhānids. Marwazī, a twelfth-century historian quoting from a letter by a non-Muslim Uyghur ruler (northwest China) tells us how “a noble lady from the bosom of my house became married to Qādir Khān's son” (Minorsky 1942, 20). It is stated that this marriage

was contracted for the sake of establishing “mutual donations and friendship.”

Legend and lore going back to the Qarakhānid period speak of Ālā Nūr Khānum as an ancestress of saintly lineages who gave birth to a son whose father was the archangel Gabriel. At the same time other princesses represent connecting links between worldly and religious, or more specifically saintly, power. The Qarakhānids, with their role as supra-tribal rulers, were also seen as a connecting link between Turkish dynastic legends and Islam, later in history. But this was always a connection which was achieved through the women of the dynasty. ‘Ā’isha Bibī’s mausoleum from the eleventh–twelfth centuries in southwestern Kazakhstan is another example of legend and lore venerating a woman going back to Qarakhānid times. In coexistence with women in mythology and ideology there are also occasions where the virtues of seclusion are praised, showing how sedentary ideals had penetrated Qarakhānid society. For instance, the “mirror for princes” from the twelfth century called the *Qutadghu Bilig* advises men not to choose women on the basis of looks alone; it also urges them “to keep women indoors at all times” while also warning against “women’s mingling with men while eating and drinking.” The same source recommends hypergamy for women with a verse addressing men:

Choose one below yourself,  
Nor seek beauty in a wife;  
Find one who has virtue  
She will brighten your life (Khaṣṣ-Ḥājib 1983, 186).

All this advice indicates that segregation and seclusion was not the main issue in the Qarakhānid society. Again, in the hagiographical literature woven around Aḥmad Yasawī as well as in sites to be visited in relation to the Aḥmad Yasawī cult (and later in the fourteenth century, with Bahā’ al-Dīn Naqshband) we encounter saintly women. These are sometimes women of the family, at other times wives of teachers. We get a glimpse of the world of ordinary women from the Turkish-Arabic dictionary of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī. On the basis of examples from Qarakhānid society, it is quite clear that without the historical context one can speak easily of neither Muslim nor nomadic women.

The Seljuks who, as descendants of the Oghuz, ruled in western Central Asia, Iran, and later in Anatolia, seem first to have practiced hypergamy for their daughters. Later we see them entering into reciprocal marriage relationships. The ideological stand concerning Seljuk women is exemplified in Nizām al-Mulk’s chapter on women in his *Sīyā*

*satnāma* warning against women’s intervention in state affairs. As Ann Lambton states, he himself had “suffered” quite a bit under the women of the Seljuk ruling family. Yet this was the same Seljuk society which produced a miniature containing a scene that has been taken as representative of the outspoken characteristics of ordinary Seljuk women. In this famous painting, Sultan Sanjar is being admonished by an old woman because of the atrocities committed by his soldiers. During this period we also encounter epithets such as ‘Ā’isha Ghāzī (Veteran ‘Ā’isha) or ungendered names such as Qadem Pāshā Khātūn (Lady Progress Pasha). It is of significance to note that, Turkish being a non-gendered language, there was no gender connotation in the names and titles of this period. In the late Ottoman period, not the language but names and titles would acquire a gendered connotation. For instance the title *pāshā* used for non-gendered leadership during Seljuk times, would be used only for men, and mean a general. Lives of noble as well as of ordinary women in Anatolia in this particular period are vividly described in the epos *The Book of Dede Korkut*. In the episodes of this epos women appear as resourceful and strong-willed personalities. Within a political atmosphere centered around a *khān*, who is there only ideologically and does not make public appearances, we see women and men as persons or as individuals rather than as members of a lineage or a tribe. While women express their views freely and make decisions on a daily basis, the area affected by their decision-making is limited by their immediate families. Here it should be noted that husbands rather than fathers play the major role. Women might object to their husbands’ opinions and voice their own, but they still remain within the confines of their household in connection with their own problems. In other words, women’s world-view here is limited to the immediate family (Togan 1997, 187–223).

Women of the Seljuk ruling family were patrons of the art in Anatolia and there are a great number of buildings ascribed to them. Studying patronage by women, Aynur Durukan found 37 women patrons during this period. Among buildings that found patronage by these women, the greatest number consists of mausolea, followed by caravanserai. The interest shown by these women in the continuation and maintenance of commerce and trade routes is complemented by their interest in health institutions. Among the 37 women patrons, most were members of the court, but 3 seem to have been ordinary women, and nothing is known about 7 of them (Durukan 1999, 15–25). Among royal women there were also cases when women

contributed from their personal purse, rather than from the state treasury (Rogers 1976, 74).

In contrast, royal men are noted for the infrequency of foundations named after them (Crane 1993, 8–13), whereas the military-bureaucratic elite is well represented among men. Howard Crane says in this respect:

Not all Saldjūq royal patronage was the province of Saldjūq sultans, however. Royal foundations were also built by a number of women with ties of blood or marriage to the Saldjūq ruling house. In their epigraphy these women are distinguished by the titles *khātūn* and *malika*, the former the Turkish title given to wives and female relations of the Saldjūq rulers, the latter Arabic equivalent. Unlike the foundations of the Saldjūq sultans, those of Saldjūq royal women are either pious or commemorative in nature, never military” (Crane 1993, 11).

Among the Seljuks, royal women could also remarry after their husband’s death, as we see in the case of Gürji Khātūn, wife of Kay Khusrav II, who later married Parvāna Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān (Rogers 1976, 89).

Women whose world-view is wider can be seen in relation to Sufi orders in Anatolia. The *Vilāyet-nāme*, or the *Menākīb-ı Hümkār Hājji Bektāş Velī*, which depicts the Sufi Kadıncık Ana incidents of the thirteenth century, was put down in written form most probably in the second half of the fifteenth century (Gölpınarlı 1990, xxix). It is noteworthy that a work written in the fifteenth century speaks of non-segregated gatherings of Sufis as part of the natural world order (Gölpınarlı 1990, xii, 63–4). Although segregation is seen as part of the harem system and is taken for granted in these periods, that it is not quite the order of the thirteenth century can also be seen in the quasi-hagiographical historical narrative of Aḥmad Aflākī, the *Manāqib al-ʿĀrifīn*. This work depicts the social and intellectual life in thirteenth-century Konya focusing on Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn-i Rūmī. In this work we also become aware of Sufi gatherings in mixed company when, for instance, devoted Sufi women held *samāʿ* meetings at their homes and invited Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn-i Rūmī to them. One of the leading women characters is Fāṭima Khātūn or Kirākā of the Mawlawiyya (al-Aflākī al-ʿĀrifī 1976, text I, 3/343; II, 5/33, 6/21, 8/4, 8/8, 8/18, 8/26, 8/34). This work also speaks of women demanding a divorce. Men are given advice on how they can circumvent these demands. In contrast to Central Asian women who mostly functioned within lineage relationships, we become aware of Anatolian women’s position portrayed vividly within husband–wife relationships, as in *The Book of Dede Korkut*.

The end of the Seljuk period in Anatolia coincides with the emergence of many principalities, sometimes referred to as the Turcoman principalities (*beylik*). In actual fact the breakup of Anatolia, Iran, and western Central Asia into smaller political units, whether in tribal form or in the form of principalities, was a result of the fragmentation of the political order after the demise of the Mongolian Empire (1206–1350). During the Mongolian Empire not only Central Asia but the whole of Asia saw active political participation of women and their patronage of religious activities, both Muslim and non-Muslim. But within a century members of the non-Muslim ruling clans became both Muslim and Turkish speaking. The best illustration of this development is to be seen in *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūta* (1325–1354). Ibn Baṭṭūta finds that wives of Özbek Khān of the Golden Horde have a life of their own. He says, “The sultan’s khatuns passed by us, each one separately with her retinue,” with her royal encampment, the *ordo*. He is especially impressed by the respect shown by Özbek Khān to his wives and daughter.

In the aftermath of the Mongolian Empire, women in all four of the cultural regions mentioned earlier (Anatolia, Volga-Ural region, western and eastern Central Asia) are mentioned in several historical sources and travelogues. In Anatolia historical accounts of ʿĀşıkpāşāzāde and Neşrī written in the fifteenth century reflect oral traditions and thus women are part of the story. We encounter them in social gatherings, in diplomacy, and at events such as weddings. Women are mentioned by name. These works also show that women of the upper classes were given cooks when they married so that they would not be deprived of their own home culture. Among rural or nomadic women a woman’s adaptation to the husband’s family plays a greater role. Although there is no direct information on rural and nomadic women in these sources, deductions can be made on the basis of the information given about the women of the ruling class. Among the travelogues related to these regions Clavijo’s account occupies a unique place. Clavijo, the Spanish envoy to Temür (Tamerlane), reached Samarkand in 1403; he describes the encampments of Temür’s wives in great detail. In this description again we become aware of certain issues related to public life that will permeate literature on Muslim Turkish women’s lives. These issues, that re-emerge from time to time, include taking part in the political decision-making process; participation in non-segregated gatherings; drinking of alcoholic beverages; and participation at funerals. In earlier travelogues by Muslim observers such as Ibn

Faḍlān and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, when women's activities are described at great length, one is aware of the fact that the observers do not perceive all they see as common Muslim practices. But the description of similar activities by Clavijo makes us aware that we are dealing with a consistent phenomenon.

Information on nomadic women scattered in historical travel literature and other sources has in general been evaluated in contemporary studies in juxtaposition to sedentary women. Nomadic women are seen as moving about freely, whereas terms such as "segregation" and "seclusion" are commonly used for sedentary women. In spite of the freedom exercised on horseback, nomadic women were not free to choose partners or to inherit property. By customary law they were not inheritors of property other than their dowry, which they brought to their husband's extended family. Once the dowry was placed within the husband's estate, it was difficult to take it back and get a divorce. The custom of levirate by which widows had to marry their younger brothers-in-law or stepsons was prevalent among the nomadic populations and it can still be observed in some places.

Since widows were regarded as having an indispensable role in child rearing, they were not permitted to leave the deceased husband's home, thus were called *jisir*. This term, literally meaning "captive," is illustrative of the tension between sociopolitical and economic rights accrued to women according to customary law and Shari'a. Although most nomadic women did not inherit property, women of the ruling class would of course get their "dynastic share." Sedentary Muslim women who often led a segregated and secluded life could and did inherit property by way of Shari'a.

Age and gender hierarchy is another aspect prevalent among these societies (Togan 1999, 163–97). Seniority, perceived as hierarchy among age groups, was widespread. Seniority means giving a person a position within the context of her/his life cycle. Turkish women and men of Central Asian or Anatolian background have been keen observers of their own place in a hierarchical way, a phenomenon that seems to be derived from their custom of perceiving themselves in terms of genealogies. It should be noted that among groups where seven generations were known as part of the rules of exogamy – again a common trait – a person was born into the lower end of the genealogy and spent her/his life climbing up the ladder of seniority.

Seniority (age hierarchy) was seen especially within homosocial groups among members of an extended family, such as between mothers and daughters, mothers and daughters-in-law,

and among sisters-in-law. A similar relationship existed also among men, which is not elaborated upon here. Gender hierarchy, on the other hand, was seen within the relationships of husband and wife, father and daughters-in-law, older brothers, and younger sisters.

The nomadic practice of observing genealogies had meaning only in terms of the patriline. Exogamy meant not marrying for so many generations within the patriline. Among Central Asian khanates however, the matriline had not been discarded as in the case of the Ottomans. Matriline was only a marker of status: princes acquired their status through their mothers' standing, but being related to the matriline was not a hindrance to marriage. Thus Central Asian khanates after the fifteenth century were related by marriage alliances. Chinggisid princesses coming from the steppe regions were a source of pride. These women of the steppe were in reciprocal relations when they married Chinggisids; and when marrying non-Chinggisids they were in hypogamy. Temür's wife Saray Malik Khānum (Bibī Khānum) and his daughter-in-law Khānzāde Begüm were such women who, by entering hypogamy, raised the status of Temür, contributing thus to the conferral of the title *küregen>gurekan* (son-in-law) on Temür. By the marriage of these Chinggisid women into the family of Temür, Temür and Timurids attained a legitimacy which they did not previously possess.

After the sixteenth century, the Shaybānids ruled in western Central Asia and the eastern Chaghatai khans ruled in the Tarim Basin as Chinggisids. By that time the Kazakhs and the Sibir khanates were all ruled by Chinggisids, so that there was reciprocity between various branches. But by the seventeenth century Chinggisid princesses were again engaged in hypogamy, as they were the partners sought after by non-Chinggisids. These non-Chinggisids were either tribal leaders (*beg*) who established their own khanates or Sufis who had an eye for temporal power. Hypogamy for women came to an end in the twentieth century when class and social status became more dominant in marriage arrangements.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- S. al-D. A. al-Aflākī al-Ārifī, *Manākib al-ārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, 2 vols., Ankara 1976.  
 A. Eflākī, *Āriflerin menkibeleri*, trans. T. Yazıcı, 2 vols., Istanbul 1973.  
 A. Gölpinarlı, *Vilāyet-nāme*, Istanbul 1990.  
 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*. A.D. 1325–1354, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 5 vols., Cambridge 1958–2000.



- M. al-Kāshgharī, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Dīwān lughāt at-Turk)*, trans. and ed. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, Duxbury, Mass. 1982–5.
- Y. Khaṣṣ-Hājib, *Wisdom of royal glory. A Turco-Islamic mirror of princes*, trans. R. Dankoff, Chicago 1983.
- V. Minorsky (ed.), *Sharaf al Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks, and India*, London 1942.
- M. Neşrī, *Kitāb-ı Cibhān-nümâ*, Ankara 1995.
- F. Sümer, A. E. Uysal, and W. S. Walker (trans. and eds.), *The book of Dede Korkut*, Austin, Tex. 1972.
- R. Şeşen (ed.), *İbn Fazlan. Seyahatname*, Istanbul 1995.
- A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939.
- Asia. *Non-Eurocentric studies in history, social structure and identity*, Reading, U.K. 1999, 163–97.
- J. E. Tucker, *Women in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Cambridge 1985.

İSENBİKE TOGAN

### Iran to South Asia

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

- E. E. Akşit, Patterns of spiritual involvements of women in Ankara, M.A. thesis, Middle East Technical University 1998.
- Ü. Bates, Women as patrons of architecture in Turkey, in L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge 1979, 243–60.
- M. Bayram, *Bâcîyân-ı Rum*, Konya 1990.
- H. Crane, Notes on Saldjuq architectural patronage in thirteenth century Anatolia, in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 36 (1993), 1–57.
- F. Çağman, Sultan Sencer ve yaşlı kadın minyatürlerinin ikonografisi, in Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Arkeoloji-Sanat Tarihi Bölümü, *Sanat tarihinde ikonografik araştırmalar*, Ankara 1993, 87–116.
- A. Durukan, Anadolu Selçuklu sanatında kadın baniler, in *Vakıflar Dergisi* 27 (1999), 15–25.
- E. Esin, Katun, in *Erdem* 7 (1991), 471–503.
- T. Faiziev, *Temurii malikalar*, Tashkent 1994.
- S. Faroqhi, *Subjects of the sultan. Culture and daily life in the Ottoman Empire*, London 2000.
- B. Flemming, Aşikpaşazâdes Blick auf Frauen, in S. Prätör and C. K. Neumann (eds.), *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte. Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich*, 2 vols., Istanbul 2002, i, 69–96.
- G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1999.
- A. İnan, *Makaleler ve incelemeler*, 2 vols., Ankara 1968.
- , Türk Mitolojisinde ve halk edebiyatında kadın, in A. İnan, *Makaleler ve incelemeler*, i, Ankara 1968, 274–80.
- A. K. S. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, New York 1988.
- L. Peirce, *The imperial harem. Women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, New York 1993.
- J. M. Rogers, Waqf and patronage in Seljuq Anatolia. The epigraphic evidence, in *Anatolian Studies* 26 (1976), 69–103.
- J. P. Roux, La femme turque médiévale. I. La femme selon les textes “ruiniformes,” in *Erdem* 5:13 (1989), 169–97; trans. G. Yılmaz, Ortaçağ Türk kadını I. “Oyma yazı” metinlere göre kadın, in *Erdem* 5:13 (1989a), 199–226.
- , La femme turque médiévale. II. Informations médiévales sur la femme turque, in *Erdem* 6:18 (1990), 659–91; trans. G. Yılmaz, Ortaçağ Türk kadını II. Türk kadını hakkında ortaçağ bilgileri, in *Erdem* 6:18 (1989b), 693–724.
- I. Togan, Kamıkey’in düşünü. Kadın tarihi açısından bir değerlendirmenin manas varyantları ve Dede Korkut hakkında düşündürdükleri, in O. A. Budak, *Manas 1000 Bişkek bildirileri*, Ankara 1997, 187–223.
- , *Flexibility and limitation in steppe formations. The Kerait Khanate and Chinggis Khan*, Leiden 1998.
- , In search of an approach to the history of women in Central Asia, in K. E. Ertürk (ed.), *Rethinking Central*
- The spread of Islam began in Sasanian Iran in the seventh century, and over several centuries extended eastwards from across the ranges of the Hindu Kush through to the Indian subcontinent. Most of the inhabitants of present-day Afghanistan, Pakistan, and areas of northern India were converted during this period to Sunni Islam, and indeed medieval Iran was also predominantly a Sunni territory, though the Shi’a tradition took hold there in the long run, with important political and cultural consequences. Generally speaking, this process resulted from a combination of military conquest, commercial contact, and the activities of Sufi orders, with the relative significance of each varying from place to place and at different times. In today’s Iran and Afghanistan, conversion was far more widespread than in South Asia, where it remained piecemeal and Muslims only ever comprised an overall minority. Everywhere there were different degrees of assimilation and fusion between pre-existing beliefs and customs and those introduced along with Islam. Likewise, there was no single experience of conversion, which varied according to factors such as class, status, and even gender. The difficulty of accessing source material that relates to the lives of ordinary Muslim women, however, means that much more is known about the role of elite women than about non-elite women during this period.
- The Arab invasion of the Sasanian Empire in the third decade of the seventh century, with victories at Ctesiphon (the Sasanian capital located in Iraq) in 637 and Nihawand in 642, meant that Iran came under Muslim control, and Islam started to replace Zoroastrianism as the dominant faith. In the early stages, while some of the Arab contingents stationed in Iran were accompanied by dependants, this was not the case for the majority, and so in the longer term wives and concubines were taken from the local population. Hence, free-born Persian women became a significant element in garrison towns, responsible for introducing Persian domestic organization into Muslim Arab households. By the middle of the eighth century, the rising Abbasid dynasty, whose capital eventually came to be based at Baghdad, was able to subdue the Arab invasion, putting an end to the prolonged struggle. Persian

cultural influence increased, with Farsi gradually replacing Arabic as the primary language of the Abbasid court, where many of the administrative elite were Persians, and all, irrespective of their ethnic origin, had been trained in Sasanian ideas about statecraft. Abbasid nobles also adopted the practices and attitudes of the Sasanian nobility, and maintained the practice of keeping sizeable harems of wives and concubines.

Assessing the impact of the spread of Islam on the lives of Persian women is complicated by the fact that both veiling and female seclusion had existed in Sasanian Iran before the Arab conquest. Both had long been practiced by aristocratic and royal women, who very likely used the veil in public as a sign of higher status as it was a custom for high-ranking persons, whether male or female, to be hidden from public gaze by curtains. The Zoroastrian state religion had established regulations that had governed male–female relations among the upper classes. Patriarchal family structures had demanded total obedience of a wife to her husband, and failure to do so led to divorce, as did the failure on the part of a wife to produce children. The duty to remain chaste and ritually pure had rested firmly with women. Sasanian Iran had undoubtedly been a patriarchal society; however, the role of Zoroastrian women was never purely passive. For instance, there were polygamous marriages, but the number of wives depended on the means of the husband, which typically meant that he had only one wife. The principal wife in any marriage was independent within the household, and received a marriage gift from her husband that could not be reclaimed by him in the event of separation. Daughters also seem to have been entitled to an inheritance share, even if they entered into an unauthorized “love match.” Folktales, poetry, and women’s autonomous religious ceremonies during the Sasanian era also testify to the existence of independent attitudes among women of this period.

Islam’s impact on gender relations, therefore, cannot be properly appreciated without taking into account the existing circumstances of Persian women’s lives. Legally, there may have been changes but, in terms of day-to-day living, there was also a great deal of continuity, assimilation, and fusion. Slavery, for instance, persisted. The prosperity of the later Abbasid period allowed the Muslim elite to obtain slaves, taken or purchased from non-Islamic regions that surrounded the empire. Slave girls, who were unlikely to be secluded, often assumed the courtesan role played by hetairas in classical Greece and geishas in Japan. Many were accomplished singers and some were highly educated.

When young men of the ninth or tenth centuries fell passionately in love, the object of their desire was usually a slave girl.

In South Asia, the arrival of Islam also extended over several centuries, with far-reaching social, political, and cultural significance. In 711, attacks on Arab sea traders prompted an army under Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim to take control of Sindh on the west coast of India, and to add it, albeit temporarily, to the Umayyad Empire. Garrisons of troops were stationed along the River Indus valley, where there was little attempt at mass conversions, though relationships did develop between Arab men and local women that produced Muslim offspring. The local population, largely Buddhist and Hindu, however, were treated as people of the book (*ahl-i kitāb*) and expected to pay *jizya* (poll tax) like Zoroastrians, Jews, and Christians in other Muslim-controlled territories. Non-Muslims were allowed to practice their own religions unmolested, there was no interference in the jurisdiction of their personal laws, and as *dhimmīs* (protected people) local women could marry Muslims without needing first to convert to Islam. In subsequent years Muslim trade with the subcontinent was strengthened, and sizeable communities of Arab and Persian merchants established themselves in the coastal towns of western and eastern India, from Malabar round to Bengal. This resulted in further conversions, but the religious allegiances of the vast majority of people remained unchanged.

In time, the Abbasid Empire disintegrated, making way for a succession of dynasties in present-day Iran and Afghanistan, which included the Saminids, who ruled Khurasan and Transoxania from 819 to 1005 and under whose rule the linguistic and cultural resurgence of Iran began. Sufi orders played a significant role in the proselytization of Islam during this period, and notable individual Sufis included both women and men. Fāṭima of Nishapur (d. 849), for instance, was credited with being the mentor of her husband, Aḥmad Khidrūya (d. 854) as well as the companion of al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 873) and Dhū al-Nūn (d. 859), all highly-respected Sufis of the ninth century. Stories relate how, when in discussion with al-Biṣṭāmī, Fāṭima would frequently lift her veil and talk freely with him face to face. On the one hand, her example suggests that the Sufi tradition was able to transcend the culturally imposed limitations of gender. On the other hand, it has been said that when al-Biṣṭāmī remarked on the fact that she had colored her finger tips with henna, she replied that, since he had noticed this, it meant that he had looked at her with eyes other than those of intellectual friendship, and the

familiarity between them had to end. The experiences of women in Persian ruling families of this time could be very different, and reputation and rank were key to understanding their lives. According to the *Qābūs-nāma* of Kay Kaus, a prince of the Ziyarid dynasty that ruled the southern shores of the Caspian Sea in the eleventh century, women were helpless without the support of men, and needed to be married off as quickly as possible to preserve their reputation along with that of their families: “for a daughter, it would be better if she did not even live, but once she is there, she should either lie in the grave or be married.”

The Samanids’ successors, the Ghaznavids (a dynasty of *mamlūk*, or slave soldier origin, which at its peak ruled over most of Iran, Khurasan, Afghanistan, and the northwest areas of India and Pakistan until 1186) inherited the cultural legacy of their predecessors, and their capital Ghazna in eastern Afghanistan became a center of intellectual and literary life. Indeed, a new Persian literature flourished under Ghaznavid patronage. Courtly romances told stories of heroes consumed by physical passion who sublimated love into the idealization of a perfect but inaccessible woman. Nizāmī (ca. 1140–1209), for instance, wrote the love story of Shīrīn and Emperor Khusraw Parviz, as well as that of Majnūn who drove himself mad with longing for Layla whom he could never attain. It was also during this period that Firdawsī wrote his famous *Shāhnāma* (Book of kings, 1010). Drawing on pre-Islamic Sasanian political traditions, the *Shāhnāma* provides insights into the way that women and men interacted. Indeed, much can also be learned from later versions of the *Shāhnāma*. For instance, when it was written out again during the Safavid period (1501–1732), its illustrations, representing mainly the courtly environment, contained many images of women. In the majority of court and encampment scenes, however, male and female spaces were distinguished, usually separated by tents or buildings.

In 1055, Baghdad was occupied by the Seljuks, Sunni Muslim Turkish invaders from Central Asia. Persian, however, was spoken by their bureaucrats and courtiers. In time, the Seljuks were themselves replaced by successor states, such as the empire of the Khwarazmshahs who conquered Khurasan from 1193, and ruled territory that stretched from the edge of Iraq as far east as India. Khurasan, however, came under repeated attack from the Mongols from the thirteenth century, with the full conquest of Iran and Iraq beginning in the 1250s. For some decades after the conquest, Persian bureaucrats and scholars were cut off from their Arab co-religionists, with the effect that the Persian nature of culture

there was intensified. In parts of the region, evidence exists of women wielding power and intervening in public affairs during this period. For instance, Terken Khatun was a Qipchaq Turk who became the favorite of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Tekish (1172–1200). Chronicles suggest that she dominated the court of their son, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad (1200–20) and quarrelled with her husband’s heir by another wife to such an extent that she may have contributed to the impotence of the Khwārazmshāhī kingdom in the face of the Mongol onslaught. The Qutluḡ-Khānids of Kirman (1222–1303), likewise, deployed their women folk in the establishment of matrimonial alliances with the imperial Mongol house that acquired important political significance. Indeed, the career of another Terken Khatun (better known as Qutluḡ Terken) highlights opportunities that were available to a resourceful and politically active woman at this time. Of unknown Turkish tribal origin, she was acquired and raised by an Isfahani slave-merchant. In time, through a succession of marriages, voluntary or otherwise, she was appointed by the Ilkhan Hulegu to rule Kirman on behalf of her son, Jajaj Sultan. By marrying her daughters to key players at the Ilkhan court, she reinforced the position of her immediate family, highlighting the unspoken assumption that sovereignty could be exercised as well by a woman as by a man, without any of the constraints often held responsible for inhibiting Muslim women from participating in active politics. The Mongol influence can only be seen in other, more indirect, ways. The fourteenth-century Persian historian, Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (d. 1318), for instance, felt obliged to apologize to readers of his history of the world, *Jāmi’ al-tawārikh* for its explicit references to women. While he personally would have preferred not to mention them, his Mongol patrons, who had a reputation for treating both sexes equally, had expected this. Across the region, it would seem that the Turko-Mongol influence served to raise the public profile of women, albeit those endowed with the necessary ethnic and family credentials. That this was by no means a universal view, however, was reflected in the advice of the Persian poet Sa’dī (d. 1282) to: “Take a new wife every year, my friend, since a used calendar is not of much use.”

Between 1206 and 1555 a number of Turkish and Afghan dynasties also ruled over large stretches of territory in northern India. All based their power on extensive military organization. The Delhi Sultanate, established by Quṭb al-Dīn Aykbak in 1206, focused primarily on the support of large armies and running an opulent court. Public works and social

welfare remained largely of secondary interest. While these Muslim rulers continued to be dependent on existing for the local administration of their territory, integration proved slow and they retained many of their Islamic traditions and habits. Away from the court, however, reasonably substantial Muslim enclaves were established in various parts of northern India. Traders and Sufi mystics also helped to spread Islam to the hinterland. By 1335, Muslim-held territory had expanded under the Delhi sultans to include much of the subcontinent.

Under the influence of Turko-Mongol traditions, women with the right family connections were able on occasion to exercise power in medieval Muslim South Asia. One such woman was Razia (Raḍīyya) Sulṭāna. Eldest daughter of Iltutmish by his chief wife, she was nominated by her father, contrary to custom, as his successor to the throne of Delhi. When he died, a son, Firūz Shāh, took control, during which brief period his mother Shāh Terkan seized the opportunity to settle old scores in the harem (or *zenana* as the harem was usually known in Persia and India) and to put rivals to death. With the support of Iltutmish's Turkic slave officers (*ghulam*s) who, as first-generation converts from the eastern steppes of Central Asia, originated in a society that allowed women greater freedom, Razia defeated her brother in 1236. Regarded as a talented and just woman, she was a good administrator who also fought in battle. To emphasize and enhance her authority, however, she was said to have dressed as a man when appearing in public, wearing a turban in place of a veil. According to Jackson (in Hambly 1999), Razia's coinage also testified to her emancipation: "initially coins struck at Delhi reflected the vulnerability of her regime, since they bore either her father's name alone or proclaimed Iltutmish as Sultan al-ʿAzam, with Razia herself given the subordinate title of Sultan al-Muʿazzam. But the style changed, possibly in 635/1237–8, when Razia alone was named on the coinage." Jūzjānī's *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* (1260), for instance, praised her qualities as a ruler. Indeed, in Jūzjānī's view, her only defect was that she was not a man, and she was the only one of Iltutmish's dynasty whom he credited with being a war leader or *lashgarkash*. Eventually, however, resentment among her nobles at having a woman as their ruler, as well as jealousy of her Abyssinian advisor, Jamal al-Dīn Yāqūt, simmered over into a series of revolts, which resulted in her overthrow and death in 1240.

Source material on Razia Sulṭāna's reign is fairly limited. However, she helped to reinforce a tradition of activism among royal women of this period, which was reflected in the later lives of

other royal women belonging to the Mughal era. According to Kozłowski (in Hambly 1999), any woman who could claim to be a distant cousin in the Timurid line received a welcome in the courts of Bābur and Humāyūn. Whether they were aged widows, divorcees, or spinsters, their presence alone enhanced the status of the ruler's lineage. Gulbadan Begum (1523–1603), daughter of the first Mughal Emperor Bābur, for instance, is remembered for her *Humāyūn-nāma* that, among other things, traced the importance of these female connections within the Mughal court. Another equally famous Mughal woman was Nūr Jahān, a widow and lady-in-waiting at court, who married the emperor Jahāngīr in 1611, and within nine years had acquired all the rights of sovereignty and government normally due to the emperor. Under her influence, Persian poets, artists, scholars, and officials were lured to India by the brilliance and luxury of the Mughal court. Since women were not supposed to appear in front of men in court, Nūr Jahān ruled through trusted males. She is reported to have taken special interest in the affairs of women, giving land and dowries to orphan girls. A keen poet herself, she encouraged poetry writing among court women, and on occasions sponsored female poets from outside the court itself. In time, however, resentment at the extent of her influence meant that she was imprisoned by her husband's successor, and then exiled to Lahore where she died in 1645.

Another area of women's activity in the region stretching from Iran to India that has attracted the attention of historians was their promotion and funding of building construction of all kinds, as well as the commemoration of individual women with mausolea, contradicting to a great extent notions of female invisibility and also supporting the conclusion that some women were sufficiently esteemed to warrant commemoration after their deaths. Blair (1992), for instance, has commented on the tradition of female patronage revealed by surviving inscriptions from early Islamic Iran. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, European travelers to Iran had started to produce accounts of Safavid women. During the early Safavid period, it was clear that power and respect were given to pious and celibate unmarried sisters or daughters of ruling men, who, as a consequence, were often active patrons of art, architecture, and religious institutions. Tajlu Khānum, or Shāh Begi Begam, for instance, the favorite wife of Shāh Ismāʿīl, donated numerous properties to the shrine of Fāṭima al-Maʿsūma in Qom, built the dome of the Jannatsara at the shrine of Shaykh Ṣāfi at Ardabil, and later constructed the tomb of Shāh Ismāʿīl himself at Ardabil in 1524. While most

probably based on second-hand knowledge – male travelers, who were mainly familiar with the upper levels of Persian society, would have had little direct contact with such high-class women – these accounts suggest that women’s lives were greatly influenced both by the status of their family and by where they lived. Most marriages seem to have been arranged, but divorce was available to both men and women, and remarriage appears to have been relatively easy.

Thus, considerably more is known about the lives of elite women and men during the period under consideration than about their ordinary counterparts. The status and role of women, in particular, varied according to the time and the place being studied. Generally speaking, however, Irano-Timurid traditions did enable women to participate in a range of intellectual and cultural activities. At the same time, the Turkic background of many of the royal dynasties that controlled the region facilitated the participation of women in political and even military arenas. Indeed, it is family connections that provide the real key at this time to understanding the social, political, and cultural roles filled by individuals, whether women or men.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam. Historical roots of a modern debate*, New Haven, Conn. 1992. [In particular the chapter entitled “Elaboration of the founding discourses.”]
- S. Bayānī, *Zan dar Irān-i ‘asr-i mughal*, Tehran 1974.
- S. Blair, *The monumental inscriptions from early Islamic Iran and Transoxiana*, Leiden 1992.
- P. Crone, The rise of Islam in the world, in F. Robinson (ed.), *The Cambridge illustrated history of the Islamic world*, Cambridge 1996, 2–31.
- G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1999, in particular G. R. G. Hambly, *Becoming visible. Medieval Islamic women in historiography and history*, 3–27; P. Jackson, *Sultan Radiyya bint Iltutmish*, 181–97; G. Kozłowski, *Private lives and public piety. Women and the practice of Islam in Mughal India*, 469–88; J. Rose, *Three queens, two wives, and a goddess. Roles and images of women in Sasanian Iran*, 29–54; P. P. Soucek, *Timurid women. A cultural perspective*, 199–239; M. Szuppe, *The “jewels of wonder.” Learned ladies and princess politicians in the provinces of early Safavid Iran*, 325–47.
- Z. Kausar, *Muslim women in medieval India*, Patna 1992.
- A. K. S. Lambton, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, New York 1988. [In particular the chapter entitled “The women of the ruling house.”]
- A. L. al-Sayyid Marsot (ed.), *Society and the sexes in medieval Islam*, Malibu, Calif. 1979.
- L. C. Nand, *Women in Delhi Sultanate*, Allahabad 1989
- R. Payne, *The splendor of Persia. Under the conquerors*, New York 1957.
- R. Zakariya, *Razia, Queen of India*, Delhi 1966.

# Islam: Islam and Modernities

## Overview

Women's social status in relation to men and their inclusion in the public spheres of education and employment became framed as an issue of Islam versus modernity amidst attempts, mostly by European colonizers but also national elites, to reorganize Islamic societies in the nineteenth century. From that moment, when it peaked as the dominant motif of reform efforts, to its present day revival (Huntington 1993), this obdurate framing continues to overwhelm a multitude of positions regarding transformations in Muslim women's familial roles and regulation of their morality. While alternative reformist efforts invoking Islamic scriptures and traditions have always been present, it can be argued that the notion of Islam as an impediment to progress rather than an agent of change has tended to define mainstream thinking on Muslim women's experiences of social transformation. As a consequence, public sector reforms aimed at Muslim women often assume, as their explicit or implicit referent, standards and ideas about gender that were shaped through Western Europe's experiences from about the seventeenth century, in other words European modernity. Muslim women have noted the persistence of this representation and its material consequences in diverse situations: in societies of the Indian subcontinent that experienced extended British colonial rule (Mumtaz and Shaheed 1987), in states that were never directly colonized but faced European pressures, such as Turkey and Iran (Gole 1996, Najmabadi 1998); and in those communities that were formed through immigration to Europe and North America (Hoodfar 1994, Khan 1998). These accounts bear out the importance of recent interventions that have sought to bring under conceptual scrutiny the colonial history of the dichotomous construction of Islam and modernity while engaging with its operations in the experiences of Muslim women.

Although the Woman Question has been ubiquitous in histories of modernizing reforms in Islamic societies, many contemporary scholars attempt to demonstrate that these histories themselves are socially constructed, culturally gendered, and imbued with class and racialized inequalities. They point to the elision of a gendered "politics of modernity" that is reflected in the dichotomous

terms in which Muslim women's emancipation and oppression have come to be understood: unveiling versus veiling, Western schooling versus religious instruction, and public participation in employment and government versus segregation in the domestic sphere (Abu-Lughod 1998). Many factors have contributed to this new turn of scholarship, principal among them being the influence of post-modern thought and the development of cultural studies. An important development, drawn from the insights of French philosopher Michel Foucault, is the questioning of the conventional account of Western modernity itself and interrogation into its disciplinary processes, in addition to its emancipatory possibilities. This has aroused suspicion about the manner in which modernity is so easily equated with the progress, emancipation, and empowerment of women, all of which are then monopolized within a domain of "the secular" as opposed to that of religion (Asad 2003, Hatem 1998, Mahmood 2005). Hence some feminist scholars suggest that more productive insights into the debates relating to Muslim women as well as the actual status of gender relations may be gained by examining how and why claims to being modern are made, the interests of those advocating or opposing modernization, and the actual experiences of women in whose name reforms are demanded at a particular historical moment (Abu-Lughod 1998, Haddad 1998). This approach may enable more nuanced accounts of the histories of struggles over gender and better insights into the gender regimes that continue to organize women's lives in Islamic societies at present.

This entry, therefore, relies largely on these latter scholarly efforts to modify the conventional discourses about women, gender, Islam, and modernities. Since the aim here is to engage the conceptual framework of this interrelationship rather than attempt an exhaustive account of Muslim women's experiences, the discussion is structured around three important considerations that have been highlighted by recent scholarship. First, the pervasive counterpoising of Islam and modernity tends to fuse all historical experiences of social reform within Muslim societies to a simple struggle between colonizing and colonized men or between Western reformism and Islamic defensiveness. In the process important insights into other issues related

to class, gender, and sexuality are eluded. Second, such a framing serves to obscure the impetus of Islamic revival and reform – with important gendered underpinnings – that has been a feature of the historical development of almost all Muslim societies. In other words, if modernity refers to all activist efforts for political, economic, and social change and all transformations of social subjectivities, then it is applicable not only to projects undertaken in the name of Westernization but also to those that invoked Islamic frameworks. Third, the reductive opposition of religious/secular, Islamic/modern, obfuscates efforts to understand women's actual experiences of modernizing reforms as shaped by their differential locations in the social relations of class, religion, and ethnic grouping and other collectivities.

#### POLITICAL HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF ISLAM AND MODERNITY

There is no doubt that the colonial encounter led to re-articulation and further expansion of the ideas about women's status and notions of gender relations devised by early Muslim societies from the core texts of Islam (Ahmed 1992). Reformist attempts during the encounter with British, French, and Dutch colonizing powers took several forms in the face of the colonial position exemplified by Lord Cromer in Egypt that only by removing the veil and changing the position of women in Islam could colonized Muslim societies be brought into the true spirit of Western civilization (Ahmed 1992). Though it is impossible to generalize – given the diversity of the societies under consideration, the modes of colonization, and the condition of existing social structures at the time of the early colonial encounter – it is possible to posit a few broad trends that characterized indigenous men's responses. At one extreme were those who supported the colonial administration and called for adoption of a European outlook; at the other were those who opposed Westernization and called for preserving Islamic tradition in all areas. There was also often a third group opposed to the colonial administration and Westernization but espousing a secular rather than Islamic position. A fourth group, often ignored, whose importance is now being recognized is the Islamist modernists who directed their reformism both toward internal decay in the Muslim community and against external threat but cannot be seen as rejecting of modernity.

It has become apparent that colonial metropolitan and indigenous nationalist, secular, and religious discourses converged and diverged at particular moments in the late nineteenth century

and continue to do so in diverse forms in modern nation-states. In this process modernity, however framed, frequently serves to strengthen patriarchal relations and deepen divisions of class and ethnicity but is also experienced as liberating for groups of women in particular locations. In a critical reading of the renowned feminist text, *Tahrīr al-mar'a* (The liberation of women, 1899), by Qāsim Amīn, Leila Ahmed (1992) points out that Amīn's discourse of unveiling as the key to social transformation resonated in many ways with European colonial views about Islam and women. Further, she demonstrates that the fusing of ideas about women and culture, as symbolized by the divisions in attitudes toward the veil, has intertwined with issues of class and access to economic resources, position, and status. Ahmed's work suggests that it is a mistake to read such moments as simply a problem of "women's oppression versus women's emancipation" since these calls for women's freedom may effectively promote European style male dominance over Islamic style patriarchy and upper-class male dominance of men and women of lower classes. At the same time it must be pointed out that elite and middle-class women actively participated in these projects and claimed the new spaces opened by discourses of modernity to argue for change in the name of all women. Contemporary feminist scholarship has attempted to extricate women's own voices from Islamist, feminist, and nationalist positions that have been subsumed within larger male or nationalist discourses. Narratives of women written in the late nineteenth century, such as those by Halide Edib in Turkey, Huda Sharawi in Egypt and Raden Adjeng Kartini in Indonesia, have recently been republished with new insights. Meanwhile there is a growing scholarly endeavor to acknowledge the strength that many women, largely from the middle and lower middle classes, may derive from their religious identities or involvement in religious movements. This is discussed further later.

However women may have understood them, nineteenth-century programs for improvement in women's status and for their entry into the public spheres of politics, education and employment usually became bound with broader nationalist attempts to modernize Islamic societies to bring them up to date with Western societies or as a defensive stance against colonial denigration of Islam and culture. This nationalist agenda, and its role in cultural definitions of women and gender relations, was in turn affected by the nature of the state's particular relationship with European power and colonialism. For example, the states of Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan retained formal independence throughout the

nineteenth century and their experience is exceptional in the Islamic world (Voll 1994). At the end of the First World War important reformist leaders emerged in each of these countries, the most dramatic being Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881–1938) who led the creation of the modern Turkish Republic out of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. The Kemalist program was a vigorous attempt to introduce Westernizing secularism, which prioritized an end to women's seclusion and veiling and adoption of European dress for men and women. Similar though less dramatic transformations were brought about in Iran by the twentieth-century ruler Reza Shah (1878–1944) and in Afghanistan by King Amanullah (1892–1960). The debates about modernization in these societies, rather than constructing Islam and Western modernity as irreconcilable, were likely to center on the degree of adaptation to the West and the most appropriate modes of implementation. This is in contrast to the experience of other regions such as the Maghrib states of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, which were under French colonial rule. In these latter states the primary issue of modernization was not a concern with techniques but the problem of safeguarding a discrete identity in the face of an assimilating Western culture (Voll 1994).

After the end of the Second World War, national states began to be created in most Muslim societies – with the exception of Palestine, the Gulf Arab region, and Central Asia. The formation of modern nation-states such as Pakistan, Indonesia, and Egypt was seen as the victory of secular modernizers over Islamic obscurantists. Many measures to improve women's political, legal, and economic status – such as improved educational and employment opportunities, reforms in marriage and divorce laws and voting rights for women – were undertaken in the course of national development and state-formation programs. In the name of development, these newly decolonized states imbibed the ideological models prevalent in Western industrialized societies that were also organized on patrilineal and patriarchal principles (Chatty and Rabo 1997). Thus, the state of women's citizenship and gender equality, rather than transparently reflecting Islamic cultural norms in Muslim societies, is imbued with Western male ideology that was transferred during the processes of modern nation-state formation. Indeed, studies such as Najmabadi's (1998) work on women in Iran in the decades after the 1979 Islamic Revolution demonstrate that the idea of a secular modernizing state as essential to achieving women's rights may turn out to be a modernist myth. This is supported by micro-level studies that have attempted

to explore the ambiguities and contradictions of programs that were/are intended to remake women in the name of modernity. These studies suggest that reform projects – whether at the turn of the century or well into the twentieth century – that advocated women's participation in the public sphere in the interest of national progress had differential impacts on groups of women. Many state development projects related to women's lives in the private domain were not simply attempts to challenge or disrupt the private/public split in ways beneficial to women but rather to bring the private realm under state supervision and control. Through legal reforms such as family laws or personal status codes, modern states such as Pakistan, Indonesia, Morocco, and Algeria have been enabled to extend their authority over families, tribes, and clans, areas previously considered “private” and outside their control. For example, Indonesian women certainly saw improvements in their lives, particularly in education and health, due to the development policies enacted during the New Order Era (1993–98) of President Soeharto. However, the state support for women's organizations such as the Family Welfare Movement (PKK), Dharma Wanita, and Dharma Pertiwi was also designed to enlist middle-class women's feminine and social roles to further their husband's careers and thus officially sanctioned women's subordination in the family (Robinson 2002). Similarly, in twentieth-century Central Asia, Soviet rule officially sought to establish gender equality, seen as equal rights for men and women in work and family life. However under the conditions of Soviet economic exploitation of Central Asia, women's liberation was widely experienced as economic enslavement of both men and women (Tokhtakhodjaeva 1995).

Furthermore, while the modernizing projects of nation-states did bring about improvements in women's lives, these accomplishments have been unevenly realized not only among but also within states and have varied at different periods of history. One of the most crucial areas where modern Muslim nation states are seen to have “failed” is their enactment of laws relating to women and family, referred to as personal status or family laws, which have detracted from promises of full citizenship rights for women that were enshrined in many national constitutions. By the same logic, it is argued that nation-states have compromised on women's rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance, and similar matters, as a concession to Islamizing anti-modernist forces bent on taking the radical edge off the nationalist reforms (Kandiyoti 1994). This is also often cited as the explanation for the familiar



“paradoxes” of contemporary Islamic societies: for example the election of women as democratically chosen leaders in states such as Indonesia, Pakistan, and Bangladesh despite the fact that women’s legal, political, and economic status remains minimal; or the emergence of a significant group of Islamist women within the very generation that has benefited most from public education, health, and public participation provided by the modernizing state.

#### ISLAMIC MODERNITY/ISLAMIZING MODERNITY

Since the latter half of the twentieth and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, the focus of much scholarship on gender, Islam, and modernities is to consider the implications for gender relations of the growing movements for Islamization of the public spheres in many Muslim states and societies. It is quite common to find that national development projects, often initiated in response to demands by women’s groups for removal of discriminatory practices or alleviating glaring gender disparities, are most vehemently and vociferously opposed by groups that position themselves as representatives of Islam. However, some scholars argue, this should not be taken as evidence that contemporary Islamist movements are anti-modern or reacting to modernity. Beyond pointing to Islamists’ appropriation of the latest economic and technological developments, such scholarship draws attention to their attempts at individuation through the ideal of the “true believer,” their success in social and political mobilization of people from lower and lower middle classes and their focusing on the state as the agent of change (Utvik 2003, Esposito 2003). According to this viewpoint, Islam was not only an aspect of modern state formation during the twentieth century but also a catalyst for modern Islamic movements or organizations (Esposito 2003). Moreover, modern Islamic movements, rather than being reactive to modernity or Western imperialism, need to be understood through both their continuity and disjunctures with the revivalist attempts that have been indigenous to Islamic societies at all periods.

A vigorous process of questioning and self reflection within Islam began in the aftermath of the Mongol invasions of the Islamic East and the sack of Baghdad in the early thirteenth century (Alam 2004, Smith 1957). These premodern movements, as well as those that arose later during the modern period of European history, have been characterized by attempts to address internal disarray as well as external threat, invoking both Islamic

and Western sources for their reformist projects (Esposito 1984, Smith 1957, Voll 1994). Hence, in the eighteenth century, at the dawn of contact with European colonialism, there were already indigenous reform movements in Islamic societies, the best known of them being those of Shāh Walī Ullāh of Delhi, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb of Najd (Arabia), and Uthman dan Fodio in northern Nigeria. All these movements were reformist and purifying and they testify to the Islamic dimension of the Muslim experience in addition to role of the modernizing West (Voll 1994).

Islamic revivalism is often the term used to describe those premodern movements that were precipitated by the internal decay of Muslim society and Islamic modernism to refer to those projects which responded to the challenge of Western colonialism. However, the two are not really separate since many early Islamic revivalist movements such as the Wahhabi in Saudi Arabia, the Mahdi in Sudan, and the Sanusi in Libya were forerunners of both twentieth-century Islamic modernism and contemporary Islamic revivalism (Esposito 1984). Some major exponents of modern Islamist thought, such as Abū al-A’lā Mawdūdī (South Asia) and Sayyid Quṭb (Egypt), drew on the ideas and methodology of premodern revivalist movements. Thus they often replicated the focus and strategies initiated by the earlier movements, although not necessarily in an identical manner.

The interaction between Islam and Western modernity can be said to have intensified in the nineteenth century when European colonial rule was fairly well established over the majority of the Islamic societies. Islamic reformers of this time and in the later period participated in attempts for gradual adaptation through secularization as well as in efforts for rejuvenation of the Islamic heritage in the light of the modern world (Voll 1994). Thus some ulema made important contributions to the projects of Muslim governments to emulate the West in sociopolitical areas and, consequently, to relegate Islam to personal, moral life. An example is that of Ahmad Cevdet Pasha (1822–95) who played a major part in the period of the Tanzimat reformism undertaken between 1839 and 1876 to Westernize the political, social, and economic structures of the Ottoman Empire (Voll 1994). Against the threat of Western dominance of the later nineteenth century, Islamic reformers preferred to emphasize the principles of revival and reform that were contained within Islam to insist that modernity posed no threat to an Islam that was correctly understood and interpreted (Esposito 1984). Unlike their eighteenth-century forerun-

ners, modernist reformers such as Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838–97) opted not for a return to the past but rather pointed to the congruities between Islamic ideals and the ideals of Western modernity such as rationality, science, and democracy. One of Afghānī's well-known disciples, Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, became a major advocate of the improvements in women's status and their education and training. 'Abduh invoked the Qur'ān to argue for Muslim women's awareness of their rights and was critical of the damaging effects of polygamy on family life.

The role of women in the family and its related social and cultural institutions continues to be a focal concern for Islamist reform movements that have to operate in the milieu of modernizing Islamic societies with institutionalized systems of education and discipline (Nasr 1996, Haddad 1998, Hatem 1998). Mervat Hatem (1998) has demonstrated the centrality of women and class in the redefinition of private and public spheres by contemporary Islamist movements in Egypt. Hatem points to Partha Chatterjee's elucidation of the manner in which nineteenth-century anti-colonial nationalists in Bengal were able to rationalize both accommodation of and resistance to colonialism by invoking the notion of two separate cultural spheres – material/public and spiritual/private (Chatterjee 1993). While colonial cultural contamination was acceptable in the public sphere, the superior spiritual inner sphere was deemed off limits to colonizers. In this latter sphere women's agency in the project of cultural nationalism was not only acknowledged but enhanced through reforms aimed at protecting it from colonialist modernist penetration. The private/public dichotomy characterized by Chatterjee has been frequently invoked by feminist scholars in different ways to offer heterogeneous accounts of Muslim nationalist constructions in many different contexts and at different periods in history (Shakry 1998, Rouse 1996, Minault 1998). Drawing upon this formulation, Hatem has suggested that current Islamist discourse, which is produced by a section of the middle class, draws upon the strategies of anti-colonial nationalists in mediating between universalism and cultural particularity described by Chatterjee. However, instead of demarcating the "private" sphere of the middle-class family on which to launch its project of cultural difference, as anticolonial nationalism had sought to do, modern Islamist discourse seeks to insist on the validity of expressions of Islamic cultural difference, for example *hijāb* and gender segregation, in the modern or public arena in both Muslim and non-Muslim societies. Accordingly, Islamist movements do not

reject but emphasize the centrality of the nuclear middle-class heterosexual family and the systems of education and training that are key to the disciplinary processes of modern society (Hatem 1998). This accounts for the emergence and increasing visibility of young modern secular educated, mostly middle- and lower middle-class, women in today's Islamist movements. Thus, a profound gendering – and class definition – of political/religious movements has resulted from the interaction of Islamist and state discourses on gender, women, family, and sexualities in societies as dispersed and culturally disparate as Egypt, Pakistan, Iran, and Malaysia. In some cases these women are positioning themselves within Islam to challenge hermeneutical traditions and prevailing interpretations of the scriptural texts of Islam to make interventions in notions of gender equity, gender equality, and human rights and thereby emerging as important political and religious agents (Badran 1995, Stivens 2000, Najmabadi 1998).

#### WOMEN AS SUBJECTS AND AGENTS OF ISLAM AND MODERNITY

It is important to shift attention now to the contention that women are not simply objects but subjects and active agents of both Islamic and secular modernizing schemes. Indeed Muslim women frequently disrupt the Islamic/modern or religious/secular dichotomy to act in their own interests.

Along with the recognition of the gendered and class politics that have operated and continue to operate through modernizing projects, it needs to be reiterated that nationalist modernizing efforts have been emancipatory for many women since they have dramatically increased women's mobility, their access to education, and the possibilities for their participation in social and political life. Narratives written in the nineteenth century by elite and upper-class women testify to these liberatory experiences and continuing proof comes from the increases recorded in middle-class women's participation in Western-style academic institutions and professions in almost all Muslim societies. Nor should we assume that women are simply the objects of male agendas of Islamist reformist movements that are focused on women and the middle class family. Feminist scholarship on women in religious and right wing social and political movements has illustrated complex formulations of subjectivity and agency. Recent studies have also investigated the growing popularity of visible symbols of Muslim identity such as the *hijāb* among young educated women and its implications for conventional theories of development

that predict the decline of religion with the advance of modernization. Consequently, there are endeavors to bring to light the possibilities that may lie for many classes of women in those politico-religious movements that were marginalized in the name of development of Muslim societies. As a result, one persuasive argument goes, feminism like other liberal secular projects fails to provide nuanced accounts of the subjectivity of women who, inspired by religion, strive for self-transcendence, not the self-fulfillment that underlines the teleological project of modernity (Mahmood 2005). In Pakistan, women activists of the Jamaat-i Islami invoke both Islamic and modernist histories to carve out a space for themselves in the emergent civil society. In the process, they seek a redefinition of modernity with the aim of challenging the activist claims of the (feminist) women's movement and the developmental claims of the modernizing state. Jamaat-i Islami women describe themselves as "modern" but take care to distance their modernity from the West and they fight for the rights of women but distinguish their activism from feminism (Jamal 2005). It may be argued that it is time now for scholarly work on the implications of both secular and Islamist modernities for the large numbers of women in societies such as Algeria, Morocco, and South Asia who are committed to more traditional, devotional forms of Islam than practiced by either secular or Islamic modernizers of the contemporary era. The consequences of these reform efforts are not clear for the vast majority of women, often poor and rural, who are more engaged with the practices of shrines and sanctuaries than mosques and *madrasas* (Mernissi 1996, Abbas 2002).

An interesting tendency in contemporary feminist scholarship on Islam and modernity is the thrust to explain some of the congruences, in addition to disjunctures, between liberal secular and Islamic projects and to blur the identification of political positions as representative of "Islam" or "modernity" (Hoodfar 1999, Hatem 1998, Abu-Lughod 1998). Such studies challenge the claims of proponents of specific positions, such as secularists and Islamists, by examining the ways in which competing interests may exaggerate their claims in order to set up a false dichotomy between tradition versus modernity. The feminist task then becomes one of explicating the manner in which the opposition between the two groups subdues women's voices in a way that cannot be explained by recourse to ideas about Western modernization and Islamist repression. It is also noteworthy that women's groups and feminist movements, while professing a commitment to universal notions of democracy

and human rights, often resort to Islamic scriptural texts and traditions to bolster their positions. This has been the policy of the Women's Action Forum in Pakistan and the Collectif '95 women's network in the Maghrib states of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia (Ziai 1997). Thus women's own actions may challenge the traditional opposition between Islam and modernity to push forward particular agendas. The most productive demonstration of such activism seems to be occurring in present day Iranian society where secular and Islamist women have dismantled this divide to press the state on specific issues of women's rights (Afshar 1998).

Do these transactions suggest simply different ways of engaging with modernity/modernities, understood in this entry as the political, social, and economic and cultural changes initiated by the industrial revolution in Europe and the heterogeneous forms produced through its globalization during the past three hundred years? Or are these developing interactions between gender, Islam, and modernity so constitutive of human experience that we may speak of multiple, alternative, or divergent modernities?

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. B. Abbas, *The female voice in Sufi ritual. Devotional practices of Pakistan and India*, Austin, Tex. 2002.
- L. Abu-Lughod, The marriage of feminism and Islamism in Egypt. Selective repudiation as a dynamic of postcolonial cultural politics, in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking women. Feminism and modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, N.J. 1998, 243–69.
- , Introduction. Feminist longings and postcolonial conditions, in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking women. Feminism and modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, N.J. 1998, 3–32.
- H. Afshar, *Islam and feminisms. An Iranian case study*, Basingstoke, Hants. and London 1998.
- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam. Historical roots of a modern debate*, New Haven, Conn. and London 1992.
- M. Alam, *The languages of political Islam. India 1200–1800*. Chicago 2004.
- T. Asad, *Formations of the secular. Christianity, Islam, modernity*, Stanford 2003.
- M. Badran, *Feminists, Islam and the nation. Gender and the making of modern Egypt*, Princeton, N.J. 1995.
- P. Chatterjee, *The nation and its fragments. Colonial and postcolonial histories*, Princeton, N.J. 1993.
- D. Chatty and A. Rabo (eds.), *Organizing women. Formal and informal women's groups in the Middle East*, Oxford and New York 1997.
- J. L. Esposito, *Islam and politics*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1984.
- , Introduction. Modernizing Islam and re-Islamization in global perspective, in J. L. Esposito and F. Burgat (eds.), *Modernizing Islam. Religion in the public sphere in Europe and the Middle East*, London 2003, 1–2.
- N. Gole, *The forbidden modern. Civilization and veiling*, Ann Arbor 1996.
- Y. Y. Haddad, Islam and gender. Dilemmas in the changing Arab world, in Y. Y. Haddad and J. L.

- Esposito (eds.), *Islam, gender and social change*, Oxford and New York 1998, 3–29.
- M. F. Hatem, Secularist and Islamist discourses on modernity in Egypt and the evolution of the post-colonial nation-state, in Y. Y. Haddad and J. L. Esposito (eds.), *Islam, gender and social change*, New York 1998, 85–99.
- H. Hoodfar, The veil in their minds and on our heads. The persistence of colonial images of Muslim women, in *Resources for Feminist Research* 22:1/2 (1994), 5–18.
- , The women’s movement in Iran. Women at the crossroads of secularization and Islamization, 1999, <[http://www.iranchamber.com/podium/history/020312\\_women\\_secularization\\_islamization](http://www.iranchamber.com/podium/history/020312_women_secularization_islamization)>.
- S. P. Huntington, The clash of civilizations, in *Foreign Affairs* 72:3 (Summer 1993), 22–49.
- A. Jamal, Feminist “selves” and feminism’s “others.” Feminist representations of Jamaat-e-Islami women in Pakistan, in *Feminist Review* 81(2005), 52–73.
- D. Kandiyoti, Identity and its discontents. Women and the nation, in P. Williams and L. Carisman (eds.), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory*, New York 1994, 429–43.
- S. Khan, Muslim women. Negotiations in the third space, in *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 23:2 (1998), 305–36.
- S. Mahmood, *Politics of piety. The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton, N.J. 2005.
- F. Mernissi, Women, saints, and sanctuaries, in *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3:1 (1977), 101–12.
- G. Minault, *Secluded scholars. Women’s education and Muslim social reform in colonial India*, Delhi 1998.
- K. Mumtaz and F. Shaheed, *Women of Pakistan. Two steps forward, one step back?*, Lahore 1987.
- A. Najmabadi, Feminism in an Islamic republic. “Years of hardship, years of growth,” in Y. H. Haddad and J. L. Esposito (eds.), *Islam, gender and social change*, New York 1998, 59–84.
- S. V. R. Nasr, *Mawdudi and the making of Islamic revivalism*, New York 1996.
- K. Robinson, Indonesian women. From Orde Baru to Reformasi, in L. Edwards and M. Roces (eds.), *Women in Asia. Tradition, modernity, globalization*, Ann Arbor 2000, 139–69.
- S. Rouse, Gender, nationalism(s) and cultural identity. Discursive strategies and exclusivities, in K. Jayawardena and M. De Alwis (eds.), *Embodied violence. Communalising women’s sexuality in South Asia*, New Delhi 1996, 16–33.
- O. Shakry, Schooled mothers and structured play. Child rearing in turn-of-the-century Egypt, in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking women. Feminism and modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, N.J. 1998, 126–70.
- W. C. Smith, *Islam in modern history*, Princeton, N.J. 1957.
- M. Stivens, Becoming modern in Malaysia. Women at the end of the twentieth century, in L. Edwards and M. Roces (eds.), *Women in Asia. Tradition, modernity and globalisation*, Ann Arbor 2000, 16–38.
- M. Tokhtakhodjaeva, *Between the slogans of communism and the laws of Islam. The women of Uzbekistan*, trans. S. Aslam, ed. C. Balchin, Lahore 1995.
- B. O. Utvik, The modernizing force of Islam, in J. L. Esposito and F. Burgat (eds.), *Modernizing Islam. Religion in the public sphere in Europe and the Middle East*, London 2003, 43–67.
- J. O. Voll, *Islam. Continuity and change in the modern world*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1994<sup>2</sup>.
- F. Ziai, Personal status codes and women’s rights in the Maghreb, in M. Afkhami and E. Friedl (eds.), *Muslim women and the politics of participation. Implementing the Beijing Platform*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1997, 72–82.

AMINA JAMAL

# Islam: Jewish and Muslim Sources, Discourses, and Interactions

## Overview

Jews have lived in every part of the classical Islamic world in which they have been permitted to reside, and everywhere they have shared their cultures and world-views while at the same time absorbing from the cultures and world-views of the dominant cultures. While it is not yet possible to treat the interactions and discourses of Jewish and Muslim women in any comprehensive manner, a cursory introductory overview may be obtained by examining aspects of their “sacred histories” in conjunction with some documented historical interactions.

### SĀRA AND HĀJAR

The religious narrative of Islam actually begins long before the birth and mission of the Prophet Muḥammad. Abraham, depicted in the Qurʾān as living many generations prior to the birth of Muḥammad, is portrayed in Islamic scripture as the first Muslim (3:67), destroyer of idols (37:83–99), and builder of the Kaʿba (2:125–32).

By the period of the institutional emergence of Islam in seventh-century C.E. Arabia, Abraham had long been claimed by Jewish and Christian sources as the father of each religious system. Abraham was the father of the religious peoplehood of Judaism (Genesis 12:2, 15:5–6, 17:9–14, 22:17–19, Isaiah, 51:1–2, Babylonian Talmud *Berakhot* 6b, *Shabbat* 137b, *Yoma* 28b, etc.), and the father of the faith community of Christianity (Romans 4:13–24, 9:6–8, Galatians 4:21–5:1, John 8:56–8, Irenaeus *Adversus Haereses* 4.al.1; Melito of Sardis, *Homily on Genesis*, ch. 8). In like manner, Abraham is for Muslims, from the earliest period of their emergence, the father of the pristine and unspoiled monotheism that epitomizes Islam.

All three “religions of Abraham” recognize the symbolism of Abraham in their religious systems, but the Abraham narrative is not merely the story of an individual. It is the story, perhaps *the* paradigmatic story, of family. Abraham’s wives, Sarah and Hagar, are included in the earliest references to Abraham in the Hebrew Bible, and their roles are of critical importance to the narrative as a whole. Sarah and Hagar also serve in both Jewish

and Islamic literatures as matriarchs of the Israelite and Arab peoples (more specifically in Islamic literature, of the “Arabized” or northern Arabs). The Qurʾān itself has little to say about Sarah and almost nothing to say about Hagar, but these lacunae are filled in by the vast literature of Qurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*). As in Jewish (but not necessarily Christian – see Galatians 4–5) religious literature, Islamic literature understands Sarah as representative of Judaism, while Hagar tends to represent the Arab peoples and, therefore, Islam. Neither are named in the Qurʾān, but both may be found repeatedly in the indirect narrative exegesis of the Qurʾān known as *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (Stories of the prophets).

Muslim narrative exegetes and collectors of narrative exegesis such as Ṭabarī, Thaʿlabī, Kisāʾī, Ibn Qutayba, and Ibn Kathīr record Islamic traditions that follow the biblical narrative by depicting Sarah as coming to the conclusion that she will never bear children. She therefore gives her personal servant, Hagar, to Abraham in order to provide children for the family. Hagar (Hājar in Arabic as found in the literary sources) becomes Abraham’s second wife or concubine, bearing a son for Abraham, named Ishmael (Ismāʿīl).

But jealousy of Hagar overcomes Sarah after the birth of Ishmael. Some sources depict Abraham favoring Ishmael over Isaac, as a result of which Sarah swears to physically deface Hagar by cutting off a piece of her flesh. Abraham intervenes by suggesting that Sarah pierce Hagar’s ears, thereby lowering her status (Ex. 11:2–6). Sarah carries this out, and by virtue of this very first case of human ear-piercing in human history, it became a customary practice. In some renderings, Sarah circumcises Hagar in her rage, thereby serving as the first case of female circumcision (Firestone 1990, 67, 206 n. 32–4).

Sarah’s continuing jealousy eventuates in the expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael. The sources depict Abraham bringing them to the location of what would become Mecca and establishing them there, thus shifting the locus of primary sanctity from Palestine to Arabia in accordance with Qurʾān 14:37. Abraham leaves them in a barren and inhospitable valley with only a water skin and entrusts

them to God, unknowingly establishing them in the exact location of the future city of Mecca. The water is soon exhausted. While Ishmael is thirsting for water, and in many renderings of the story at the point of death from thirst, Hagar desperately climbs a low mountain to look for help. After hearing a sound across from the hill, she runs toward it but discovers nothing, and then runs back again to the hill, repeating the action in her search for water for her dying son. This, according to religious sources, is the origin of the running ritual (*al-sa'y*) between Şafā and Marwa that is part of the *ḥājj* Pilgrimage to this day. On the last (in some versions, the seventh) of her runnings in search of help, she observes water miraculously bubbling up out of the ground under Ishmael's legs. In some versions, she dams it up (*zammāt*), and for this reason the well of sacred water in Mecca is known to this day as the Zam-zam well.

Hagar, therefore, serves as the originator of required Islamic rituals and is associated with the earliest memories of the sacred city of Mecca. She is thus included among other great and pious religious leaders such as Abraham in authorizing and legitimizing some of the most basic and important Islamic rituals and customs. Her bones, along with Ishmael's, are said to have been buried at *al-ḥijr*, a space opposite the northwestern wall of the Ka'ba.

Like the Bible, Islamic sources never identify Hagar as an Israelite or a proto-Jew. Islamic legends usually identify her, as in the Bible, as an Egyptian, but she serves as a matriarchal figure for the "Arabized" Arabs, the *muta'arraba* or *musta'riba* Arabs. As competing matriarchs, Sarah and Hagar serve as "types" and their personal relationship serves as a signal of the tense nature of the much larger relationship that will ensue between Jews and Muslims in later days. Like other motifs in this narrative, Sarah's jealousy of Hagar appears as an omen of a future reality; in this instance that future is when the Jews will become jealous of Islam and of God's love for His last Prophet, Muḥammad. But these stories are also understood in Islamic literature as depicting God's will in dividing the legacy of Abraham and establishing his line in Arabia as well as Palestine. Hagar and Ishmael, typical of God's chosen messengers and agents, had to endure distress and danger in their journey to carry out the divine will.

INTRODUCING THE PROPHET: KHĀLIDA  
BT. AL-ḤĀRITH, THE AUNT OF  
‘ABDALLĀH B. SALĀM

The *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* literature comments through its own unique style of narrative exegesis on many

biblical stories that occur chronologically after those of Abraham, and these include the stories of a number of Israelite women. But although this collection is fascinating and is indeed a part of the large corpus of Islamic literature, a long excursus here would detract from other important issues that need discussion in a limited space (see Bibliography for suggested readings).

According to Islamic sources, the first ongoing historical contact between Muslims and Jews occurs after Muḥammad's *ḥijra* or emigration from Mecca to Medina. The historicity of the stories of Jewish-Muslim relations during this period is open to criticism and a certain scepticism, but the meaning of these stories within the larger narrative of Islam is not. The portrayal of Jews in this literature, most of which is found in the *sīra* and *ḥadīth*, became regarded as something akin to "idealtypical" in the Weberian sense. They epitomize early Muslim views and opinions about the historical relations between Muslims and Jews and serve to characterize the nature of Jewish-Muslim relations in later periods as well.

One of the first references is found in the *sīra* or prophetic biographies of Muḥammad, and the earliest version that has come down to us is that authored by Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq in the eighth century. According to the story found in Ibn Iṣḥāq's biography, the news of Muḥammad had reached Medina before his arrival there. A learned Jew named al-Ḥuṣayn was working in a date orchard when he heard that Muhammad had arrived in the outskirts of Medina. When he heard this news he cried out "*Allāhu akbar!*" (God is most great!) because of his excitement at the arrival of the Prophet. When his aunt, Khālida bt. al-Ḥārith, who was also Jewish, heard his exclamation she said: "By God take care! If Moses had come you would not have become more excited." To this, al-Ḥuṣayn replied: "O aunt! By God, he is the brother of Moses and of the same religion, having been sent on the same mission." She responded, "O nephew! Is he the prophet whom we have been told will be sent at this hour?" Al-Ḥuṣayn answered in the affirmative, to which Khālida responded: "Then this is it!" Khālida then became Muslim along with her nephew, who changed his name to 'Abdallāh b. Salām.

The story continues with al-Ḥuṣayn, now named 'Abdallāh, informing Muḥammad that the Jews cannot be trusted and proves not only this "fact" to Muḥammad but also their stubborn refusal to abandon their religious tradition. 'Abdallāh conceals his conversion from his fellow Jews and hides one day in a side-room while instructing Muḥammad to

inquire of the former Jew's reputation among his people. When asked about 'Abdallāh, they immediately identify him as their master and learned religious scholar. He then reveals himself to them and calls them to accept Muḥammad as a prophet. He "witnesses" to them that Muḥammad is the true Apostle of God, to which they respond that 'Abdallāh is a liar. 'Abdallāh then turns to Muḥammad and said: "Did I not tell you that they are a people of lies, deceit and perfidy?" 'Abdallāh then officially revealed his conversion and the conversion of Khālida and his family.

While by the form and style of this story most historians of Islam read it as a literary rather than historical narrative, it nevertheless innocently conveys some likely information about the relations between the Jews and Muslims of Medina. First of all, it takes for granted that women and men who are family members work together in agriculture. Some of the Medinan Jews may have been hoping or expecting a messianic or prophetic leader, or perhaps an apocalyptic event. The story depicts both women and men expecting it to be imminent. The Jewish majority, however, reject the possibility that Muḥammad could be a prophet, and this difference of opinion may reflect different sects or groups within the Jewish community of Medina. In at least one such group, men and women worked together in tending the date trees and seemed to be expecting some kind of extraordinary or revelatory experience. This group, which may have been entirely defined by kinship, very quickly became part of the growing Muslim following of Muḥammad.

#### DEATH OF THE PROPHET

A Jewish woman is depicted in the *sīra* as having attempted to poison Muḥammad. Her name was Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārith and she was married to Sallām b. Mishkam, a leader of the Jewish tribe of Medina known as the Banū Naḍīr. Zaynab's husband, Sallām, is recorded as having once aided an enemy of Muḥammad. When the Banū Naḍīr were banished from Medina as punishment for their active antagonism to Muḥammad's prophethood, they resettled in the largely Jewish town of Khaybar. Muḥammad conquered Khaybar a few years later, and some of the captured Jewish women, including Zaynab, entered his entourage and some became his wives (Ṭabarī 1773). One could imagine that some of these women, whose husbands and families were killed in the conquest of Khaybar, would have desired revenge. Accordingly, Zaynab poisoned Muḥammad's favorite portion of lamb served immediately after the Muslims' victory. Ibn Iṣḥāq tells the story as follows:

Zaynab bt. al-Ḥārith, the wife of Sallām b. Mishkam prepared for him a roast lamb, having first inquired what joint he preferred. When she learned that it was the shoulder she put a lot of poison in it and poisoned the whole lamb. Then she brought it in and placed it before him. He took hold of the shoulder and chewed a morsel of it, but he did not swallow it. Bishr b. al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr who was with him took some of it as the apostle had done, but he swallowed it, while the apostle spat it out, saying "This bone tells me that it is poisoned" (Guillaume 1955, 516).

Zaynab confessed by saying, "You know what you have done to my people. I said to myself, If he is a king I shall ease myself of him and if he is a prophet he will be informed (of what I have done)." Bishr died from the poison; Muḥammad seems not to have been affected. And Muḥammad did not punish Zaynab for the attempted murder.

This story is important for a number of reasons. First, it serves to prove and authenticate the prophethood of Muḥammad. The poison would have surely killed him had he swallowed, but the Jewish woman was correct: Muḥammad was protected from such treachery by his status as God's prophet. It is important that the perpetrator was a Jew, for she represents an ancient monotheistic people and, despite her anger and wish for revenge, she had to admit the truth of Muḥammad's status and therefore his message.

But the story continues in a very interesting way. When Muḥammad was dying of his final illness and the sister of Bishr b. al-Barā' came to visit him, Ibn Iṣḥāq narrates that he said to her: "O Umm Bishr [her son took her brother's name], this is the time in which I feel a deadly pain from what I ate with your brother at Khaybar." Here we note a fascinating parallel with Christianity and its relationship to Judaism. Both Christianity and Islam place Jews in the position of destroying their messiah or prophet. In the Christian system, it becomes a theological justification for Jewish degradation. One rarely hears of the death of Jesus without mention of the supposed Jewish crime of "killing God." In Islam, on the other hand, one rarely hears of the purported Jewish role in the death of the Prophet.

#### TORMENT OF THE GRAVE

A *ḥadīth* found in two or three versions in most of the canonical collections of *ḥadīth* depicts a Jewish woman, in some versions older Jewish women, teaching Muḥammad's wife, 'Ā'isha, necessary but unpleasant wisdom about the afterlife:

The Apostle of God came to me [once] when a Jewish woman was with me and she said: "Did you know that you will be tested in the grave?" (*Hal sha'art annakum tuftanūna fī al-qubūr?*) She said: "The Apostle of God was frightened [in response] and said: 'It is the Jews who will be tested!'" 'Ā'isha said: "We stayed together

some nights, and then the Apostle of God said: ‘Did you know that I was given a revelation that you will be tested in the grave?’ ‘Ā’isha said: “Thereafter I heard the Apostle of God [always] seeking refuge from the torment of the grave” (*Fasamītu rasūl Allāh ba’dū yasta’idh min ‘adhāb al-qabūr*).

A second version:

Zuhayr b. Ḥarb and Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm . . . ‘Ā’isha: Two old Jewish women from Medina came to me and said: “The dead are tormented in their graves.” I disagreed with them but I did not consider it fitting to believe them. They left and the Apostle of God came by and I told him: “O Apostle of God, two old women from the Jews of Medina came to me and claimed that the dead are tormented in their graves.” He said: “They are correct. They will be tormented [such a great] torment that the animals will hear them.” [‘Ā’isha] said: “After that I never saw him in prayer without seeking refuge from the torment of the grave.”

And finally, a third version in which ‘Ā’isha said:

A Jewish woman came over one day and asked for something which I gave her. She then said to me, “May God protect you from the torments of the grave.” That made quite an impression on me until the Apostle of God came by one day and I mentioned that to him. He answered: “People will be tormented in their graves such a torment that the beasts will hear them.”

These three variants treat a number of interesting issues relating to Jewish women and their relationship with Muslim women in the earliest period of Islam. The first and perhaps most important lesson we may draw from these texts is that Jewish and Muslim women mixed with one another, sometimes quite intimately, in Medina. One of Muḥammad’s wives could even be approached by a Jewish woman and asked if she would lend her some household utensil, and she was willing to do so, suggesting a level of trust that existed between Jewish and Muslim women very early on.

Another lesson drawn from these three narratives is that Jewish women could share Jewish religious teaching (found in the Talmud), even about something as intimate and particular as the afterlife, with their Muslim friends. It is interesting to note that ‘Ā’isha, and in some versions of the story even Muḥammad himself, was not initially aware of the idea of the suffering of the dead. That such a concept was fully accepted in Islam is confirmed by Muḥammad’s revelation authenticating the truth of the concept. The existence of this story in the most respected collections of *ḥadīth* validates and endorses the concept. Indeed, prayers for protection from the suffering of the grave have become a part of Islamic personal prayer, not required within the five canonical daily prayers but nevertheless common.

The literatures in which these stories appear all began to emerge only a century or more after the

death of Muḥammad. Irrespective of the historicity of the events portrayed, the narratives very clearly convey the actual ambivalence of Muslims toward their Jewish (and Christian) neighbors during the first Islamic centuries. The attitude specifically toward Jewish women is no less complicated. A Jewish woman is depicted as being ultimately responsible for the death of the Prophet, yet the justification for her act is not questioned; and Jewish women are also portrayed as possessing critically important esoteric wisdom. Some Jewish women appear as converts to Islam, while others appear as loyal to their still hallowed ancient religion and tribe. And the origin and cause of the divide between the Jewish and Arab peoples and the religions of Judaism and Islam is portrayed as the natural familial jealousy and tension that occurs in every close human group, a recognition of the ambivalent feelings of affinity and disparity, the push and pull of these two peoples and religions still in close relation to one another.

All of these portrayals are found in Islamic religious sources, presumably written by educated male elites. Parallel Jewish sources tend to reference women less than the Muslim sources, and contemporary Jewish sources hardly relate to Jewish-Muslim interaction. Perhaps this reflects the caution exhibited by subject peoples in their desire both to protect their women as much as possible from the eye of the dominant peoples and to refrain from inviting reprisals for referencing the women of the victors. However, with the discovery of the Cairo Geniza, a cache of thousands of documents mainly from the eleventh through thirteenth centuries found in a storage room of a synagogue in Old Cairo, a treasure-trove of non-literary documentary information about medieval Jewish and Muslim men and women has emerged. This material has advanced all disciplines of study of the Islamic Middle Ages from history and anthropology to economics, ritual, and philosophy. Much of the information in the following sections originates from the vast repository of the Cairo Geniza.

#### WOMEN’S DRESS AND DECORUM

Non-Muslim religious peoples such as Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians are referred to in Islamic sources as *ahl al-kitāb* (people of the book, referring to scripturaries, adherents of prior scripture religions), *dhimmīs* or “protected” peoples, and sometimes *kāfirūn* (unbelievers or infidels, to be differentiated usually from *mushrikūn* or outright idolaters). These groups were regulated by the Shari’a or Islamic legal system through the “rules of the *dhimma*,” which defined the terms of the



*dhimma* protection accorded to non-Muslim yet non-idolatrous peoples: economic independence and freedom to practice their religion in return for paying an annual poll tax called *jizya* and accepting a secondary status in Islamic society.

There remains a great divide among historians of medieval Islam over the extent of humility or humiliation (*dhull*) demanded of *dhimmī* peoples, and this is because of the lack of uniform application through the centuries of the rules of the *dhimma* in the disparate Islamic lands. In some times and places, it would be almost impossible to distinguish Jews from Muslims by dress or occupation, while in others the Jews were an obvious and degraded minority. Enforcement ranged from “looking the other way” to bloody massacres. However the rules were enforced, Jews were careful to appear humble in public, and this public humility extended particularly to the screening and protection of the women.

The system required differentiating dress (*ghiyār*) for non-Muslims but it was not until the ninth century that the system crystallized with regard to such dress, perhaps because it had become increasingly difficult by this time to differentiate between Muslims and non-Muslims. On the one hand, many people of non-Arab background had converted to Islam by this time, thereby broadening the cultural and ethnic characteristics of Muslims. On the other hand, many non-Muslims had “Arabized” and had become culturally and linguistically Arab while remaining religiously distinct. Jews living in these areas largely “Arabized” by evolving culturally into Arabs, taking on Arabic as the daily language and even writing many compositions of philosophy and the sciences, though less so of religion, in Arabic.

Like Islam, Judaism does not forbid polygyny, and while such marriage arrangements were fairly widespread, it was not uncommon for brides to insist on including a monogamy clause in the *ketubah* or Jewish marriage contract. Jewish polygyny was far more common in the Islamic world that condoned it, than in the Christian world that did not. But it was not always a happy arrangement. An Ottoman Sharīʿa court document of 1582 records the case of a Jewish man who brought a suit in the Islamic court against his Jewish wife for refusing to live with him or cohabit with him because he took a second wife.

Distinctive headdresses were a part of Jewish women’s dress centuries before the emergence of Islam. Some of these headdresses certainly veiled women and seem to have been considered a mark of modesty and protection from the eyes of foreigners

(Genesis 24:65, Mishnah *Shabbat* 6:6, *Kelim* 24:16). Moreover, veiling, meaning covering the body from head to toe and often covering the face as well, was a widespread custom in the eastern Mediterranean in antiquity. In the Islamic world, Jewish women veiled just as their Muslim neighbors. In fact, more than half of the clothing terms found in the Cairo Geniza refer to veils, wraps, and head coverings. Despite this commonality, Jewish (and Christian) women were required by Sharīʿa law to wear clothing that distinguished them from Muslims by their color, length, cut of sleeves, and so forth. This was often obeyed in the breach. European travelers to the Levant in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries repeatedly note that all the women, Jewish, Christian, and Muslim, covered themselves entirely and wore a transparent veil. All these covered women may have looked alike to foreign travelers, but alien eyes could not distinguish between what may have been clear signs of differentiation to the locals.

During the Ottoman period, men’s and women’s outer garments among the Jews were virtually identical, probably reflecting the style of the larger culture. Because Jewish law forbids cross-gender dressing, even unintentionally, the following request for a *responsum* (Hebrew *teshuvā*, Arabic *fatwā*) was asked of a Jerusalem rabbi: “Is a man permitted to wear his wife’s cloak or a woman her husband’s cloak, since men’s and women’s cloaks are identical?” (Lamdan 2000, 103).

Jewish (and Christian) women tended to be less restricted than Muslim women from public view and their style of veiling tended not to be total. Jewish houses described in the Geniza documents, with few exceptions, had no women’s quarters. Nevertheless, Jewish women, like their Muslim counterparts, tended not to show themselves in public, and this custom was an expression of social status as well as modesty. Widowed, divorced, or deserted women had “to uncover their faces,” as the phrase went, by appearing in public in order to secure their rights or obtain a minimum of sustenance. The Jewish custom of caring for the indigent required that women as well as men congregate at the synagogue compound where the distribution of wheat, clothing, and cash took place. The Geniza confirms that men and women mixed freely during these occasions.

Jews usually lived alongside Muslims. The establishment of ghettos, known in Morocco as *mallaḥ*, are generally unknown except after the mid-fifteenth century in Morocco. Nevertheless, there were some special restrictions, and these include occasional banning of *dhimmī* women entirely from baths frequented by Muslim women.

Close proximity of domiciles clearly promotes social contact, and such interaction invites sexual temptation across religious boundaries as well. Sexual relations across boundaries sometimes occurred through concubinage. While concubinage with slaves was legal under Islamic law as it was in the Hebrew Bible, post-biblical Judaism forbade it. Nevertheless, we know from Geniza manuscripts that some Jewish men had sexual relations with slave girls. Whenever the Jewish authorities were strong enough, however, they forced the owner of a concubine to sell her with the proceeds of the sale distributed among the poor. This ended the relationship, but sometimes also imposed a difficult hardship on the bonded woman in the process.

It was, of course, forbidden for Jews to own Muslim slaves and even more, to have sexual relations with such slaves. It is difficult to know to what extent such behavior actually occurred, or whether Jews and Muslims in general had sexual relations that crossed the expected boundaries of separation. For that matter, it is difficult to know the extent to which Jews and Muslims crossed sexual boundaries *within* their own communities, let alone between them. Nevertheless, the Cairo Geniza does contain a series of documents about a suspected affair between a man of the highly respected Jewish Ibn Sighmār family and a Muslim woman. The Jewish community itself demanded a fine of 120 gold pieces, an enormous sum, and the sources show that the Jewish man was imprisoned for at least one month and a half. Twelve court records were found in the Geniza relating to this matter.

Despite the natural desire of a minority community such as the Jews to keep their women apart from the dominant Muslim community, most of the hundreds of female names found in the Geniza are Arabic, religiously neutral, and were used also among Muslims. These range from Layla, the heroine of the stories of the love-mad poet Majnūn, to Sitt al-‘Amā’im (Ruler of the Turbans, meaning men), Sitt al-Kull (Ruler of All), Sitt al-Fakhr (Possessor of Glory), Fā’iza (Successful), Baraka (Blessing), and Hiba (Gift). Among Egyptian Jewish women, biblical names were uncommon during the centuries reflected in the Geniza, though such names were occasionally given to females in the Islamic west such as Spain and North Africa, and in Palestine.

#### WOMEN’S BUSINESS

Despite the Jewish religious law regarding women’s inheritance being more restrictive than Muslim law, the Geniza documents depict women inheriting as well as buying, selling, renting, leasing, and

bequeathing various kinds of real estate, including houses or parts of houses, stores, workshops, and even flour mills and other types of urban properties. Women often possessed commercial experience in urban areas, and they are found in the documents to have been appointed as legal guardians of their children and executors of estates.

Jewish women were not, however, part of the economic mainstream, that being the large-scale production and exchange and transfer of goods. They invested mainly in real estate, lent small amounts of money, and bought and sold textiles, jewelry, and other items generally included in a trousseau or dowry.

In Ottoman times, indigent Jewish women who had no property and little money of their own to invest tended to engage in petty commerce in the local markets, mostly in textiles and foodstuffs. In some cases they served as brokers for Muslim women who were not allowed to appear in public. A French traveler wrote in the mid-sixteenth century, “The Jewish women, who are free to go around unveiled, can usually be found in the markets of Turkey selling needlework. And since Islamic law forbids Turkish women from trading in public, Jewish women act as their broker” (Lamdan 2000, 119).

Jewish women, like their Muslim counterparts in Islamic courts, appeared in Jewish courts to plead their own cases. In these situations, their husbands would only confirm the transaction after its conclusion. In some cases, particularly those in which Muslims were involved, Jews appeared in Muslim courts, and in these cases women tended to be represented by proxies. Some Jewish women, if dissatisfied with the results of the Jewish court or who rebelled against the will of the community, would in rare instances take their pleas to a Muslim court. A Geniza document, for example, relates that a woman “divorced her husband” before a Muslim judge, an act that suggests a very serious break with the wishes or expectations of her own religious community.

The Geniza documents show that women traveled for a variety of reasons. Many had to travel unaccompanied by their husbands to visit female relatives in other towns expecting a baby or recuperating after delivery, suffering illness or living in an unfamiliar or unfriendly environment. Sea travel was also not unusual, and both married and single women did so. Married women sometimes accompanied their husbands overseas, and single women sometimes traveled overseas as well because overseas marriages were often desired by the mercantile class or were arranged by fathers seeking to cement

commercial alliances. Girls did not travel alone, of course, but in the company of family or friends.

It was common for women to travel to a local holy shrine or even to Jerusalem. Sometimes a woman who had been to Jerusalem was called, like her Muslim counterpart who had traveled to Mecca, “the pilgrim,” though such an epithet is far less common among Jews than among Muslims. Some assume that the title is applied when a woman has made the journey to Jerusalem alone, perhaps as a widow but in any event unaccompanied by a husband.

While the Jewish man’s highest duty is to study Jewish religious literatures in order to learn the divine requirements through one’s own efforts, thereby becoming enabled to carry out God’s will, women were not so obligated by Jewish law. On the other hand, the education of girls was considered important by many, perhaps more among the exiles from Spain after the 1492 expulsion who moved back into the Islamic world alongside their more Arabized Jewish brethren. Some of the Sefardic (Spanish) women even served as teachers. Personal letters in the Geniza confirm that some women knew how to read and write in earlier periods as well. The language of these women’s correspondence, like the men’s, was usually a Jewish dialect of Arabic, but the orthography was the Jewish square script. In one letter recovered in the Geniza and presumably written in the hand of the correspondent, a mortally ill woman implores her sister to ensure that her daughter receive formal instruction (*ta’līm*), even though she is well aware of the significant financial resources required for such an endeavor.

Jews lived throughout the Islamic world and were absent only from the few areas where non-Muslims were forbidden. Although as a community they did not become Muslims, much of Jewish religious and social culture was profoundly affected by Islamic as well as Arabian norms. Jewish women were not sheltered from this reality. While the boundaries between religions remained relatively stable, the linguistic, social, and cultural boundaries did not.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- M. ibn I. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Lahore 1979.  
 A. Guillaume (ed. and trans.), *The life of Muhammad. A translation of Ishāq’s [sic] Sirat Rasūl Allāh*, London 1955.  
 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Radd ‘alā Ibn al-Naḡhrīla al-Yabūdī wa-rasā’il ukhrā*, ed. I. ‘Abbās, Cairo 1960/1380.  
 Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Beirut n.d.  
 al-Nasā’ī, *Sunan*, with commentary of al-Suyūṭī, 8 books in 4 vols., Cairo 1987.

M. b. J. al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl āy al-Qur’ān*, 30 books in 15 vols., Beirut 1405/1984.

—, *Ta’riḫ al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*, ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden 1964–5; trans. *The history of al-Ṭabarī*, 38 vols., Albany, N.Y. 1989–99.

A. b. M. al-Tha’labī, *‘Arā’is al-majālis*, Beirut n.d.; trans. W. Brinner, *‘Arā’is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* or “*Lives of the prophets*,” Leiden 2002.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- R. Firestone, *Journeys in holy lands. The evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael legends in Islamic exegesis*, Albany, N.Y. 1990.  
 S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, 6 vols., Berkeley 1967–93.  
 R. Lamdan, *A separate people. Jewish women in Palestine, Syria and Egypt in the sixteenth century*, Leiden 2000.  
 J. Lassner, S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society. An abridgment in one volume*, Berkeley 1999.  
 E. Marmorstein, The veil in Judaism and Islam, in *Journal of Jewish Studies* 5 (1954), 1–11.  
 Y. K. Stillman, Attitudes towards women in Near Eastern societies, in S. Morag, I. Ben-Ami, and N. A. Stillman (eds.), *Studies in Judaism and Islam presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein on the occasion of his eightieth birthday by his students, colleagues and friends*, Jerusalem 1981, 350.  
 —, *Arab dress. A short history from the dawn of Islam to modern times*, Leiden 2000.  
 B. F. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur’an, traditions, and interpretation*, New York 1994.  
 R. Wilkin, The Christianizing of Abraham. The interpretation of Abraham in early Christianity, in *Concordia Theological Monthly* 43 (1972), 723–31.

REUVEN FIRESTONE

# Islam: Saints and Sacred Geographies

## Central Asia

The conception of the cult of saints or their tombs is rooted in pre-Islamic beliefs of the Arabs, Persians, and inhabitants of Central Asia. In early Islam, some individuals became saints; but worship of them or their tombs was not permitted. Popular belief in mediators between God and individuals was gradually legitimated and the teaching of a hierarchy of saints was developed. Although Islam lacks the official apotheosis of saints in Christianity, many saints have received wide recognition, both regionally and locally. Saints of various categories have been worshiped. They include the Prophet Muḥammad, a number of his relatives, especially ‘Alī, Fāṭima, and Ḥusayn, prominent Islamic religious figures, and a number of Christian saints, for example the Virgin Mary. The heroic epic of Arab conquests initiated the cult of martyrs, those who died in the “war for belief.” Islam also inherited the cult of various pre-Islamic local saints, heroes, in many cases legendary, and even local pagan deities that were transformed into Muslim saints. Muslim mystics (Sufis) and communities related to them especially promoted the development of the cult of saints. Sufi dervish mentors are the majority of Muslim saints. Saints are thought to be miracle-makers. There are up to 20 types of saints’ miracles, including the ability to raise from the dead, save travelers from danger, and cure illness.

Among saints, pious women were respected along with men; however, there are fewer female saints in Islam than men. The following categories of female saint can be emphasized: the cult of Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭima; the cult of women who were violently murdered (*shahīds*); cults of Islamized ancient goddesses of fertility, vegetation, and water; cults of female leaders of Sufi communities; and cults of women who were especially pious and active builders of religious facilities.

Among the many saints and their *mazars* (sanctuaries, places of pilgrimage in Central Asia) spread throughout Central Asia, especially in Khorezm, the abundance of female saints attracts attention. This entry does not attempt to cover their cult in detail, but describes a number of characters, particularly Turabek-Khanym, whose name is associated with a splendid monument located near Kunya-Urgench in Turkmenistan. This true masterpiece of Islamic

architecture is believed to be the tomb of Turabek-Khanym. Turabek-Khanym was incorporated as a local saint long ago, and her magnificent tomb became a pilgrimage center. In the pre-Soviet period, many women flocked to the tomb of Turabek-Khanym and its custodians, the sheikhs, were well-to-do. Unlike most patronesses, Saint Turabek is considered a patroness of girls. In the 1930s, young girls visited Turabek’s crypt and sang special songs, going up spiral stairs even to the height of the portal. Fiancées came there with their friends asking for blessing on their marriage. This was undoubtedly connected with the fact that her name was surrounded by romantic legends. According to the legends, Turabek by no means glorified herself with religious zeal, she did not occupy herself with feasts and prayers, like the bulk of Khorezm saints, and she did not stun with her miracles. She was the daughter of the ruler of the Golden Horde, Uzbek-Khan, and wife of Khorezm’s governor. She was known as a builder, and a patroness of arts and of Islam and its institutions. This fairly ordinary woman was turned into a saint, believed to be close to Allah, and the place of her supposed rapture became the place of mass pilgrimage and was surrounded with a cult among *mazars* of the most prominent zealots of Khorezm. It may be assumed that patronage of art, orthodox theology, and Sufism, the construction of mosques and dervish communities, and the allotment of *vakf* lands to them, paid for her: Turabek was surrounded with aura of sanctity due to the efforts of the clergy.

In Khorezm, not far from city of Khanki, there is a burial vault of Saint Gulii-bii. This name is translated as “Mistress of Flowers.” Gulii-bii was perceived by local people in different ways, sometimes as a real pious daughter, who discovered a grave of one of the missionaries of early Islam forgotten by everybody; sometimes her identity is shifted to ancient times and merged with images of ancient deities of vegetation. This cult was purely female. Female relatives guarded the tomb, they also performed *zikrs* – prayers during which healing of the ill was asked for. The tomb could be only visited by women, who went around the sacred tree three times and made a sacrifice.

In the north of Bukhara, in the Hazrati Imam necropolis, there is a female *mazar*, Bibi Zudmurud. Entrance to the *mazar* is strictly forbidden

to men. Female visitors ask the saint to cure them from sterility, save innocent convicted persons, protect them from illness, and more recently ask for commercial success. Newly married couples also visit the *mazar* after marriage, hoping to enlist the saint's support in family life. If a bride sweeps the floor in a *mazar*, lights a candle, and spills grain, these are considered pleasant to God. On Sundays and Thursdays the women bring pieces of fried fancy pastry and give them out to people whom they meet. It is considered that seven visits to the *mazar* guarantee the fulfillment of any desire.

An indispensable and main attribute of both female and male sanctuaries is a tomb (one or several). In the front wall of a tomb there is a small bay with a lamp of traditional shape to light ritual fire. The room itself or its surrounding features have flags – *tugs* – a distinctive feature of a saint's tomb. Very often, near large sites associated with a popular saint there are sacred trees, bushes, a rock of strange shape, and sometimes sacred ponds or wells. A standard ritual of pilgrimage to sacred places has been developed over many years. Knowledge of the ritual actions is passed from generation to generation. A pilgrim first walks round the saint's grave or the entire building. Then there is a prayer at the threshold of the sanctuary specifying appeals to the saint, involving touching a grave, threshold, flags, lamps, and trees. After that the pilgrim passes a hand over face and eyes. The most widespread practice is to tie pieces of rag or headscarves to flags, trees, and bushes. And finally a lamb or kid is sacrificed, mandatory after the desired result is obtained (a sick person recovered or a child born).

In Khorezm, a magic element in the ritual of the cult of sanctuary is evident from the fact that childless women build small models of cradles of rags and woodchips. For full compliance, they sometimes place a sort of tiny puppet in the cradle – a twig wrapped with a piece of cloth. The cult of saints here was formed based on funeral rites, more specifically on the complex of beliefs that determine the cult of the dead and ancestors.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

[all items are in Russian]

- B. B. Babadjanov, Sufi women of Central Asia, sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, paper presented to the international conference on Central Asia and World Civilization, Tashkent 1992.  
 E. Berezikov, *Saints of Turkestan*, Tashkent 1992.  
 E. N. Nekrasova, Bibi Zudmurod, in *Islam in Russian imperial territory. Encyclopedic dictionary*, iv, Moscow 2003.  
 I. P. Petrushevskiy, *Islam in Iran, seventh–fifteenth centuries*, Leningrad 1966.  
 G. P. Snesarev, *Muslim religious relics and rituals among Uzbeks of Khorezm*, Moscow 1969.

—, *Under the sky of Khorezm*, Moscow 1973.

—, *Khorezmian legends as a source for the religious cults of Central Asia*, Moscow 1983.

AZIM MALIKOV

### Mashriq

Shrines to female saints are relatively rare in the Mashriq. Two identifiable trends are shrines to Shi'i women and shrines to Christian women, most often the Virgin Mary. While the attributes for which women achieve sainthood differ significantly from those of men, the practices of visitors (male and female) are similar and include prayer recitation, requests for intercession, and the making of vows (*nadhr*).

Both Christians and Muslims recognize saints as people with a special connection, and therefore status, with God, achieved by virtue of good deeds, performance of miracles, and personal piety. Notably, the Arabic term most used for a Christian saint, *qiddis*, emphasizes holiness, while a second term more common among Muslims, *wali*, connotes authority and leadership as well.

Most Islamic shrines are to men revered for their closeness to Muḥammad or valor in battle, but a significant number to women, especially Shi'i women who survived the Battle of Karbala and perpetuated the message and lineage of Shi'ism, exist as well. They include Zaynab bint 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ruqayya bint Ḥusayn, sister and daughter respectively of Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī who led a rebellion against the Sunnī caliph Yazīd in 680 C.E./61 A.H. Ḥusayn's forces were decimated in the battle and the surviving women who had witnessed it were transferred to Damascus after being captured. Their shrines now located in and around the city range from simple limestone structures to large complexes. That of Zaynab includes a mausoleum, prayer hall, offices, a library, a clinic, and open courtyards elaborately decorated with tile and gilded domes in the style of shrines to Shi'ism's male Imams in Karbala and Najaf, Iraq. In most instances, it is believed that the figures are actually entombed within the shrine. However, some uncertainty surrounds Zaynab's shrine, with scholars and pilgrims divided over whether Damascus, Medina, or Cairo, where a second large shrine to her exists, is the true burial site.

Like the Imams, these women are descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad and some are renowned for their learning and personal piety. As women they are also honored for their patience during enormous suffering, for offering protection to

children, and in the case of Zaynab especially, for steadfastness and bravery in the face of oppression. For all of these qualities they are believed to be carriers of blessings (*baraka*).

Men and women in roughly equal numbers and of all social classes visit these shrines and participate in religious rituals together, or sometimes in separate prayer spaces at larger shrines. The vast majority are Shī'i Muslims, primarily from Syria, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, and Gulf countries, but individual Sunnis and Christians also make their way to the shrines to pray to and honor the saints. A visit usually consists of a greeting to the shrine's namesake, recitation of prayers in her name, and physical contact with the tomb. Pilgrims request a saint's *baraka* or ask for help with personal problems related to marriage, business, illness, or pregnancy (usually women). A vow is often made that will be fulfilled upon the granting of the request. Some pilgrims will place clothing, locks of hair, strings, or scented oil on the tomb as a marker of their vow and a way to transfer the saint's *baraka* to themselves. While prayer practices are largely uniform across nationalities, at major holidays different commemorative practices specific to national groups are carried out in a large communal space next to Zaynab's shrine in particular.

Christian shrines to women are much more widespread in the Mashriq with concentrations in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. Chapels or churches are commonly dedicated to the Virgin Mary and commemorate an event in her life or a place where someone experienced a vision of her. Palestine in particular hosts many shrines marking the places of Mary's birth, annunciation, ascension, and death. Also notable are the modern statue of the Virgin Mary and several cathedrals at Harissa, outside Beirut, and the Convent of our Lady at Sednaya, Syria, a major pilgrimage site in the Middle Ages. Mary is revered for her piety, virginal purity, and perhaps most importantly as the mother of Jesus, prompting visitors to seek her protective blessing and healing power. As with the Shī'i shrines, there is some religious diversity among pilgrims. Because Muslims also revere Mary as the mother of a prophet, they visit and pray at her shrines, indicating how these spaces are potentially important nodes for interaction and commonality among religious groups in the region.

Less common are shrines, often built around caves, to women in early Christianity who were persecuted or somehow miraculously aided by God in times of distress. Practices vary widely at these locations but as at the shrines to Mary include the lighting of candles or oil lamps, prayer, drinking

curative waters, and processions marking important days in the life of the saint.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled sentiments*, Cairo 1986.  
 K. S. Aghaie (ed.), *The women of Karbala*, Austin, Tex. 2005.  
 N. Keddie, *Scholars, saints, and Sufis. Muslim religious institutions since 1500*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972.  
 D. Massey, *Space, place, and gender*, Minneapolis 1994.  
 J. Pelikan, *Mary through the centuries. Her place in the history of culture*, New Haven, Conn. and London 1996.  
 I. Pena, *Lieux de pèlerinage en Syrie*, Milan 2000.  
 D. Pinault, Zaynab bint Ali and the place of the women of the households of the first imams in Shī'ite devotional literature, in G. R.G. Hambly, *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, New York 1998, 69–98.

MICHELLE ZIMNEY

### North Africa

In contrast to mosques, which in a North African context tend to offer spiritual space for a predominantly male population, marabout saints' shrines offer loci for North African women's piety. The term "marabout" refers to both the person and the resting place of a person possessing *baraka*, or divine blessings. The proliferation of shrines obviously differs from country to country throughout North Africa, but the style and activities taking place at these sites are similar not only within the Maghrib, but also in similar loci in numerous Islamic lands. The dearth of scholarly materials on female saints as compared to the bounty of work on women of note within the framework of Christianity may shift as a result of growing interests in gender studies. For the sake of continuity and because of the limited number of options the three examples of female-inspired sacred geographies discussed here all come from the westernmost outpost of North Africa, the Kingdom of Morocco.

Marabout shrines display a wide variety of forms as diverse as the once elaborate, but now modest, seventeenth-century shrine complex of Setti Fatima in the Ourika Valley, the offering alcove located on the tomb of Lalla Solica in the city of Fez, or the semi-ubiquitous sylvan shrines to Lalla A'icha throughout the rural countryside. As a result, the definition of the term "shrine" in a North African context remains an open question. The ritual culture that surrounds these particular shrines includes the use of textiles, inscriptions on amulets, and non-epigraphic, symbolic ornament.

Ethnic distinctions create few barriers for pilgrims, and depending on the specific saint

occasionally Muslims or Jews may visit the same holy places. In addition, sainthood is afforded to both sexes; thus, situations occur in which Berber Muslim women may visit a Jewish female saint, and Arab Muslim men may just as easily visit a Berber female saint (or even the grave of a revered rabbi) with little question of impropriety.

#### SETTI FATMA

Nestled in the lush Ourika Valley southeast of Marrakesh, the shrine of Setti Fatma draws thousands of pilgrims each year. Surrounded by waterfalls and hiking trails, a steady trickle of pilgrims go throughout the year to seek personal guidance, ask for intercession, and pray for merciful gifts. However, the majority of visitors come in September during the *mousssem*, or annual holy festival. In the 1930s, the French documented the shrine as one of the most important *zaouias*, a complex of buildings for prayer and study not only for visiting pilgrims, but also a place to take up residence for members of specific religious orders. Heavy rains leading to massive landslides in the region and shifts in the popularity of certain ritual practices have left Setti Fatma's *zaouia* a shadow of its former self.

Today, what remains is a three-room structure swaddled in graffiti (Figure 3) half way up a steep hillside visited annually by droves during the annual *mousssem*, and by the occasional pilgrim or clusters of youths throughout the summer more interested in picnicking in the temperate climate during the scorching summer heat of the surrounding environs. "Setti," the female form of the honorific "Sidi" derives from the Berber heritage of the saint, while Fatma is the proper Berber pronunciation for the Arabic name Fāṭima. Numerous piles of small stones mark the path leading to the edifice (Figure 4). Women, particularly when visiting Berber marabouts, verbalize ailments of the body or spirit into the piles while constructing these talismanic stacks in the hope of leaving their woes buried under them. Other visitors must pay careful attention not to touch another's prayer piles, lest the clumsy visitor may inherit a woman's sorrows uttered during the sacred construction.

Inside the shrine a *muqadem*, or caretaker, offers stale crumbs of previously donated pieces of bread to ingest as a means of consuming a dose of the marabout's *baraka*, or holy blessing. Setti Fatma's bier is next to the biers of her two sisters, each covered with a green embroidered tapestry. Liturgical practice requires the pilgrim to circumambulate the biers counter-clockwise, kissing each of the four corners of the tomb. As with most shrines, the *qibla*

wall orientating visitors toward Mecca is clearly marked, thus allowing the pilgrim to properly conduct prayers – architecturally demonstrating that the visit to the saint's shrine is not an alternative for orthodox prayer.

#### LALLA SOLICA

The burial place of Lalla Solica, also known as Lalla Ha-Tsaddiqah, is located in the Jewish cemetery near the entrance closest to the *mellah*, or old Jewish quarter of Fez. Lalla Solica's bier is marked by an ogeed headpiece complete with built-in niche for offerings. A side panel inscribed with her hagiographic information is written in both Hebrew and French. The use of the colloquial Arabic term "Lalla" (also used by the Jews of the Maghrib) is the equivalent of the Berber "Setti." According to the inscribed material (and numerous more reliable sources), Lalla Solica was born in Tangier in 1817. Solica grew to be a beautiful and pious Jew living in the religiously conservative city of Fez. She attracted the attention of the Sultan and he requested her hand in marriage. Such a match would have required the young woman to convert to Islam. At the request of both her parents and her Rabbi, instead of giving up her faith, she chose death in 1834. Today, for Jews, Solica stands as a modern-day Queen Esther, giving up wealth and splendor as well as her life for her spiritual values. For Solica, apostasy was never an option.

Lalla Solica is the most famous Jewish female saint in North Africa; women come to pay respects to her grave from as far away as Israel. Muslim women and men visit the marabout with the intention of asking her intervention in issues of marriage, childbirth, and infantile illnesses. The tomb of Lalla Solica offers a locus for spiritual *convivencia*, as neither gender nor religion of the pilgrims are of concern. Such interactions between genders and among members of various religions do not occur among those visiting Muslim male marabouts or Jewish Rabbis. As a holy woman with strong religious values, Solica appeals not only to Jewish women, but also to the entire Moroccan community, for she symbolizes the strong sentiment opposing interfaith marriage.

As with other saints, pilgrims come to ask Lalla Solica to intercede on their behalf. Primarily women's requests tend to focus on aspects regarding childbearing, although men also come to her tomb when a young child is ill (Ben-Ami 1998, 97). Visitors light candles in the niche and leave offerings in the hopes that their request will be answered. In a society where progeny is paramount, and difficulty with pregnancy often leads to either divorce

or the taking of a second wife, barren women, or those who have miscarried, will leave their sash on the tomb for a period of time. Once retrieved, the women wear the accessory around their waist until they conceive. If a woman becomes pregnant then she must return to the saint's grave with a fine offering to thank Solica for her assistance. Single women, often as young as nine, visit Solica's tomb to ask for a kind, wealthy, and attractive husband. The older the single woman, the less specific the requests become.

#### LALLA A'ICHA AND THE NATURE OF SACRED SPACE

A space for offerings to an unspecified Lalla A'icha exists in close proximity to most built shrines predominantly in rural marabout locations. The sanctified zones for Lalla A'icha are not to be confused with the grotto-shrine of the powerful and often malevolent *jinniyya* Lalla A'icha Qandisha, a female demon connected with the Sufi order of the Hamadsha. In the Mālikī-dominated region of North Africa, the likelihood that Lalla A'icha references 'Ā'isha bint Abū Bakr, the Prophet Muḥammad's last, and according to Sunnī tradition preferred, wife may be the origin of this ubiquitous holy woman. After appropriate liturgical activities take place at the main sanctuary of the marabout for whom the shrine is built, visitors frequently make an offering – cloth or string, candles, bread, or henna – to her hallowed space.

Lalla A'icha's sites tend to coincide with natural elements, although built shrines to Lalla A'icha do exist in larger male shrine complexes such as the immured shrine attached to Sidi Kacem's marabout structure (Figures 5, 6). However, constructed shrines to Lalla A'icha are the exception. The presence of a sacred tree, a large bush, or a magnificent root system specifically acknowledged as a place of offering to Lalla A'icha could indicate another aspect of the female shrine (Figure 7). The saint's locus of devotion connected with an organic element most likely indicates Maghribi links to the region's earliest religious activities. Morocco is the only region in the Maghrib the Ottoman Empire never conquered, and therefore never subjugated indigenous traditions, thus allowing the underpinning of ancient animistic Berber practices to manifest within an acceptable Islamic context.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

Interview with Israeli woman, Orit, December 2000.  
 Zaouia de Setti Fatma dans le vallé de P'ourika, Façade 1-4, 1357 A.H. (1938/9 C.E.) Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Rabat, Casablanca.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- I. Ben-Ami, *Saint veneration among the Jews in Morocco*, Detroit 1998.  
 P. Brown, *The cult of saints*, Chicago 1981.  
 V. Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 1973.  
 E. Doutté, *Notes sur l'islam maghribin – les marabouts*, Paris 1900.  
 D. F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam. Tradition and society in a pilgrimage center*, Austin, Tex. 1976.  
 C. Langlois (ed.), *La fabrication des saints, Terrain* 24, Paris 1955.  
 V. Mann et al. (eds.), *Convivencia. Jews, Muslims, and Christians in medieval Spain*, New York 1992.  
 M. Rein, Visual expressions of *baraka*. *Marabout shrines and material culture in Morocco*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania (forthcoming).  
 Y. Stillman, *From southern Morocco to northern Israel. A study in the material culture of Shelomi*, Haifa 1982.

MICHELLE A. REIN

### The Ottoman Empire

During the immense temporal and geographical span of the Ottoman Empire the power of women saints was defined and identified in a variety of literary and archaeological sources (Araz 1966, Schimmel 1982). Women saints were given prominent roles within the history of Sufi orders, celebrated for their piety through their inclusion in saints' lists, and worshiped in a variety of tombs throughout the Ottoman Empire. The status and treatment of women saints as well as women devotees' use of sacred spaces went through a number of changes during the Ottoman period. One of the best avenues for studying the changing definition of the power of women saints is through the variety of mystical movements that were popular during the Ottoman period. These movements included schools of Islamic mystical philosophy and theology, religious orders, and shrine cults.

By the Ottoman period there had already been a number of women associated with some of the primary values and developments in mystical Islam. These included Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya (d. 185/801) who was credited with introducing the concept of pure love into Islamic mysticism (Schimmel 1982) and women such as Fāṭima bint ibn al-Muthannā who was revered as the "spiritual mother" of Ibn 'Arabī, the great Sufi theoretician. The significance of these women to the Ottoman period was twofold. Many, like Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya, remained a part of the popular imagination and served as exemplary models of female sainthood. Ottoman women who practiced various forms of sexual and sometimes emotional abstinence were described in both popular and elite circles as the Rābī'a of their time (Dankoff 1991, Araz 1966). On the other



hand, the achievements of such spiritual mothers as Fāḫima bint ibn al-Muthanā belonged to the far more elite worlds of mystical philosophy and Sufi hagiographies. Ottoman hagiographers continued the practice of casting “pious mothers” and “mystical aunts” as crucial to the formation of some of the leading mystics in Islam (Schimmel 1982).

Within the world of the dervish communities that became so popular in the Ottoman period, women served a variety of roles that at least, according to Gölpınarlı, changed significantly during the Ottoman period. In the early years of the empire, women enjoyed the most equality with men and even served as *halife* (successor chosen to head a Sufi community). Although we have at least one example of a woman who served as head of a Mevlevi community in the seventeenth century, this would appear to be an unusual case. By the nineteenth century the separation between the sexes had grown so strict that Leylâ Hanım, the famous Istanbul poetess, is said to have wept at the door of the Mevlevi prayer hall and cried, “My God, why did you begrudge me a scrap of flesh?” (Kafadar 1993, Gölpınarlı 1983).

Although it has not been the focus of many studies, Ottoman women’s participation in *ziyāra* practices was significant enough to merit comment. In the middle decades of the eighteenth century, Ottoman officials in Aleppo restricted women’s access to grave sites by only allowing visits on Mondays and Thursdays (Marcus 1989). Women visited saints’ tombs for aid in childbirth, to pray for the sick, and to increase their milk production. Some of the tombs, especially those associated with female saints, still hold cradles and articles of clothing that were offered by supplicants (Araz 1966, Kalafat 2006).

Women saints’ tombs, although in desperate need of systematic study, can be found throughout Anatolia and other parts of the former Ottoman Empire. One of the best sources on these tombs is Nezihe Araz, whose *Anadolu Evliyaları* includes numerous references to women saints and their tombs. Although most of the stories are anecdotal, they provide a window into the beliefs of late Ottoman society and tell us something about how the Ottomans resymbolized the sacred landscape that they inherited from the Seljuk and Beylik periods (roughly between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries). A number of these saints, such as Karyağdı Sultan (Princess Snow Has Fallen) are loosely linked to tombs through local stories and not through epigraphy and other written sources. With their romantic and ambiguous sounding names, a number of these tombs seemed to derive their importance as generic female sites and not from the

actions and deeds of specific saints. This certainly seems to be the case with the many *kız evliya* (girl saint) or *kızlar* tombs that are scattered throughout the former empire. A somewhat related phenomenon of generic female spaces includes a tomb in Erzurum that, although now known as the Rābī’a al-‘Adawiyya tomb, originally belonged to a Seljuk saint whose name has been lost (Araz 1966). In more extreme cases, the gender of saints could also be changed. There is at least one tomb in Konya, the Tavus Baba tomb, that many believe was originally dedicated to Tavus Hatun, a woman who was prominent in the circle of Celaleddin Rumi (Araz 1966, Uz 1995, Konyalı 1964).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Araz, *Anadolu evliyaları*, Istanbul 1966.  
 M. Bayram, *Bâcırân-ı Rûm*, Konya 1994.  
 J. Elias, Female and feminine in Islamic mysticism, in *Muslim World* 78:3/4 (1988), 209–24.  
 A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ’dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1983.  
 A. Hatun, *Rüya mektupları*, intro., trans., and simplified by C. Kafadar, Şişhane, Istanbul 1994.  
 C. Helminksi, *Women of Sufism. A hidden treasure*, Boston and London 2003.  
 C. Kafadar, Women in Seljuk and Ottoman society, in *9,000 years of the Anatolian woman*, Istanbul 1993, 191–201.  
 Y. Kalafat, Anadolu halk Sufizminde erenlerin yeri ve rolleri, 1, in *Uluslar arası Türk diynyası eren ve evliyaları kongresi bildirileri*, Ankara 1998, 227–37.  
 ———, Anadolu’da ulu kadın kişiler ve halk inançları, in *Fikir, Kültür ve Sanat Dergisi* 65 (2006), 3–14.  
 I. H. Konyalı, *Abideleri ve kitabeleri ile Konya tarihi*, Konya 1964.  
 A. Marcus, *The Middle East on the eve of modernity. Aleppo in the eighteenth century*, New York 1989.  
 L. Peirce, *Morality tales. Law and gender in the Ottoman court of Aintab*, Berkeley 2003.  
 A. Schimmel, Women in mystical Islam, in *Women’s Studies International Forum* 5:2 (1982), 145–51.  
 M. Smith, *Rabī’a the mystic and her fellow saints in Islam*, Cambridge 1928.  
 Av. M. Ali Uz, *Baha veled’den günümüze Konya alimleri ve velileri*, Konya 1995.  
 E. S. Wolper, Princess Safwat al-Dunyā wa al-Dīn and the production of Sufi buildings and hagiographies in pre-Ottoman Anatolia, in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000, 65–80.

ETHEL SARA WOLPER

## South Asia

#### INTRODUCTION: SOURCES

In the South Asian subcontinent, many women are acknowledged as being saintly. Although many are connected with Sufi or Sufi-like cults, others would self-identify as Shī’ī, Baul, Sidī (African Indians of India and Pakistan), or with the name of

their particular sect (for example Malang, Qalandar). Many more are saints of unknown affiliation who enjoy local prominence. There has been little published academic research into the lives of these women and the cults surrounding them, particularly for the subcontinent, though studies are slowly emerging (Flueckiger 1995, 2006, Schimmel 1997, Ewing 1997, Pemberton 2004, 2006, Champion 1995, Basu 1999, 2003). Aside from these, brief accounts of women saints can be found in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British administrative and Orientalist works (Subhan 1938, Jones and Bevan 1941, Hasan Ali 1832, Sharif 1921, O'Malley 1924). Persian and various vernacular biographical, epistolary, didactic, poetic, and narrative sources contain more detailed treatments of the lives and virtues of legendary saintly women.

The Persian and Urdu sources are often concerned with the concept of sainthood as it is defined Islamically, and as such tend to ignore the lives of saintly women whose identities as Muslim are questionable. Many women saints whose religious affiliation is unknown or unclear become associated with Sufism in popular understanding, often because hagiography or local legend links them with popular Sufi personalities (Dey 1996). This is also true of some of the Shī'a traditions. However, because in Shī'ism the women of the Prophet Muḥammad's household, along with the Shī'a Imams, are the focus of devotion, very little is known about saintly Shī'a women of Indo-Pakistani origin.

Annemarie Schimmel has brought to light how Indo-Pakistani oral traditions and local legends have married the names and deeds of legendary Muslim heroines such as Hir, Marui, Sassi, Sohni, and Nuri, with Sufi metaphysical ideas about feminine aspects of the divine (Schimmel 1997). Recollections of their stories have drawn heavily upon ideas of the "creative feminine" as they are developed by the thirteenth-century mystic Ibn 'Arabī, and the "woman-soul" seen in the work of Rūmī and others (Elias 1988). Little has been reported about the cults that have developed around these heroines, even Hir, whose purported tomb in Jhang draws a large number of pilgrims from all over Pakistan.

#### CONCEPTS OF SAINTHOOD

Concepts of female sainthood differ from the classical sources to popular perceptions, though there are convergences. For women, as for men, sainthood is often linked in the classical literary sources of Islamic Sufi and Shī'a tradition with esoteric insight into the inner meanings of the outer forms of religious faith and practice. Broadly, it is linked with certain qualities said to offer proof of

divine favor. These include knowledge of the foundational teachings of Islam, particularly the Qur'ān and *sunna* of the Prophet Muḥammad; a life of sacrifice and hardship, often associated with asceticism; spiritual poverty (which often also meant material poverty); a compassionate character; the ability to perform miracles; and association with one or more prominent male saints. Sometimes, an aura of holiness (and subsequently, cult followings) emerges as a result of suffering and martyrdom endured during a lifetime. This is especially true in the case of the cults surrounding the figure of the boy soldier Ghazi Miyan and his "bride," widowed on her wedding day. More widespread in the subcontinent are cults surrounding the figures of Zaynab, daughter of Imām 'Alī and Fāṭima, and Sakīna, the youngest daughter of Imām Ḥusayn. The suffering that Zaynab and Sakīna endured on the battlefield of Karbala, and subsequently, while imprisoned in Damascus, continues to be memorialized in ritual observances during the month of Muḥarram. These memorializations take place in private homes, in Imambargahs (of which a few are women-only), or in *zaynabiyyas* (the name is used for a type of Shī'a Islamic organization or for a Shī'a religious center). The qualities of modesty, and even observance of veiling and *parda* (seclusion, sex segregation), which are reconciled to saintly women's interaction with non-related men in a number of ways, are also frequently mentioned in the broader scope of Persian, Arabic, and Urdu Sufi biographical literature. Ethnographic research has suggested that among the Sufi orders today, observance of veiling and *parda* continues to be of importance as a mark of saintly virtue (Pemberton 2004). Depictions of holy women in the classical sources of Islamic tradition also highlight their ability to perform miracles, though there is a widely held bias in Sufism toward concealment of such spiritual gifts from the wider world. This emphasis on concealment stands in sharp contrast to popular depictions of women saints, in which the associations between their sainthood and their ability to perform miraculous, even "magical" feats, is pronounced. Many of the classical texts, Orientalist sources, and scholarly materials link open displays of the miraculous and the magical – particularly during the popular birthday, marriage, or death-day anniversary festivals for saints – with the ignorant, the poor classes and castes, and with the rural and/or "folk" milieu, or attribute these practices to the influence of Hinduism. Women devotees are also often identified with the purported excesses of saint veneration, particularly possession by jinn or deceased *pirs*, and divination.

PILGRIMS AND PILGRIMAGES TO FEMALE SAINTS' SHRINES

While the classical Sufi tradition is largely silent on the particulars of localized saint-cults surrounding the person of a female saint, the Orientalist literature that emerged from the mid-nineteenth century, influenced by the notion that the formal characteristics of faith – doctrine, creed, orthodoxy – were the mechanisms that determined the parameters of the “orthodox” or “normative,” depicted them as antithetical to Islam. Thus a bifurcation of the classical literary tradition, espoused and exemplified by the social and spiritual elites of Islamic mysticism (including, but not limited to, the founders and systematizers of Sufi orders and metaphysical doctrines), and the popular veneration of saints, pursued by the general masses, has remained the dominant hermeneutics applied to the study of Sufism in the subcontinent (Ewing 1997). Unsurprisingly, this latter phenomenon is often associated with the religious practices of women, Hindus, and the uneducated.

In fact, saint-cults are patronized by a variety of pilgrims, and this is no less true for the cults surrounding female saints, though these are less known, less widely patronized, and exhibit less developed structures of pilgrimage and devotional practices. As a result, the cults surrounding the shrines of Bibi Kamalo in Bihar, Mayke *dargāh* (Nizamuddin Auliya's mother) in Delhi, and many other female saints in the subcontinent attract pilgrims primarily from the local community and surrounding region, although these pilgrims do come from a range of economic, class, and religious backgrounds. As suggested in biographical (*taẓkīra*) texts such as *Akhhār al-akhyār*, the now-defunct cults of pilgrimage surrounding the tombs of Bibi Fatima Sam and Bibi Auliya attracted many of the luminaries of mystical Islam in the medieval period, though it is unclear whether traditions of pilgrimage to these shrines were ever widespread.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Ahmad and H. Reifeld (eds.), *Lived Islam in South Asia. Adaptation, accommodation and conflict*, Delhi 2004.
- H. Basu, Going for visits with a woman-fakir. The African diaspora in Gujarat, in *ISIM Newsletter* 3 (1999), 39.
- , Ritualisation of domesticity. Worshiping a female Sufi saint, in I. Ahmad (ed.), *Ideology and gender*, Delhi 2003.
- C. Champion, Le culte d'une sainte musulmane en Inde. Bibi Kamalo de Kako, in H. Chambert-Loir and C. Guillot (eds.), *Le culte des saints dans le monde musulman*, Paris 1995, 211–16.
- A. D. Chishti, *Siyar al-aqtab*, 1913.
- M. Currim, and G. Michell (eds.), *Dargahs. Abodes of the saints*, Delhi 2004.
- A. Dey, *Sufism in India*, Calcutta 1996.
- ‘A. al-H. M. Dihlavī, *Akhhār al-akhyār*, trans. Maulana I. ad-D. Ahmad, Karachi 1973.
- J. Elias, Female and feminine in Islamic mysticism, in *Muslim World* 78:3/4 (July–October 1988), 209–24.
- C. W. Ernst, *Teachings of Sufism*, Boston 1999.
- , Lives of Sufi saints, in D. S. Lopez (ed.), *Religions of India in practice*, Princeton, N.J. 2005, 495–514.
- K. P. Ewing, *Arguing sainthood. Modernity, psychoanalysis, and Islam*, Durham, N.C. and London 1997.
- G. N. Firdawsī, *Mir‘āt al-kawnayn*, Lucknow n.d.
- J. Flueckiger, The vision was of written words, in D. Shulman (ed.), *Syllables of sky*, Delhi 1995, 249–82.
- , *Inside Amma's healing room*, Bloomington, Ind. 2006.
- M. Gaborieau, Légende et culte du saint musulman Ghazi Miya au Népal occidental et en Inde du Nord, in *Objects et mondes* 15:2 (Fall 1975), 289–318.
- M. M. Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmans of India*, London 1832, repr. 1917.
- H. F. Jamālī, *Siyar al-‘arīfīn*, trans. M. A. Qadiri, Lahore 1976.
- V. R. and L. B. Jones, *Woman in Islam*, Lucknow 1941.
- M. Amīr Khvurd, *Siyar al-auliya'*, trans. I. Quddusi, Lahore 1980.
- S. M. Muradullāh, *Āṣār-i maner*, Bankipur 1992.
- L. S. O'Malley, *Bihar and Orissa district gazetteers. Patna*, reprint of 1912–16 series, rev. J. F. W. James, I. C. S., Patna 1924.
- K. Pemberton, Muslim women mystics and female spiritual authority in South Asian Sufism, in *Journal of Ritual Studies* 18:2 (2004), 1–23.
- , Women *pirs*, saintly succession, and spiritual guidance in South Asian Sufism, in *Muslim World* 96:1 (2006), 61–87.
- A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975.
- , *Islam in the Indian subcontinent*, Leiden 1980.
- , *My soul is a woman. The feminine in Islam*, New York 1997.
- J. Sharīf, *Qānūn-i Islām*, trans. G. A. Herklots, rev. W. Crooke, London 1921.
- D. Shikuh, *Sakīnat al-auliyyā'*, ed. M. R. Jalali Nā'īnī, Tehran 1965.
- J. Subhan, *Sufism, its saints and shrines*, Lucknow 1938.

KELLY PEMBERTON

## Turkey

Turkish Sufism may be counted as the most female-friendly version of Sufism. Reasons for the veneration of Turkish women include the ability to perform miracles, piety and zeal in charitable works, long-enduring forbearance in very difficult circumstances, dying of unarticulated melancholic love, complete obedience and loyalty to husbands, and heroic acts against an enemy or tyrannical ruler.

The history of Turkish female saints goes back to the seventh/thirteenth century, when Khoca Aḥmad Yasawī, founder of the Yasawiyya Sufi order, sent his disciples to Anatolia. Female disciples, who comprised women from various Sufi orders, were

called *bājryān-ı Rûm* (Anatolian sisters), and men were called *abdālān-ı Rûm* (Anatolian itinerant dervishes). Because *bājryān* were mentioned only by Āshik Pasha-zāde, some historians raised doubts about their existence and claimed that *bājryān-ı Rûm* may be a miscopied form of *hājryān-ı Rûm* (Anatolian pilgrims) or *bākhshiyān-ı Rûm* (Anatolian givers). Köprülü (1959), emphasizing that the Bektāshī women were called *bāji*, is of the opinion that it is the original word. La Broquière's travel notes (1982), dating from that era, also confirm their existence. Mikāil Bayram (1994) points out that their activities ranged from religious to military and economic, with an accent on textile industry. The founder-head Fātma Bāji (d. third quarter of the seventh/thirteenth century) was the wife of Akhī Awran, the leader of the Akhī Community, the association centered in Kırşehir whose members worked mainly in the leather industry. The association was a strict mystical organization and *bājryān-ı Rûm* was considered to be its sub-branch. Fātma Bāji was also known as Kadınjık Ana, who served Hāji Bektāş Walī (d. 669/1270–1[?]), the founder of the Bektāşīya order. *Bājryān* taught Sufism to male alongside female disciples. This tradition occurred only in the Mawlawīya and Bektāşīya orders, which gave women saints the chance to rise to the level of spritual teachers.

There is little information about the life of Turkish female saints apart from the letters of a certain Āsiye Khātun, written in 1641–3, concerning her mystical dreams and short legendary stories (some of them compiled by Araz [2000] and Kalafat [2004]). Some women Sufi poets, such as Fitnat Khānım (d. 1194/1780) and Leylā Khānım (d. 1264/1848) are exceptional. Even the book on women saints (*Manāqib-ı walīyāti al-nisā* n.d.) written by Amīna Jāhida Khānım, contains only stories of certain non-Turkish female saints of the early period. Turkish female saints were the subject of novels such as *Kadınlar Tekkesi* by R. H. Karay (1956) and *Nur Baba* by Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu (1922). In addition, some gave their names to *tekkes*, such as Karılar (Khātuniya) Dargāhi, a *Qādirī dargāh* in Istanbul.

In modern times, there are many female saints, the most famous being Safiye Erol (d. 1964), and prolific authors Samiha Ayverdi (d. 1993) and Nezihe Araz (b. 1922), all followers of Kenan Rifai (d. 1950) and representatives of "Intellectual Sufism."

The oldest known women's shrine in Turkey is Meryem Ana in Afyon. The total number of women's shrines exceeds 130. (When men's shrines, which also are burial places for their family mem-

bers, are counted, this number rises substantially.) They are mostly known either by their names or as Üçler/Üç Kızlar (Girls/Three girls), Süt Evliyā (Milk saint), Kız Evliya (Girl saint), Yediler (Sevens), and Kırk Kızlar/Kırklar (Forty girls/Forties) (the last two may be mixed female/male).

There is a women's tomb known as a men's (Tāvus Baba in Konya), and two men's tombs known as women's (Kız Türbesi in Bergama and Edirne), either mistakenly or because their names were deliberately changed.

Women's tombs are mostly visited by women for female-related issues, for example the desire to conceive or get married, or perhaps the cure for a child's bed wetting. Exceptions are Bacım Sultan in Ankara Nallıhan, visited to cure mental diseases, and Şihlar in Bolu Göynük, which is visited to request cures from malaria. Nevertheless, certain female saints who were sanctified because they died of love are visited by both sexes. In fact, although statistics are lacking, and there are few studies concerning the phenomenon, visitors to all sacred tombs are mostly women, the main followers of popular religion. The tribal Kurdish women of Hakkari may be the exception, this sort of pilgrimage being practically unknown among them.

The practices around the tombs and the meanings attached to pilgrimage may differ between social classes, or even among individuals. However, practices are the same as those that occur at male tombs, for example placing "wishing stones" on the tomb; tying pieces of cloth to the shrine or to trees in front of it; circling around the tomb or throwing money on the tomb or the place believed to be sacred; votive offering; and asking for intercession by the saint while praying to God. The only exception may be setting children in the cradle in the tomb if there is one (for example Epçe Sultan in Kayseri).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Āshik Pasha-zāde, *Tārih-i āl-i 'Uthmān*, Istanbul 1913.  
 N. Araz, *Anadolu erenleri*, Istanbul 1975, repr. 2000.  
 ———, *Anadolu'nun kadın erenleri*, Istanbul 2001.  
 S. Ayverdi, *Mülakatlar*, Istanbul 2004.  
 M. N. Bardakçı, Türk tasavvuf geleneğinde kadın, in *Arayışlar. İnsan Bilimleri Araştırmaları* 13 (2005), 31–44.  
 M. Bayram, *Fatma Bacı ve Bacryân-ı Rûm (Anadolu bacıları teşkilâtı)*, Konya 1994.  
 Y. Kalafat, Anadolu'da ulu kadın kişiler ve halk inançları, in *Hacı Bektaş Veli Araştırma Dergisi* 32 (2004), 37–54.  
 M. F. Köprülü, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun kuruluşu*, Ankara 1959; rev. ed. O. F. Köprülü, Istanbul 1981.  
 H. Küçük, Female saints in Turkey, unpublished manuscript.

- B. de La Broquière, *La voyage d'outremer*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1892.
- M. Siwāsi, *Manākīb-ı Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī*, ed. B. Furūzānfar, Tehran 1969.
- E. A. Olson, The use of religious symbol systems and ritual in Turkey. Women's activities at Muslim shrines, in *Muslim World* 84 (1994), 202-16.
- N. Tapper, Ziyaret. Gender, movement, and exchange in a Turkish community, in D. F. Eickelman and J. Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers. Pilgrimages, migration, and the religious imagination*, London 1990, 236-55.
- L. Yalçın-Heckmann, Women's religious life in Hakkari, in *Les annales de l'autre islam* 5 (1998), 141-60.

HÜLYA KÜÇÜK

# Language: Use by Women

## The Caucasus

Patterns of speech not only reflect grammatical laws but also point to the relation between the verbal system of a language and its sociocultural context. The ethnography of speaking sees language and speaking as a cultural system whose values and principles are important for social interaction and the definition of gender roles.

The anthropological study of women and language in Islamic societies is strongly influenced by the social positions that were ascribed to women. On the basis of Islamic law and traditional patrilineal society Muslim women were often seen as subordinate and female forms of speech were therefore characterized as unpolitical and not representative. When the image of the submissive Muslim women was rectified women were attributed informal power and it was the predominantly female genre of gossip through which women now influenced their men and even got the power to initiate feud and war.

In the context of feud, this author's research in rural Azerbaijan shows that male responsibility for feuding is seen in men's competitive actions whereas the female responsibility is seen in women's tongues (*dil*, language, tongue). Generally, the female *dil* is considered as ambiguous and extremely open with aims not easy to identify and options only to be deduced. The social relations that are discussed by the female *dil* are the relations of consanguinity and affinity. With the capacity of her *dil* a woman can support the interests of her agnatic group (*nəsil*), with *şirin dil* (sweet speech) she can pave the way for a marriage or consolidate existing affinal relationships. On the other hand, the female *dil* can also be the cause of disputes or break a marriage and therefore be responsible for *fitna*, social (not sexual) disorder. In the first case the female *dil* supports the social order and will be valued positively, in the second case the female *dil* blurs the frontiers of affinal and consanguineal groups and will be valued negatively. This blurring of the frontiers of different agnatic kinship groups corresponds with the structural in-between position of women. After her marriage a woman does not lose her membership in her group of origin. Further, she has lifelong relationships with other female relatives of her group of origin who after their own marriage

belong to groups which are seen as *yad* (strange) in the male perspective. Thus, the model of the female *dil* proves to be not an informal power difficult to assess but a gender specific and politically relevant model of action which is embedded in cultural conceptions of the female category and which corresponds with the structural in-between position of women. Like the male competition model the female *dil* has its own scenes of performance and is of different representational character. The laments of women in case of death are the most official and most elaborate form of the female *dil*. The laments celebrate the value of consanguinity and turn every woman into a sister or mother and every man into a brother or father, which in the context of the burial ceremony could be interpreted as an establishment of a desexualized religious community of equals. In death rituals specific religious terms are used by the female *mulla* who, besides singing laments, recites verses of the Qur'an in Arabic that are largely unknown to the female listeners. In everyday life religious terms are rarely used; they are bound to gender roles but are not confined to the female gender. For example, men utter *bismillah* before slaughtering an animal and women utter it when making bread. The terms *halal* and *haram* are broadly used by both sexes in adaptation to the contemporary situation of corruption and bribery (*rüşvət*). Those who enrich themselves in this way are condemned for stealing their wealth from the village community (*camaat*) and are said to eat *haram cöreği* (forbidden bread).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- R. Bauman and J. Sherzer (eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking*, London and New York 1975.
- S. Gal, Between speech and silence. The problematics of research on language and gender, in M. di Leonardo (ed.), *Gender at the crossroads of knowledge. Feminist anthropology in the postmodern era*, Berkeley 1991, 175–203.
- S. McConnell-Ginet, R. Borker, and N. Furman (eds.), *Women and language in literature and society*, New York 1980.
- I. Pfluger-Schindlbeck, *Verwandtschaft, Religion und Geschlecht in Aserbaidschan*, Wiesbaden 2005.
- S. Shahsahani, Women whisper, men kill. A case study of the Mamasani pastoral nomads of Iran, in L. Dube, E. Leacock, and S. Ardener (eds.), *Visibility and power*, Delhi 1986, 85–95.

## Iran

The topic of language use by women covers a wide range of issues. This entry focuses on one general sub-theme: forms of address. While informed by the larger literature, it is based on the authors' primary research.

Forms of address are defined as "what one person calls another and what this signifies" (Robinson 1972, 120). Forms of address encode speakers' interpersonal attitudes and are thus emotionally, culturally, politically, and religiously indicative. The aim of this entry is to explore how gender and religion intersect with the use of address forms by Iranian Muslim women. The findings show that the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and change of ideologies and politics have led to some interesting changes in the use of address forms. Even though there are a few studies on the use of address forms in Persian (Beeman 1986, Jahangiri 1980, Keshavarz 1988, 2001), none of these studies directly addresses the role of Islam, gender, and the use of address forms.

The authors' research examines the use of address forms by two different groups of religious and secular women (a total of 120) in present-day Iran and studies effects of religious sensibilities on language use. The women were all Persian speakers living in different districts of Isfahan. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a selected group of 30 participants. Participants were selected from university students, judged to be secular on the basis of their appearance (*hijāb/veil*), and from females actively involved in Basij (a religiously oriented political group with paramilitary connections). Only participants who classified themselves as middle-class aged between 20 and 30 were selected for this study. Moreover, to have a more reliable categorization, participants were asked to classify themselves as religious or secular. If the researchers' classification did not agree with the participant's self-categorization, the data were excluded from further analysis. The examined forms of address included three types:

1. Use of second person pronouns (sing. *taw*, pl. *shumā*).
2. Preference for being addressed as *khvābar* (sister) followed by first or last name; *hājī khānum* (Mrs. Pilgrim) followed by first or last name; *khānum* followed by last name; or first name followed by *khānum* in unfamiliar situations by males.
3. Addressing males as *barādar* (brother) followed by first or last name; *hājī āqā* (Mr. Pilgrim);

*āqāyi* followed by last name; or first name followed by *āqā* in unfamiliar situations.

The possible addressees in communication context were grouped into three categories:

1. nuclear family members, in presence of other strangers and in formal situations
2. acquaintances with whom there is a social or professional relationship (classmates; professor)
3. unfamiliar people, in the street or other places (taxi driver, shopkeeper)

### USE OF SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

In Persian, speakers have a choice between two forms of "you": the deferential *shumā* and the familiar *taw*. The deferential form is used when the addressee is in a superior social position or when the speaker does not perceive a sufficiently close personal relationship with the addressee. The familiar form is used when an intimate relationship is perceived to exist between the speaker and the addressee, or when the addressee is in a subordinate position.

Table 1 shows the use of *taw* and *shumā* by the two groups. The results of the chi-square analysis show that religious Muslim women, especially in interaction with members of the opposite sex, tend to be more deferential and use a more formal form of address in order to maintain a greater amount of social distance. Even in intimate relationships with family members, religious women tend to use more formal forms of language to show more respect and humility.

### FORMS OF ADDRESS FOR REFERENCE TO THE ADDRESSEE

The shift from a Westernized system to an Islamic government in Iran has yielded some changes in the forms of address. According to Keshavarz (1988), the two new forms of address "brother" and "sister," which emerged soon after revolution, were inspired by the egalitarian motive of the revolution and the Islamic ideology, which maintains that all members of the society are equal. These address terms have both religious and revolutionary connotations.

As shown in Table 2, the claim made by Keshavarz (1988) that these two forms are popular and have spread well beyond group membership boundaries is not supported in this study. The mean ranking (on a Likert scale ranging from 1 = most inappropriate to 5 = most appropriate) and the result of the t-test analysis show the contrary. The use of terms of address that signify religious ideologies is

Table 1. The percentage of *taw* and *shumā* usage for all types of addressee

Addressee	<i>taw</i>		<i>shumā</i>	
	Religious	Secular	Religious	Secular
Spouse*	29	69	69	29
Father*	5	15	95	75
Mother*	10	25	90	75
Female classmate*	35	70	65	30
Male classmate*	5	25	95	75
Taxi driver	3	5	97	95
Shopkeeper	5	6	95	94
Older brother*	25	65	75	25
Younger brother*	64	80	26	20
Older sister*	30	73	70	27
Younger sister*	70	84	30	16

\*significant at  $p < .05$

Table 2. Preference for address terms to be used in reference to addressee

Address Term	Religious (Mean)	Secular (Mean)
First Name*	2	4
Last Name	3.3	3.6
sister*	4.6	1.6
Mrs. Pilgrim*	2.89	1.0

\*significant at  $p < .05$

considered highly inappropriate and even offensive by secular Muslim women.

Similarly Keshavarz's (1988) observation that these two terms are taken as neutral forms of address, particularly when they are used to address strangers, was not supported in this study. The interview data indicate that the semantics of brother and sister emphasize the religious and political affiliation and membership more than solidarity and/or intimacy.

The form of address "Mrs. Pilgrim" seems to have both religious and age connotations. This could be the reason that even religious women did not favor its use. Its use among more secular Muslim women is strongly disfavored and it is considered insulting to be addressed as such.

It seems likely that there has been a shift from the use of religious/revolutionary terms of address in the earlier post-revolutionary years to more neutral terms as observed in this study.

Table 3. Forms of address when addressing other males in unfamiliar formal situations

Address Term	Religious (Mean)	Secular (Mean)
First Name*	1.3	2.6
Last Name*	4	3.5
brother*	3.5	1.0
Mr. Pilgrim*	4	1.5

\*significant at  $p < .05$

#### FORMS OF ADDRESS WITH REFERENCE TO OTHERS

As shown in Table 3, a similar trend in the use of address terms with reference to others is found. The use of religious terms "brother" and "Mr. Pilgrim" is more acceptable by religious women and the use of more intimate forms to address the opposite sex is significantly more acceptable by secular women.

The findings support the conclusion that social, political, and religious values and affiliations have a direct impact on language choice and social meaning (Sadiqi 2003). It seems that the use of more intimate address forms (first name) is linked to more secular orientations and the use of more deferential address terms and religious forms are linked to respect for social hierarchies. As the use of address forms is conscious and involves choice, it denotes women's agency in everyday interactions. In a heavily gendered society like Iran, women use different forms of address to maintain, create, and appropriate their agency. Iranian Muslim women's use of language forms indicates differences in the ways they perform their gendered identities.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- W. O. Beeman, *Language, status, and power in Iran*, Bloomington, Ind. 1986.
- N. Jahangiri, A sociolinguistic study of Persian in Tehran, Ph.D. diss., University of London 1980.
- M. H. Keshavarz, Forms of address in post-revolutionary Iranian Persian. A sociolinguistic analysis, in *Language in Society* 17 (1988), 565-75.
- , The role of social context, intimacy, and distance in the choice of forms of address, in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 148 (2001), 5-18.
- W. P. Robinson, *Language and social behavior*, Harmondsworth 1972.
- F. Sadiqi, *Women, gender, and language in Morocco*, Leiden and Boston 2003.



## North Africa

Women are incontestably masters of verbal art in North Africa. Numerous studies point to the strong feminine aesthetic in verbal genres such as storytelling, poetic improvisation, oratory, and song. Although men often own the copyright, both literally and symbolically, to verbal genres in the public sphere (such as song lyrics, for example), even these genres may be imbued with a feminine aesthetic.

Gender and genre are inextricably linked. Among the Awlad Ali Beduin in Egypt, for example, women compose poems with and for each other that both speak to their contemporary situations, and contest them, expressing emotions and desires that are inappropriate in other mixed-gender circumstances (Abu-Lughod 1999). This is the case among Berber populations in the south of Morocco as well, where women's improvised poetry helps mediate changes they experience due to the emigration of Berber men to cities in Morocco and abroad (Hoffman forthcoming). Indeed, because of this emigration, the women who stay behind become the designated carriers of tradition and identity. This responsibility is largely mediated through a verbal repertoire. The case is similar among the Kabyles in Algeria where women's poetry has become the source of New Berber Song, a now-transnational genre of music. While most of the lyrics in the genre of New Berber Song come from the female ritual repertoire, the songs are often copyrighted by male artists. In Algeria, however, the songs that were "previously indexed to distinct events and participation frameworks are drawn together as tokens of cultural heritage and are connected to the emergent figure of an 'original' author. That author almost always is imagined as female" (Goodman 2005, 159–60). Although the men are often the star singers, in the public imagination Algerian women are the acknowledged authors of traditions. Berber women's poetry, especially at mixed-sex wedding celebrations, publicizes the desires and demands of women (Joseph 2003).

Female performers – singers and dancers – may also be consummate verbal artists. The genre of *al-ayta* (the cry) in Morocco, for example, is often sung by women. The lyrics are drawn from a repertoire that includes storytelling about male–female and Moroccan–colonial power relations (Kapchan 1996, 2003, Ciucci 2005, Nieuwkerk 2003).

Understanding the power of women's verbal art depends on understanding the cultural and linguistic "structures of power" in which they are embedded (Sadiqi 2003, xvi). These include the history of

feminisms in North Africa (including liberal feminism and religious feminism), the importance of ritual in the construction of feminine subjectivity, the rich oral culture of women, the issue of illiteracy, and the political economy of multilingualism wherein varying fluencies in Berber, dialectal Arabic, Standard Arabic, French, and English may determine social status. Genres of speech that have historically been associated with women (such as gossip, proverbs, and fairy tales, for example), often carry less cultural capital because of male bias and also because of cultural stereotypes that classify low pitch with seriousness, for example, and high pitch with weakness (Sadiqi 2003). There are many tacit cultural and ideological biases that work to disempower women while upholding male dominance. These insidious and largely unconscious attitudes are transmitted in modes of education and linguistic socialization. To their credit, women combat these forces with discourse strategies of their own, including indirection, euphemisms, diminutives, polite forms, and oaths. Such strategies are evident in women's marketplace discourse in Morocco, where women revoice male genres of speech (notably marketplace oratory, which uses oaths, Qur'anic quotes, and proverbs), infusing them with irony and implicit political comment (Kapchan 1996). Through their performance of oratory, they create a new place for women in the public sphere. Manipulation of public genres of speech is not restricted to the market, however. Women politicians in North Africa give speeches to their constituencies, while female members of parliament hold forth in sectors of society that were once exclusively male domains. Through women's creative use of speech genres, their resistance to oppression emerges, as does their ability to create status among their peers and family members.

Religious community is also created in verbal genres, and women are active participants. Women's groups at mosques are gaining more and more visibility, as their networks across regions and nations increase, both through face-to-face encounters and through mediated forms like the radio and the Internet (Cooke and Lawrence 2005). As Mahmood (2005) has shown in Egypt, women instantiate notions of Muslim ethics in communities through reading, praying, and discussing religious precepts and practices together. These groups do not only originate in mosques. In Morocco, for example, the largest Sufi group – the Butshishi – have women's groups all over the country, as well as in the diaspora. Chanting, praying, and singing together is a way that the community creates itself and continues to cohere. Women's religious communities take

active part in development issues in North Africa, asserting their voice in the public sphere of politics and non-governmental organizations.

While women have been associated with the oral and the traditional in their uses of language, they are by no means limited to this sphere. Novels by women such as Leila Abouzeid and Ghita El Khayat, are among the fastest growing genre of literature in North Africa (Cooke 2001, Rosello 2005), as are books of poetry by women. Memoirs, both political and personal, are also plentiful (Slyomovics 2005). Journals written by women targeting female audiences proliferate on newsstands, while discussion about melodramatic television serials helps to constitute the modern female subject (Abu-Lughod 2005). The Internet provides forums for both the expression of religious sentiment and the creation of more secular identities. As Belghazi notes, "The Internet constitutes a site of struggle between various subject positions, all of which seek to reclaim Islam. . . . Some Muslim women, on the other hand, appropriate the Net in order to constitute a subaltern public sphere that empowers them to subvert male dominance, beginning with an alternative narrative of Muslim loyalty and legitimacy" (Belghazi 2005, 278). Women's use of language in North Africa actively constructs gender identity, but religious and secular identities as well, mediated by forms of popular culture and more official discourses in print and on the Internet.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Abouzeid, *Year of the elephant. A Moroccan woman's journey toward independence, and other stories*, trans. B. Parmenter, intro. E. W. Fernea. Austin, Tex. 1989.
- L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled sentiments. Honor and poetry in a Bedouin society*, Berkeley 1986, updated ed. 1999.
- , *Dramas of nationhood. The politics of television in Egypt*, Chicago, Ill. 2005.
- T. Belghazi, Afterword, in M. Cooke and B. B. Lawrence (eds.), *Muslim networks from Hajj to hip hop*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 2005, 275–82.
- A. Ciucci, Les musiciennes professionnelles au Maroc, in *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles* 18 (2005), 183–200.
- M. Cooke, *Women claim Islam. Creating Islamic feminism through literature*, New York and London 2001.
- and B. B. Lawrence (eds.), *Muslim networks from Hajj to hip hop*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 2005.
- G. El Khayat-Bennai, *Le monde arabe au féminin*, Paris 1988.
- , *Les bonnes de Paris*. Paris 2005.
- J. E. Goodman, *Berber culture on the world stage. From village to video*, Bloomington, Ind. 2005.
- K. E. Hoffman, "We share walls." *Language, land and gender in Berber Morocco*, Blackwell Publishers (forthcoming).
- T. B. Joseph, Poetry as a strategy of power. The case of Riffian Berber women, in T. Magrini (ed.), *Music and gender. Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, Chicago 2003, 233–50.

- D. A. Kapchan, *Gender on the market. Moroccan women and the revoicing of tradition*, Philadelphia 1996.
- , Nashat. The gender of musical celebration in Morocco, in T. Magrini (ed.), *Music and gender. Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, Chicago 2002, 251–66.
- S. Mahmood, *The politics of piety. The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton, N.J. 2005.
- K. van Nieuwkerk, *A trade like any other. Female singers and dancers in Egypt*, Austin, Tex. 1995.
- , On religion, gender, and performing. Female performers and repentance in Egypt, in T. Magrini (ed.), *Music and gender. Perspectives from the Mediterranean*, Chicago 2003, 267–86.
- M. Rosello, *France and the Maghreb. Performative encounters*, Gainesville, Fla. 2005.
- F. Sadiqi, *Women, gender, and language in Morocco*, Leiden 2003.
- S. Slyomovics, *The performance of human rights in Morocco*. Philadelphia 2005.

DEBORAH KAPCHAN

#### North America: Yemeni American Girls\*

Yemeni migration to the United States is part of a larger historical trend of Arab immigration to North America. Many recent immigrants moved to the Detroit area because they could find work in the shipping and auto industries, and since the 1970s, southeastern Michigan has had the highest concentration of Arabic-speaking people outside the Middle East, an estimated 250,000 residents (Ameri and Ramey 2000, Zogby 1995). Unlike earlier Arab immigrants, recent arrivals from northern Yemen have persisted in preserving both their Muslim ways of life and their Arab identities. These immigrants have kept strong ties with their motherland, buying land in Yemen with the intention of going back, visiting for long periods, and sending their children there to marry. Consequently, in the United States, the children of these immigrants straddle two worlds, the literate world of school and the home world of religious and cultural values where the text of the Qur'an sanctions behavior and social norms.

This entry focuses on Yemeni American high school girls or *hijābāt* (what the girls call themselves, girls who wear the headscarf) in the Detroit working-class suburb of Dearborn. While their experiences are unique, they are also instructive in understanding the roles of religious oral and print texts among other Muslim women immigrants – and their daughters – in contemporary North America.

The Yemeni community of Dearborn, Michigan lives in a neighborhood called "the Southend" where they have formed their own social and linguistic spaces. Girls leave the Southend only to go

to school or during family outings. Living in two worlds can be difficult for all of the residents, but especially for young women who struggle to negotiate their Yemeni and American identities as well as to meet their families' expectations for being good daughters. Their responsibilities are three-fold: to uphold the transnational honor of the family; to become good mothers (most are engaged or married by the age of 14 or 15); and to succeed in school. In their daily efforts to meet these responsibilities, Yemeni *hijābāt* rely not only upon a variety of religious texts but also on the process of discussing these texts with their peers in school, home, and community spaces.

#### RELIGIOUSLY MOTIVATED TEXTUAL CATEGORIES

The public high school is a key cultural intersection and is where Yemeni American girls adapt to American life by organizing behaviors into three categories which stem from the Qur'ān and religious teachings: *ḥaram*, forbidden; *ḥalāl*, lawful; and *makrūh*, not written as forbidden in the Qur'ān but condemned by the Prophet Muḥammad. All things *ḥaram* are written in the Qur'ān, such as drinking alcohol. Things *ḥalāl* are good deeds, which include learning and being learned. Things *makrūh* include wearing make-up before marriage or listening to music. Indeed, many of the *hijābāt* wore nail polish or eyeliner and listened to popular music even though the Prophet forbade it. However, because nothing is written in the Qur'ān about such things, Islamic scholars and ordinary Muslims debate these issues constantly. At school, the *hijābāt* used the terms *ḥaram* and *ḥalāl* liberally, especially when a girl's modesty was in question. The students argued about what was *ḥaram* when something was called into question, and advice was often sought from peers who were respected for their knowledge of the Qur'ān and the *ḥadīth* (recorded words, actions, sanctions of the Prophet Muḥammad). Girls who were pious or wanted to appear pious did not do or say anything that was likely to be considered *makrūh*. In fact, except for some girls who studied and read the Qur'ān, the category *makrūh* was not known or well understood by most girls and boys. For the *hijābāt*, most of life fell under *ḥaram* or *ḥalāl*, and when scripture did not provide an answer, there was always what they called the Yemeni "folk Islam," that is, occult beliefs or superstitions that helped explain and remedy problems.

Arranging life into religiously motivated textual categories gave the *hijābāt* the opportunity to maintain Yemeni social status and norms within

the confines of school. Yet, school also gave the girls the chance to stretch home and community-imposed limits. For example, unlike most teenagers, the *hijābāt* were often not allowed to listen to American popular music, which was in the *makrūh* category, and they were also not allowed to read teen magazines, or anything that might be sexually explicit or imply sexuality. At school they created a private space for themselves in their cafeteria cluster of tables, buffered by the non-Arab students against the Yemeni boys, whom they called "boaters," and who would often report back to the Southend on the *hijābāt* if they did not maintain a proper social performance of modesty, thus damaging the *hijābāt's* reputations. Here the girls brought forth their contraband: teen magazines, yearbook pictures which could only be seen by them, and fable-like poems and stories, especially about girls who misbehaved. They gossiped around these texts, sharing personal information about their marriages, their families, and the men they would like to marry (often in opposition to the ones to whom they were betrothed). During one such instance, there was extensive discussion of *Princess* by Jean Sasson, a popular biography about the tragedies experienced by a Saudi Arabian princess who managed to escape her family and country. This was not a book they openly discussed or read at home because, as one noted, "It makes Islam and Muslims look bad." They argued that Princess Sultana's narrative by Sasson is a story about culture and not about religion, an important distinction for these girls because it meant that while their religion and their Holy Book could not be questioned, their culture and cultural acts could. Thus, when the *hijābāt* were upset with family decisions about education or marriage, they were very careful to blame it on Yemeni culture and not on Islam.

The significance of the relatively safe crowded cafeteria is that it offered a haven for sharing secret texts, including texts that were American and that represented American values that differed from Yemeni ones. For example, a poem written in English was downloaded from the Internet and was passed among the girls. It was about a girl who goes out with a boy even though her parents do not allow her to date. The boy drinks heavily and crashes his car into another. At the hospital, the girl asks the nurse to tell her parents that she is sorry. The nurse does not say anything as the girl dies. It turns out that the car into which the girl and her boyfriend crashed was occupied by her parents, who were both killed instantly. The girls reacted to this poem with loud exclamations of "*Ḥaram!*" and said that although they admired the girl for

taking a risk, that disobeying and hurting one's parents through one's actions is forbidden.

#### RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION AND PRACTICES

Daily reading of the Qur'an was as symbolically important in the *hijābāt's* lives as their modest form of dress. Reading the Qur'an led to three distinct results: being more knowledgeable about the contents of the Qur'an and therefore more respected by one's family and community; reaching a state of grace by virtue of the fact that reading it endows a spirituality or holiness; and empowering oneself against culturally-biased acts against Muslims. In fact, parents took pride in the fact that their sons and daughters, but especially their daughters, read the Qur'an and prayed. At a parents' school meeting about school violence, one father praised his son's high grades but chose to describe his daughter's success at being a result of prayer, noting, "She prays more than I do." In other words, although most of the Yemeni families desired both their male and female children to know the Qur'an and to pray, these characteristics were especially valued in girls because they reflected the family's honor. It was the girls' responsibility to maintain religious values, thus reinforcing a gendered notion of religion. The girls knew this and were genuinely involved in their religious practice, but they were also cognizant of the power to be assumed through thorough knowledge of the Qur'an. Consequently, the *hijābāt* also attended Arabic school at the mosque, classes that were gender segregated, included grades K-7, and met at weekends from 8:30 a.m. until noon for instruction, after which lectures were scheduled. All of the instruction revolved around reading, writing, and the Qur'an. The oral and written texts with which the *hijābāt* engaged allowed them to connect their religious practice to their identities as teenagers, but they also positioned them as pious girls for whom reading the Qur'an and chanting verses presented an antidote to the influences of the outside world.

Some girls also attended *muhādarāt* (lectures) and discussions organized by women in the community that took place either at the mosque or in a private home. The *muhādarāt* at the mosque were talks where a woman speaker addressed women's issues in front of an audience with discussion at the end but those held in someone's home were different, more private and informal. The *hijābāt* noted that they could talk to the woman who was hosting the lecture and respected her because, unlike many of the women in the local community, she could read and write in Arabic and recite the entire

Qur'an. She had achieved the state of grace and power into which the girls wanted to enter. After the evening prayer, each of the women brought something specific to read from the Qur'an or from a book on Muslim religious conduct; this was followed by a lecture on morality. The conversations during *muhādarāt* were characterized by the girls as more intellectual and religious and they saw the reading of the Qur'an and the conversation which ensued around the readings as knowledge to be learned rather than just talk among friends or "stuff you learn at school." These groups of girls grappled with religious and moral issues for a purpose: to stay pure and true to Islam, to show their community that they were good Muslim girls, and to vocalize potentially risky topics that they could not openly discuss in school or elsewhere.

The Yemeni American *hijābāt* from the Southend shoulder a great deal of responsibility at a young age. They must excel in all domains of their lives – school, community, home, and housekeeping – in preparation for marriage, their adult roles, and the possibility of more education in university settings. For them, religious texts provide meaningful and relevant maps for navigating their complex personal, social, and cultural realities.

#### NOTE

\* Sections of this entry have been adapted from L. K. Sarroub 2001, 2002, and 2005.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Abraham and A. Shryock (eds.), *Arab Detroit. From margin to mainstream*, Detroit 2000.
- S. Abraham, N. Abraham, and B. Aswad, The Southend. An Arab Muslim working-class community, in S. Abraham and N. Abraham (eds.), *Arabs in the new world. Studies on Arab-American communities*, Detroit 1983, 164–80.
- A. Ameri and D. Ramey (eds.), *Arab American encyclopedia*, Detroit 2000.
- V. Amit-Talai and H. Wulf (eds.), *Youth cultures. A cross-cultural perspective*, London 1995.
- J. Boyarin, *The ethnography of reading*, Berkeley 1992.
- D. Brandt, *Literacy in American lives*, New York 2001.
- J. Friedlander, *Sojourners and settlers. The Yemeni immigrant experience*, Salt Lake City 1988.
- K. Haw, *Educating Muslim girls. Shifting discourses*, Buckingham, England 1998.
- A. Naff, *Becoming American. The early Arab immigrant experience*, Carbondale, Ill. 1985.
- A. Portes and R. G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America. A portrait*, rev. ed., Berkeley 2006.
- C. Raissiguier, *Becoming women, becoming workers. Identity in a French vocational school*, Albany, N.Y. 1994.
- L. K. Sarroub, The sojourner experience of Yemeni American high school students. An ethnographic portrait, in *Harvard Educational Review* 3 (2001), 390–415.
- , In-betweenness. Religion and conflicting visions of literacy, in *Reading Research Quarterly* 37:2 (2002), 130–48.

- , *All American girls. Being Muslim in a public school*, Philadelphia 2005.
- S. Scribner, Literacy in three metaphors, in *American Journal of Education* 93:1 (1984), 6–21.
- B. V. Street, *Social literacies. Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography, and education*, London 1995.
- J. Zogby, *Arab American demographics*, Washington, D.C. 1995.

LOUKIA K. SARROUB

## The Ottoman Empire

In the Ottoman Empire (1299–1922), a multi-ethnic and multireligious society, women of different backgrounds had different voices with respect to the representation of gender in literature. What is known about this subject is confined to the use of language, concepts, imagery, and motifs in the poetry of Ottoman Muslim women (both heterodox and orthodox), predominantly in the tradition of classical *divan* (compilation of poems) literature.

A female-specific language did not exist in *divan* literature; the reason for this should be sought not so much in language construction in poetry by a male-oriented tradition, as some researchers have suggested (Silay 2000), but in how poetic language was constructed. In love poetry, the hierarchical dualism between the lover and the beloved left no room for individuality. The lover/poet's subordinate status with respect to the godlike perfection represented by the ideal beloved rendered his/her gender irrelevant. It is also unlikely that the metaphors used for the beloved referred specifically to women. The fact that Turkish does not have grammatical gender would, therefore, have enabled women to assume the role of poet.

There is no readily identifiable difference between the registers of male and female poets. Views which identify the expression of emotions with women and that of intellect with men are also not valid for *divan* poetry. However, there are, at times, slight differences in the choice of some images and motifs. While male poets typically represented themselves as stylized lovers (for example Mecnun or Ferhad), both Mihrî and Hubbâ, women poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, identified themselves with the heroines of the classical tales that they drew upon in their poetry (Toska 2006, 676–7). In the nineteenth century, the hierarchical dualism between the lover and the beloved changed parallel to social change; for example, Leylâ Hanım (Saz, d. 1848) wrote freely about her own social

status and that of other women (Leylâ Hanım 2003, 324–5).

As a result of religious teaching, either in law or within the family, in Ottoman society women were not seen as equals of men. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that such issues found their way into women's writing. In the early periods, women's reaction targeted the male conception of woman as defective in body and mind. This conception was partly due to the impact of translations from Arabic and Persian literature. Such texts influenced the negative discourse on women, which was also reinforced by the circulation of a selection of *hadiths* that emphasized the inferiority of women. The situation was different in the pre-Islamic texts of Oghuz origin and in the pre-Ottoman *divans* up until the conquest of Constantinople, which became the capital of the empire (fifteenth century). In the early periods, women were deemed equals of men in body and mind in women's writing. In fact, the first known poem in which a woman equated herself with men was by Hâce Fatma (thirteenth century, Gölpinarlı 1953, 280–1), unsurprisingly in the more libertarian Mawlawi tradition.

Mihrî and Zeynep (fifteenth century) first raised their voices against the negative discourse on women: “manhood is not competence, nor is womanhood defectiveness” (Toska 2006, 672–3). No other women poets in the *divan* tradition were as unreserved as Mihrî and Zeynep. This might be attributed to the ethos of their time and to their social environment in the Sanjak of Amasya (in mid-northern Anatolia), a literary milieu far away from the capital.

In the sixteenth century, Hubbâ was the only woman poet powerful enough to appear on the literary scene (Uzun 1998), yet her tone is apprehensive. In the foreword of her *Cemşîd ü Hürşîd*, Âşık Çelebi writes: “How can I comment on the Qur'ân or the *hadiths* if I am not a prestigious man of learning but just a powerless, inferior, contemptible, weak woman?” Addressing herself, she continues: “Since you are one of the short-brained, it does not matter if your words are out of place or devoid of beauty. Do not worry if the wise ones do not like your words.” She also makes a very important assessment: “No matter how wise women are, men will still not consider them their equals” (Çelebi 1971, 127b–8b).

The concepts of inferiority and weakness to which Hubbâ reproachfully referred were overturned and used as a strategy to avoid criticism in the work of later women poets, namely Leylâ (eighteenth century) and Şeref (nineteenth century).

In the heterodox Alevi-Bektaşî literature, the wayward voices of Nâciye and Zehrâ, who belonged to the same period, were incomparably stronger than those of Leylâ and Şeref. Zehrâ went as far as declaring that it was a fallacy to think that the world could not survive without men. “Think about the Virgin Mary who gave birth to Jesus,” she wrote (Gölpınarlı 1963, 240–1). Her argument, which is still on the agenda today, was that women were different, not defective.

Against the background of social change in the late Ottoman Empire, a positive change was observed in the discourse related to women. The former discourse that left its mark on the language with such expressions as “long-haired, short-brained” reached a breaking point with the support of the intellectuals who favored Westernization. However, as witnessed by the periodicals of the time, the problem of defectiveness internalized by women survived. In the first women’s journal, *Şükûfezâr* (1886), which was brought out by a new breed of women from newly-formed schools, Ârife Hanım, daughter of the minister of education, declared: “We are people who have been subjected to the mockery of men who call us ‘long-haired, short-brained.’ We will try to prove that this is not the case by showing a preference for neither manhood nor womanhood.”

The periodicals issued for women played an important role in the construction of the new Ottoman woman’s identity that can be formulated as “the educated partner,” “the Muslim woman” and “the mother.” They also carried out a specific function of encouraging women to write, as in the example of *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (1895–1908), the longest lasting magazine, which employed many literate women under its own roof, publishing the first writings of women authors who would then gain fame, such as Fatma Aliye and her sister Emine Semiye, Nigar binti Osman, Makbule Leman, and Fatma Fahrünnisa.

Did female writers use a language that differed from that of their male counterparts? The language used by female writers, especially in the periodicals, varied according to their social status as well as the degree of their education – as can also be clearly observed in men’s writing. Such differences mostly emerge in readers’ letters to periodicals. In this period, at least in its beginning, there existed few women readers who preferred to use the language of writing, which was completely different from the language of speech in terms of using Arabic and Persian words and compounds as well as long sentences with ornamented style. Most letters were written in plain Turkish but with a sincere

style, and many readers found the language of the periodicals heavy and incomprehensible. This made writers and publishers whose aim was to educate Ottoman women careful.

Focus on sex or gender shows differences among writers with equal levels of education. The very striking and common point of the first women’s writing is the use of a passive and reluctant language that indicates the internalization of women’s secondary position. The language used by women whatever the cultural entity it belongs to was respectful, polite, and moderate. This was naturally not specific only to female writers, but no impolite, insolent, blasphemous, or slang words appeared in women’s writing of the time. Women’s writing about love was also regarded as unsuitable, and the use of certain words (for instance separation, yearning, tears) was even perceived to be inappropriate and obscene. Women writers, for example Makbule Leman and Fahrünnisa, whose works were influenced by Western literature, seem to be sensible of this, and hence refrain from exposing their personal views about love. However, even though verse or prose works by Nigar Hanım centered entirely on love, she was very much appreciated by male writers and the literary authorities of the time. Nigar Hanım was praised especially for expressing her feelings about separation from a lover, her crisis, pain, and excitement, all of which exposed the sincerity of a woman’s heart. Her thoughts concerning asexual and divine love made her famous.

Another salient point centers on the use of two different languages by female writers that changed according to literary themes and genres, while a linguistic unity existed in men’s writing. For instance, Leylâ Hanım composed her poems concerning internal family relations, children, grandsons, and relatives by using not only a high language that fits the shared pleasure of Ottoman culture but also a very comprehensible and sincere language that belongs specifically to women’s culture. She used either the *gazel* and song form or the ballad form of folk literature in her poetry. By generalizing Sema Uğurcan’s specific views on Leman Hanım, it can be said that such women’s writing contributed unwittingly to the establishment as the language of writing the home-life Turkish which was spoken by Istanbul women, an issue which would then be defended by the members of the “New Language” movement (Uğurcan 1991, 391).

In their articles female writers spoke to their readers as representatives of all womanhood, using the subject “we as women” and not “I.” The issues were not individual but rather centered upon the problems of all women discussed within the

boundaries of official ideology, and also repeated what had formerly been expressed by male writers. The style and discourse changed in the period of the Ottoman Second Constitution (1908). Situations differed in the novel and the short story written on the basis of the personal experience of female writers. As pointed out by Nüket Esen, Fatma Aliye appears as a conservative writer in her articles when she speaks directly with her own voice, but in the sheltered life of fictional stories she emerges as a writer who finds the courage to become more rebellious (Esen 2006, 90-1). This double voice can be observed in her novels, too. Although known as a conservative novelist, Fatma Aliye tended not to portray her female characters as passive and unresponsive. Nazan Aksoy sees Fatma Aliye as an inconsistent writer in her novel *Muhazarat* (1892), but evaluates her discrepancy as meaningful. This is, of course, the point of view of a shy woman, which can be interpreted as the expression of a search for the feminine way of existence, though she seems entirely unconscious of this (Aksoy 1992, 27).

There exists a difference between female and male writers in approaching the issue of marriage and educated woman. For instance, in the novels by Ahmed Midhat Efendi, wives were educated by their husbands but in the stories by Leman Hanım, the reverse is true. In “Hüsn-i Muamele” (1895) literate and sophisticated wives brought to reason their husbands who were addicted to night life, alcohol, and entertainment through their very pleasant, calm, and polite behavior. The intellectuals of the Tanzimat, intolerant of uneducated women, did not even question conflicts of literate women in family life. However, at this point, Fatma Aliye appears with a different attitude, departing from her own life experience. Becoming an educated woman could not guarantee happiness since, as pointed out by İnci Enginün, men of the Tanzimat were not capable of understanding the nature of educated women in either social or family life (Enginün 2000, 20). In Fatma Aliye’s *Levayih-i Hayat* (1897), İtimat, one of the female protagonists, states: “Concerning your words on what education is for, I shall say that it is for humans, for becoming an entire human being, for understanding humanity, for knowing the world we live in, namely for ourselves, isn’t it?” (Esen 2006, 238). Similar to İtimat, in her autobiographical novel *Handan* (1912), Halide Edib, another female writer unhappy with her marriage, asks the following question: “What would be the position of a well-minded woman in this society?” (Enginün 2006, 396-7). Şükufe Nihal, in her short story “Hocanın Endişesi” (1928), focuses on the same matter.

There exists only one issue specific to women’s writing with reference to the themes of literature: the feelings connected with motherhood. For example, in Nigar Hanım’s poem, “Tıfl-ı Hayalim,” the poetic persona with a mother’s compassion directs herself to her younger lover, desiring him to satisfy his all needs from her as in the mother-child relationship. Nazan Bekiroğlu states that this is a new image slightly disguised in Nigar Hanım’s poetry (Bekiroğlu 1998, 285-6). The poem is also a striking example demonstrating how the hegemonic perception of classical poetry, which praises the sensitive, delicate, and fragile feelings as the sublimity of woman’s heart and hence attracts compassion, does surround women’s way of writing.

Though there are rich resources of women’s writing from the Tanzimat to the Republican period, academic research on this issue is at the initial stage. Further studies would widen our knowledge about the features of women’s writing.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Ârife, Mukaddime, in *Şükûfezâr 1* (1303 [1887]), 1-9.  
 Â. Çelebi, *Meşâirü’ş-şu’arâ*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971.  
 Leylâ Hanım, *Leylâ Hanım divanı*, comp. M. Arslan, İstanbul 2003.  
 M. Leman, Hüsn-i muamele, in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* 43/46 (1311/1895).  
 Ş. Nihal, Hocanın Endişesi, in Ş. Nihal, *Tevakkülün Cezası*, İstanbul 1928, 79-83.  
 Şeref Hanım, *Şeref Hanım divanı*, comp. M. Arslan, İstanbul 2002.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- N. Aksoy, Fatma Aliye Hanım’ın “muhazarat”ında kadın açısı (II), in *Varlık* 1023 (Aralık 1992), 24-7.  
 N. Bekiroğlu, *Şair Nigar Hanım*, İstanbul 1998.  
 İ. Enginün, *Araştırmalar ve belgeler*, İstanbul 2000.  
 —, *Yeni Türk edebiyatı. Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete (1889-1923)*, İstanbul 2006.  
 N. Esen, Bir Osmanlı kadın yazarının doğuşu. Fatma Aliye, in N. Esen, *Modern Türk edebiyatı üzerine okumalar*, İstanbul 2000, 87-96.  
 —, Türk romanının edebi annesi Fatma Aliye’nin yeniden yayımlanan iki romanı. *Levayih-i hayat ve udi*, in N. Esen, *Modern Türk edebiyatı üzerine okumalar*, İstanbul 2000, 235-40.  
 A. Gölpınarlı, *Mevlana’dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, İstanbul 1953.  
 —, *Alevi-Bektâşi nefesleri*, İstanbul 1963.  
 K. Silay, Erkeğin ağzıyla söylenen gazel. Osmanlı kadın şairler ve ataerkilliğin gücü, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Modernleşmenin eşliğinde Osmanlı kadınları*, trans. N. Alpay, İstanbul 2000, 188-203.  
 Z. Toska, Divan şiirinde kadın şairlerin sesi, in *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* 2 (2006), 670-80.  
 S. Uğurcan, Makbule Leman, hayatı, şahsiyeti, eserleri, in *Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (1991), 331-408.  
 M. Uzun, Hubbî, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 18 (1998), 265.

## Turkey

### INTRODUCTION

This entry examines the use of Islamic religious language by Turkish women. It first covers the language reform and the changes in Republican Turkey; following the reforms of Atatürk, modern Turkish women use only Turkish for prayer rather than the Arabic or Ottoman used in the Ottoman Empire. Second, it observes the impact of this language change in the religious language used by women. Third, it deals with idioms and proverbs that have Qur'anic bases, and which contemporary Muslim Turkish women use for invoking God's blessing. Last, it touches on how women greet each other during Islamic feasts in order to present the religious discourse of women in modern Turkey.

### THE EVOLUTION OF THE TURKISH LANGUAGE

The oldest Turkish documents are *Orhon Yazıtları* (The writings of Orhgun), which were written in Uyghur. Most Uyghurs were Buddhist (Tekin 1994, 4–5). In the tenth century, during the period of the Karahan Empire, Turks accepted Islam, but they used few Arabic and Persian words in their language (Tekin 1994, 5). It is useful to mention here that the modern Turkish word *tanrı* (God) derives from the pagan Turkish word *ten'ri* (Aksan 2001). In modern Turkish, God is usually referred to as *Allah*, *Tanrı*, and *Rab*.

In ancient Anatolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, foreign words were eliminated from Turkish (Tekin 1994, 6). The Ottoman Empire expanded its borders to other eastern lands in the fifteenth century. During this period, Arabic was the religious language, Persian the literary language (Tekin 1994, 7). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a hybrid literary language of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish was used by the upper classes. During the period of the Second Meshrutiyet (period of reformation), a group of intellectuals called "New Pens" fought against certain grammatical rules borrowed from Arabic and Persian (Tekin 1994, 8). They proposed to eliminate from Turkish the Arabic and Persian case markers, plural forms, interjections, and words, and to use the Istanbul dialect in writing (Göğüş 1994, 14).

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, Atatürk supported the structural change of the Turkish language. In 1928, the Arabic alphabet was replaced with a new alphabet, adopting Latin letters. This renovation led to the creation of a new Turkish phonological system that differed from

Arabic and Persian (Yücel 2000, 21). Courses were offered to teach the new letters, and Arabic and Persian were abolished in schools in 1929 (Doğançay-Aktuna 2004, 7). Arabic and Persian words were replaced with Turkish words. Also the language of Muslim prayers, which included many Arabic and Persian terms, changed; prayers were translated into modern Turkish, purified of Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian words.

In 1932, the Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti (Turkish language research group) was established as an official forum for conducting lexicographic and other linguistic researches (Yücel 2000, 22). This association contributed to the elimination of foreign words from Turkish by collecting words from the everyday language of the people and researching old texts to revitalize Turkish words that had fallen out of use (Doğançay-Aktuna 2004, 8). In 1983, this association was incorporated into the Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu (Atatürk supreme council for culture, history, and language) (Doğançay-Aktuna 2004, 11).

### LANGUAGE CHANGE AND ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LANGUAGE IN TURKEY

There are several idioms and proverbs derived from Qur'anic expressions employed by contemporary Turkish women. These idioms and proverbs passed through the stage of the cleansing of modern Turkish of Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian words.

For example, in the fifteenth century, during the Ottoman period, in a translation of the Qur'an published by Topaloğlu, the term *gönül gözi* (eye of the heart) is used for *ileri görüş* (foresight), *isdeyici* (work orderer) for *istekli* (willing), *menmenlik* (prohibition) for *kibir* (arrogance), and *eyü dilemek* (wishing goodness) for *öğüt vermek* (to advise) (Aksan 2001). In the translation of the Qur'an by Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamza, in the same century, we encounter the terms: *kursağı tar olmak* (narrow cropped) used instead of *çabuk kızmak* (to get angry easily), *gözbağı* (eye bind) instead of *büyü* (magic, spell), *el dartmak* (to tug one's hand) instead of *vazgeçmek* (to renounce), and *sanu sanmak* (to think that it is the impression) instead of *kuşkuya düşmek* (to fall into doubt, to doubt) (Aksan 2001).

These illustrate differences between the religious language of the fifteenth century and that of today. Both women and men used these terms in the fifteenth century, but today their modern Turkish counterparts are used. In addition, several contemporary Turkish idioms and proverbs in modern Turkish, mainly used by women, include Qur'anic expressions and religious wishes.



ISLAMIC IDIOMS AND PROVERBS  
EMPLOYED BY CONTEMPORARY  
TURKISH WOMEN

Muslim Turkish women make religious wishes mentioning the name of Allah.

In (1) a woman thanks a person for her/his goodness:

- (1) Allah razı olsun  
God willing to be, desiderative, 3rd pers.  
sing.

I wish that God will be willing to help you

In (2) a woman wishes the best result from Allah; in Islam, people must expect the best results from God.

- (2) Hayırlısı  
The most beneficial  
Let's hope for the best God wishes

Turkish women believe in the evil eye. This belief is based on the Qur'anic surah *Falak* and is demonstrated by a Turkish proverb, mostly used by women on seeing a beautiful person:

- (3) Allah kem nazardan esirgesin  
gözden,  
God bad evil eye+from protect  
eye+from desiderative, 3rd  
pers. sing.

May God protect her/him from the bad eye, the evil eye.

(from Aksan 2001)

Another contemporary Turkish proverb used by women is the one that is a wish for a long life:

- (4) Allah gecinden versin  
God late+from give, desiderative, 3rd  
pers. sing.

May God give you a late death.

(from Aksoy 1988)

These are Turkish idioms and proverbs based on Islamic beliefs. Most Turkish idioms and proverbs that involve the name of God indicate a desire, a divine wish, and a popular belief based on the Qur'an.

GREETINGS DURING RELIGIOUS FEASTS

Turkish women greet others during religious feasts using the term *kutlu*. Ottoman Muslim women used *mübarek* instead of *kutlu*, the modern Turkish version of the word:

- (5) Bayramın mübarek/kutlu olsun  
Feast, 2nd blessed to be,  
pers. sing. desiderative,  
personal 3rd pers.  
pronoun sing.  
May your feast be a blessed one

These phrases are standard forms of linguistic expression used by Muslim Turkish women in all parts of Turkey. They indicate their faith in God as the unique protector and the creator of everybody and everything.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- D. Aksan, *Türkçe'nin gücü*, Ankara 2001, <<http://www.1001kitap.com>>.  
O. A. Aksoy, *Atasözleri ve deyimler sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1988.  
S. Doğançay-Aktuna, Language planning in Turkey. Yesterday and today, in *International Journal of Sociology of Language. Sociolinguistics in Turkey* 165 (2004), 5-32.  
B. Göğüş, Türk dilindeki gelişmelerin öğretim-eğitim etkinliklerine yansımaları, in *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* (1994), 11-16.  
A. Kocaman, Cumhuriyet, dil devrimi ve ötesi, in *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* (1994), 1-3.  
T. Tekin, Cumhuriyet döneminde Türkçe'nin gelişmesi, in *Dilbilim Araştırmaları* (1994), 4-10.  
T. Yücel, *Türkçe'nin kurtuluş savaşı*, İstanbul 2000.

DERYA AGIS

Western Europe

Language and its everyday use are central to social identity and community building among Muslim women in Western Europe. At the same time, language practices among Western European Muslim women vary widely and are shaped not only by the particular configurations of each national context but also by regional histories of immigration. This entry addresses both global and specific patterns of language use among Muslim women in Western Europe with an emphasis on Britain, France, and Germany. The entry focuses on those heritage languages most widely spoken by Muslims in Western Europe, namely Arabic, Tamazight [Berber languages], Turkish, Punjabi, and Urdu and on their attendant linguistic communities.

BILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE  
SOCIALIZATION

Patterns of language use among Muslim women and girls in Western Europe are characterized by significant bilingualism and multilingualism. Much literature indicates that choice of language

is contextual, with a significant portion of Western European Muslims speaking non-European languages in domestic and religious spaces and European languages elsewhere. Although marriage practices vary widely depending upon regional histories of immigration and generation, much relevant literature suggests that a significant portion of Western European Muslim women marry individuals originating from their heritage country, even when these women are second- or third-generation European citizens. The practice of marrying individuals from heritage countries significantly reinforces linguistic practices within minority language communities through the influx of fluent speakers of heritage languages.

However, research also shows declining fluency in heritage languages including Arabic, Tamazight, Turkish, Punjabi, and Urdu among Western European Muslims, particularly in the oldest immigrant communities, such as the North African community in France. When compared to Muslim women of North African descent, women within Punjabi and Turkish communities exhibit higher rates of verbal fluency in their heritage language (Merabti and Moore 1993, 95, Yagmur and Akinci 2003, 110). A national study conducted in 1997 found that within Turkish families in France only 3 percent of mothers speak French to their children as opposed to 52 percent of mothers in Algerian families (INSEE 1997). Further, many studies document a decrease in Arabic and Tamazight proficiency among the so-called second and third generations as well as the use of French in practically all social contexts including domestic spaces (Abu-Haidar 1994, Billiez 1985, Dabène and Billiez 1987, Jerab 1988, Taleb Ibrahim 1985, Tribalat 1995). Yet compared with boys, many Muslim French girls report speaking Arabic with their mothers at home, which would indicate that language loss is less pronounced among women (Dabène and Billiez 1987, 66, Tetreault 2004, 12).

#### LANGUAGE USE IN SCHOOLS

Language practices among Muslim women and girls within Western European schools vary according to national policy, but generally there is considerable privileging of dominant national languages over immigrant heritage languages. As compared to Britain and Germany, France typifies this perspective and rejects the practice of bilingual education because of the strong national attachment to French as a core element of social unity (Archibald 2002, 30). Nonetheless, many French high schools and some middle schools now offer literary Arabic and Turkish as second foreign languages. Although

currently in France there are only a handful of private Muslim schools, there are presently 100 state-recognized Muslim schools in Britain, the majority of them providing instruction in Arabic and a portion of them catering to girls only (Parker-Jenkins 2002, 284). Compared to France, Germany has a stronger tradition of bilingual classrooms in German and Turkish, which were created to accommodate the children of Turkish “guest workers” whom the government initially assumed would return to Turkey (Yagmur 2004, 129–30). Additionally, the practice in Germany of creating “home-room” classes composed entirely of children of foreign origin (*Ausländerregelklassen*, regular foreigner classes) seems to have contributed to Muslim girls’ language maintenance in Turkish, even when these classes are officially monolingual in German (Pfaff 1991, 100). It is important to note that, in addition to language programs in schools, all over Western Europe a variety of cultural associations and Muslim private colleges teach heritage languages for cultural and religious purposes, and many of these associations specifically target Muslim women and girls (Parker-Jenkins 2002, 285).

#### CHANGING USES OF LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SPHERES

An overview of Muslim women’s uses of language in public and private settings in Western Europe demonstrates the “privatization” of heritage languages to domestic and religious spheres. Although Muslim women are increasingly active in Western European politics and media, their medium of expression for these activities is generally the dominant national language. The choice to use European languages for public expression in media and politics is an inclusive practice, incorporating bilingual Muslim women who do not share the same heritage language or those who are monolingual in the national language. In Britain, women are increasingly active in English Muslim media, in newspapers such as the *Muslim News*, *Q-News*, and *Crescent International* as well as radio stations such as Radio Ummah and Radio Ramadan (Rigoni 2005, 566). Although there are no exclusively Muslim radio stations in France, French-language Beur FM and Radio méditerranée serve Muslim populations whereas publications specifically devoted to Muslims such as the magazine *Hawwa* (directed by a female editorial team), cater to French Muslim women (Rigoni 2005, 566–7).

Despite the predominance of national languages in public settings, ritual language use among Muslim women in Western Europe is richly diverse. In the past, women’s use of Arabic for religious

observance was largely confined to domestic settings. Increasingly, however, Western European Muslim women are moving their ritual practice to public spaces and bringing Arabic – both a ritual and a heritage language – and other heritage languages along with them. Use of Arabic and heritage languages for ritual purposes extends to women's increasing involvement in mosques, public prayer rooms, Qur'anic study groups, and religious associations across Western Europe. Unfortunately, current research has not sufficiently documented such changes, which are ripe for future scholarly contributions.

Another notable exception to the “privatization” of heritage languages is the recent pattern of language mixing between European and Muslim heritage languages in both private and public spheres. In France, language mixing is characterized by the inclusion of Arabic, Tamazight, and Turkish expressions, vocabulary, and slang inserted into the matrix grammar of French, a linguistic practice that is common not only to young women of Muslim heritage but also non-Muslims living in working-class neighborhoods (Gasquet-Cyrus 2004, 106, Tetreault 2004, 135–41). Research in England demonstrates even more intensive language mixing by Muslim and non-Muslim youth, including phrases and expressions from Punjabi, Creole, and English, both standard British and Asian varieties (Rampton 1995). Most surprisingly, researchers in Germany have documented a new dialect, *Türkendeutsch* or *Kanakspråk*, which represents true language mixing of German and Turkish because it is widely spoken by young people in Germany regardless of their religious or cultural heritage and because the mixing occurs at discursive, grammatical, lexical, and phonetic levels (Auer and Dirim 2003, 223, Balci 2004, 227, Dirim and Hieronymus 2003, 51, Queen 2001, 55, Rehbein 2001, 317, Watzinger-Tharp 2004, 290). However, language mixing is generally common to everyday speech among Muslim youth across Western Europe, and these practices have been popularized in literature (Hargreaves 1991, Keim 2003, 95, Silverstein 2004, 196), in film (Aitsiselmi 1997, 41), and in musical genres such as rap, *raï*, and *rajamuffin* (Cooper 2004, 81). Although past research focused almost exclusively on the innovative language practices of Muslim male youth in Western Europe (for example LePoutre 1997), recent research shows that the practices of female Muslim youth also comprise a powerful engine of language change across Western Europe (Tetreault 2002).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Abu-Haidar, Language loyalty. The case of Algerian immigrants' children in France, in Y. Suleiman (ed.), *Arabic sociolinguistics. Issues and perspectives*, Richmond, Surrey 1994, 43–55.
- F. Aitsiselmi, Langue et identité beur dans Hexagone, in *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 1:1 (1997), 41–52.
- J. Archibald, Immigrant integration. The ongoing process of reform in France and Québec, in S. J. Baker (ed.), *Language policy. Lessons from global models*, Monterey, Calif. 2002, 30–58.
- P. Auer and I. Dirim, Socio-cultural orientation, urban youth styles and the spontaneous acquisition of Turkish by non-Turkish adolescents in Germany, in J. K. Androutsopoulos and A. Georgakopoulou (eds.), *Discourse constructions of youth identities*, Amsterdam 2003, 223–46.
- Y. Balci, Zur Semantik deutscher Elemente in türkischen Sätzen. Die Mischsprache türkischer Jugendlicher in Mannheim, in *Deutsche Sprache* 32:3 (2004), 227–39.
- J. Billiez, Les jeunes issus de l'immigration algérienne et espagnole à Grenoble, in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 54 (1985), 41–56.
- C. Cooper, Rajamuffin sounds in “cool” Britannia, in *Language and Intercultural Communication* 4:1/2 (2004), 81–99.
- L. Dabène and J. Billiez, Le parler des jeunes issus de l'immigration, in G. Vermès and J. Boutet (eds.), *France, pays multilingue*, ii, Paris 1987, 62–74.
- I. Dirim and A. Hieronymus, Cultural orientation and language use among multilingual youth groups. “For me it is like we all speak one language,” in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 24:1/2 (2003), 42–55.
- M. Gasquet-Cyrus, The sociolinguistics of Marseilles, in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 169 (2004), 107–23.
- A. Hargreaves, *Immigration and identity in Beur fiction. Voices from the North African community in France*, London 1991.
- INSEE (Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques), *Les immigrés en France*, Paris 1997.
- N. Jerab, L'arabe des Maghrébins. Une langue, des langues, in G. Vermès (ed.), *Vingt-cinq communautés linguistiques de la France*, ii, Paris 1988, 31–59.
- I. Keim, Die Verwendung medialer Stilisierungen von Kanakspråk durch Migrantenjugendliche, in *KODIKAS/CODE-Ars Semeiotica* 26:1/2 (2003), 95–111.
- D. Lepoutre, *Coeur de banlieue. Codes, rites, et langages*, Paris 1997.
- N. Merabti and D. Moore, Pratiques bilingues d'adolescents issus de l'immigration en France et en Angleterre, in *Travaux Neuchâtelois de Linguistique* (TRANEL) 19 (1993), 95–110.
- M. Parker-Jenkins, Equal access to state funding. The case of Muslim schools in Britain, in *Race, Ethnicity, and Education* 5:3 (2002), 273–89.
- C. W. Pfaff, Turkish in contact with German. Language maintenance and loss among immigrant children in Berlin (West), in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 90 (1991), 97–129.
- R. M. Queen, Bilingual intonation patterns. Evidence of language change from Turkish-German bilingual children, in *Language in Society* 30 (2001), 55–80.
- B. Rampton, *Crossing. Language and ethnicity among adolescents*, London 1995.
- J. Rehbein, Turkish in European societies, in *Lingua e Stile* 36:2 (2001), 317–34.

- I. Rigoni, Challenging notions and practices. The Muslim media in Britain and France, in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31:3 (2005), 563–80.
- P. Silverstein, *Algeria in France. Transpolitics, race, and nation*, Bloomington, Ind. 2004.
- K. Taleb Ibrahim, Analyse et confrontation des productions langagières des jeunes Algériens en milieu d'origine et en milieu d'accueil, in J. Costa-Lascoux and E. Temime (eds.), *Les Algériens en France. Genèse et devenir d'une migration*, Paris 1985, 311–19.
- C. Tetreault, Ambiguous authority. Adolescent girls of Algerian descent performing French *cité* styles, in *Europaea. Journal of the Europeanists* 1 (2001), special issue on Youth in Europe, ed. L. Soysal, 117–30.
- , Communicative performances of social identity in an Algerian-French neighborhood in Paris, Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin 2004.
- M. Tribalat, *Faire France. Une enquête sur les immigrés et leurs enfants*, Paris 1995.
- J. Watzinger-Tharp, Turkish-German language. An innovative style of communication and its implications for citizenship and identity, in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 24:2 (2004), 285–94.
- K. Yagmur, Language maintenance patterns of Turkish immigrant communities in Australia and Western Europe. The impact of majority attitudes on ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions, in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 165 (2004), 121–42.
- and M. Akinci, Language use, choice, maintenance, and ethnolinguistic vitality of Turkish speakers, France. Intergenerational differences, in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 164 (2003), 107–28.

CHANTAL TETREAUULT

## Yemen

Women in Yemen speak differently from men, or have done until very recently. They also use language differently, seizing opportunities of self-expression as a strategy for coping with restrictions in their lives.

Yemen is extremely diverse in dialects, with variants of Arabic (and older South Arabian languages) differing from region to region and even from village to village. Women tend to speak the most traditional forms of old dialects. Sometimes they use variants which men say they themselves would be ashamed to utter, as sounding too feminine, in the same way as they would not use typically female exclamations of surprise. Men feel a need to distance themselves from women's way of speaking. Greetings and other formulaic expressions differ by area but may also differ between men and women, as greetings do in San'a. In former times, men would hear a wider variety of forms of speech, and more standard forms, than women because they traveled more widely and migrated for work. Thus men could often speak a more standard form of Arabic to outsiders, as well as their local dialect, while women could not. Women's main

mobility has been through marriage, which may lead to partial assimilation of their speech to local norms. Women are aware of different vocabulary and usage, and conscious, even proud, of their own as a marker of local identity – markers which in the past women are likely to have played a large part in perpetuating. Women's adherence to old forms is now changing as rural women and girls are exposed to standard Arabic and to speech from different Arabic-speaking countries on television and through education. For a time in the late 1970s and early 1980s, most teachers were from other Arabic-speaking countries, particularly Egypt and Sudan, affecting the speech of students of both sexes. Television has meant the loss of some traditional terminology.

Yemeni women are voluble, and impressively able at self-expression. Most often their audience is other women. Like men, women in Yemen have a long tradition of composing poetry, even occasionally, though more rarely than men, in public situations of artistic competition, resolving disputes, mustering support, and political expression. More recently, with the increasing influence of conservative Islamist ideas, it has become less acceptable for women to perform publicly, and even for their voices to be heard, though this varies by area. Cassettes, radio, and television have given women some new opportunities, but these are also contested, and usually involve performing others' work. Far fewer women poets perform on television or radio than men.

Even for ordinary women without poetic talents, social life offers an arena for informal kinds of performance. It is usual in Yemen for women to spend afternoons relaxing together, and at these gatherings the time is passed by talking. Women entertain each other with storytelling, and also with narratives and anecdotes based on their own experiences, played for comic or tragic effect. They spend significant amounts of time explaining themselves to others, defending actions which others have criticized, leveling accusations, and justifying their own position. Groups of women listen respectfully as one expounds a problem or elaborates a complaint.

Through talk, women socially redefine and transform incidents and situations. They gather and pass on information, going some way toward compensating with the flow of words for restrictions on their physical movements outside the home and neighborhood. At the same time, women's fear of "what people will say" serves to restrict their own movements. The narratives are sometimes highly stylized and ritualized, with rhetorical phrases, repetitive cadences and gestures, and striking

vehemence. Stories of difficult births and operations elicit sympathy and provide a kind of entertainment. Women's gatherings also spend large amounts of time discussing local events, making value judgments, manipulating potential scandals, and redefining apparent facts.

Men speak badly of women's talking; they are both dismissive and wary of it. Men often belittle what women have to say as "superstition." Speech, people's words, is feared by both sexes as causing danger – damage to reputations, rifts between spouses or friends. Men say women's words are "like fire" (Maclagan 1993, 285). They fear being shamed by their womenfolk making scenes in public, shouting and scolding as men would be embarrassed to do, disrupting male dignity. Women, like men, command a huge range of inventive and picturesque insults. One of the most important qualities in a wife is "her tongue": in other words, control of her speech and not insulting people. These fears and expressions of male vulnerability point to speech as women's weapon, a weapon of the weak.

Women's access to definitions, and the existence of an audience among whom they can strive to get their view accepted, are, in the context of a society where "people's talk" is so important and feared, a major resource.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- P. Behnstedt, *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte*, Wiesbaden 1985.
- S. Caton, *Peaks of Yemen I summon. Poetry as cultural practice in a North Yemeni tribe*, Berkeley 1990.
- S. Dorsky, *Women of 'Amran. A Middle Eastern ethnographic study*, Salt Lake City 1986.
- I. Maclagan, Freedom and constraints. The world of women in a small town in Yemen, Ph.D. diss., University of London 1993, <www.ianthe.info>.
- W. Flagg Miller, Public words and body politics. Reflections on the strategies of women poets in rural Yemen, in *Journal of Women's History* 14:1 (2002), 94–122.
- C. Makhoulouf, *Changing veils. Women and modernisation in North Yemen*, London 1979.
- A. Meneley, *Tournaments of value. Sociability and hierarchy in a Yemeni town*, Toronto 1996.
- K. O'Connell, In Yemen, fighting illiteracy through poetry, in *National Geographic News*, 27 January 2004.
- J. Watson, *Šbahṭū! A course in Saṅānī Arabic*, 1996.
- , Insiders, outsiders and language change in Saṅā today, in I. Ferrando and J. Sanchez Sandoval (eds.), *AIDA 5th Conference Proceedings*, Cadiz 2003.

# Qur'ān: Modern Interpretations

## Arabic and Urdu

This entry examines the interpretations of women in the Qur'ān drawn from Sunnī exegetical texts originally written in Arabic and Urdu since the late eighteenth century. It argues that, as a genre, these normative texts conceptualize woman as a relational being, with the ontological category of Mother serving as the single most defining referent. Woman in modern scriptural understandings of the Qur'ān has historically been interpreted as relational in the way that she uniquely mediates between, and unifies members of, the family and society – the former a microcosm of the latter in Islamic thought. Predisposed to reproduction, the Muslim woman is rendered as a trope that regenerates and preserves Islamic civilization.

Consequently, as a body of literature, exegetical texts whose objective is to interpret woman in the Qur'ān are constitutively a religious discourse of gender and the family. Those researching the topic of how women are interpreted in the Qur'ān will be challenged to find sources that discuss their rights and roles outside the institution of marriage and the family. This entry offers some illustrative interpretations of woman as relational, after deconstructing the interpretive method used by modern exegetes. These examples expose the methodological limitations of this approach, thus the sources themselves, to academic study.

Generally, the Muslim family, not the post-Enlightenment individual, foregrounds the conceptual grid of thought used by exegetes to interpret the rights of both males and females. Like those of men, women's rights are understood and fit into a particular pan-Islamic framework of family through which gender concerns are addressed. Differently, this "literature of faith" lacks local specificity and consistently speaks to the problematic of "the Muslim woman," not that of the Egyptian, Jordanian, or Turkish Muslim woman (Stowasser 1987, 287).

Notwithstanding important ideological differences between Sunnī exegetes such as 'Abduh, Thānvī, al-'Aqqād, Mawdūdī, al-Ghazālī, Sha'rāwī, Abū Shuqqa, and al-Qaraḏāwī, it is their shared paradigm of family that renders their discourse a single discursive body. Because of the meanings assigned to woman's reproductive capacity – one that is thought to be both predispositionally bio-

logical and ideological – and because her principal relationships are consequently thought to rest almost exclusively on motherhood, "the Muslim woman" is rendered the cultural authenticator of society. Under scrutiny here is this interpretive view of woman that typifies modern exegesis.

The interpretive methodology is based, not on a principle of reciprocity and mutual equity that rationalizes the interdependent rights of man and woman as a contingent pair, but rather on an approach that plants man as the constitutive reference around which female rights and roles are understood, thus inscribed. This is what renders woman into a relational, not referential being, paradoxically at the expense of the very rights intended to establish her as man's sociolegal equal.

This view of female relationality is premised on an idealized division of labor that is thought to establish conjugal complementarity and equity, and by extension, familial unity and societal stability. In this paradigm of family, men and women are spiritual equals. All agree that, according to the Qur'ān, man and woman are created from the same "divine breath" and endowed with the same moral duties and responsibilities as God's appointed vicegerents.

When discussing actual roles, however, modern exegetes assert that gender equality does not entail non-differentiation of the respective roles and functions of man and woman in society. Spiritual equality should not be confused with role differentiation in the spirit of cooperation and complementarity. Complementarity, then, constitutes the Qur'ānic pretext on which traditional gender roles are assigned to the conjugal couple, in pursuit of the Islamic normative value of duality ("And we have created you in pairs," 78:8).

Marital complementarity is derived from a body-centered methodology. All exegetes unanimously agree that complementarity is achieved through traditional gender roles where the husband is responsible for the economic maintenance, protection, and overall leadership of the family (understood from *qawāma* in 4:34), while the wife is responsible for the home. The reader is reminded that such functions are uniquely suited to her nature and physical structure, to create a domicile based on respect, honor, and love. This envisioned family paradigm is presented as the single normative model for the

optimal functioning of the home, thus societal stability.

What is striking about these texts is how they conceptually assimilate woman's Qur'ānic rights and spiritual equality to her maternal role predicated on sexual difference. Her domesticity is interpreted not from any explicit Qur'ānic prescription but from subjective renderings of ambiguous verses. Verse 4:34, for instance, serves as the single most cited Qur'ānic reference for why men, as independent entities, are accorded in absolute terms a degree of advantage over women in the family and society, despite its ambiguity and explicit conditionality. The female body generally and a woman's reproductive capacity specifically constitute the premise of her exceptionality so that her assigned rights and roles are based on an essentialist view of woman as uniquely maternal and nurturing and, consequently, mediating.

When analyzing the rhetorical strategies and conceptual framing of this discourse, what is clear is that, while complementarity and equity may be the intended Qur'ānic values, the particular gender roles rest on a "natural" hierarchy, where the wife, the weaker sex, defers to the authority of the husband for the sake of domestic harmony. Because woman's nature is interpreted as relational, her role particularly as mother is inscribed by her "natural" ability to nurture family cohesiveness, often at the expense of her Qur'ānic rights. Some textual examples are appropriate.

Despite her right of employment, many exegetes set limits on this right. One exegete, for example, opines that the wife must secure the husband's consent (Maududi 1984); others argue that the wife's primary work is in the home, and should circumstance necessitate employment, she should work within a profession that best suits her nature, such as nursing, teaching, medicine, and social and charitable work.

Or, when considering woman's ability to hold political positions, despite acknowledging her equal political rights, she cannot be head of state since she is over-emotional. A similar line of reasoning justifies why in war, women should not take up arms as recruited soldiers, except in self-defense. The role of Eve in foregrounding this interpretive view is critical: Eve is cited as a human being with natural imperfections that serve her domestic purpose. Consequently, the primacy of motherhood shapes what rights women do have while also precluding additional possibilities of female service to Muslim society.

Maternity even shapes women's duties to God. Some exegetes state that the best prayer for males

is offered in congregation in the mosque while mothers should pray at home. Despite her Islamic right to attend Friday prayer, this option is reconstituted into a religious recommendation that expects the mother to sacrifice her right to communal worship to stay home, for the family's sake.

Furthermore, this framework is encoded with male privilege. In cases of divorce, women are given fewer good reasons for divorce than men. No restrictions are placed on the husband's reason for divorce and nowhere is his behavior contingent on wifely permission in the larger pursuit of conjugal equity, whereas the wife is consistently required to seek her husband's permission to fast, work, travel, leave the home, or even wear make-up.

Similarly, polygamy is rationalized as a viable option, ostensibly to preserve the marital relationship, yet it is the husband who is advantaged by its interpretations, not the woman who is monogamous by her very nature anyway. All exegetes justify polygamy as a way to protect monogamy, yet never question the male privilege inherent to their interpretive rationalizations. That the wife is not presented with legal recourse other than the highly discouraged one of divorce is not grounds enough for restricting polygamy in the name of complementarity (except by Muḥammad 'Abduh). Instead, accommodating polygamy is presented as a means of safeguarding the family-society.

Repeatedly, despite the ambiguous Qur'ānic verses on which it is based, this discourse hinges on clear justifications for woman's exceptionality – one consistently located in bodily difference: her reproductive capacity, maternal instinct, innate ability to sacrifice, over-emotionality, and natural monogamy. This body-based methodology for interpreting Islamic rights justifies the hierarchical difference that underpins the Muslim family model, which again ostensibly maintains husbands and wives as gender complements within the family. In reality, however, it upholds a legal system of gender inequality.

What reifies this family model in Islamic terms is culture. According to these texts, it is woman's responsibility to carry out specific tasks, such as the children's moral upbringing (*tarbiya*), providing the support base for the dependent relations in the family, and safeguarding the public morality of the community from any moral decay. With the woman assigned these unity-fostering roles, issues of modesty become central since the "Islamic system of *hijab* [Islamic dress] is a wide-ranging system which protects the family and closes those avenues that lead towards illicit sex or even indiscriminate contact between the sexes in society" (Ahmad 1974,

35). Countless pages are dedicated to the rules and regulations regarding female dress and behavior, the implicit objective of which is to reconcile the problematic place of woman's physical body in society, given the centrality of her relational role within the family. The consensus is that, other than the woman's face and hands, her body should be covered (*'awrah*). Such an interpretation is derived from ambiguous verses of modesty whose meanings are shaped by a view of woman as relational.

As the character builders, thus identity givers, of the Muslim family-society, Muslim women ultimately become the purveyors of a perceived Islamic authenticity. Qur'anic interpretations of women cannot be seen as divorced from a larger historical movement in the twentieth-century Muslim world – one pursuant of Islamic authenticity and cultural revival in the face of Western hegemonic imperialism. The profound concern and anxiety over any change to the Muslim woman's role is therefore understandable, explains one thinker, especially when such changes emanate from the West and given the fundamental position occupied by the family in Muslim society (Jawad 1998). As long as Western imperialism has proved problematic for the Muslim world, women's issues, indeed the very identity of "the Muslim woman," have resided at the center of Qur'anic interpretations of societal reform and renewal.

With greater importance placed on religious authenticity, this has led, in turn, not to a redefinition of family and gender guided by the Qur'an that redresses obvious gender inequalities, but rather to a faithful adherence to the longstanding framework of the family, as a form of active resistance to Westernizing change. What this has meant for woman in scriptural exegesis is that the universal value of motherhood has translated into a traditional, idealized role of mothering – a trope that has historically been sanctified by Muslim society against a perceived threat of Western cultural laxity.

Modern exegetical texts present some limitations to our scholarly knowledge of women's meaning in the Qur'an, and by implication, women's rights in Islamic law. The normative view of woman in modern exegesis is a narrow one, yet exercises a powerful effect. For Islamic exegesis, like most other kinds of scholarship, is not the mere production of knowledge about a certain subject; it is a directly political and discursive practice in that it is purposeful and ideological. It is due both to the explanatory potential of particular analytical strategies employed by such writings, as well as to their political effect in the context of the hegemony of Islamic discourses of Muslim exegetes (for example

their production, publication, distribution, and the consumption of ideas) that they can be collectivized as a single cultural discourse that is certainly political (Mohanty 1991, 55).

This interpretive approach forecloses the possibility of expanding definitions of womanhood. These sources, by virtue of their normativity, sanctify one of the many possible views of woman sanctioned by the Qur'an – a political choice that is at once ideological and purposeful. Its hegemonic view is institutionalized in text, but more importantly in law: in the formulation of family law, women's rights and roles are inscribed as necessarily and exclusively relational to men, with the ontological category of Mother constituting an overdetermined referent. Put simply, this has meant gender inequity within personal status laws in the name of Sharī'a. Though affording Muslim women a more visible role in public, modern family law has, paradoxically, restricted female rights within the home.

Woman's ontology, thus the boundaries and the very meaning of her experiences, are already circumscribed by hegemonic understandings of the Qur'anic text. It is the exclusionary nature of their normativity that otherwise allows the reader to take for granted certain gendered practices (read particulars) that are sanctified and passed off as universals (read values) in their application, which poses the most fundamental limitation of modern exegetical texts to what we know about woman in the Qur'an.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- M. 'Abduh et al., *al-Fatāwā al-Islāmiyya min Dār al-Iftā' al-Miṣriyya*, 12 vols., Cairo 1980–4.
- A. Abū Shuqqa, *Tabrīr al-mar'a fī 'aṣr al-risāla*, Kuwait 2001.
- A. M. al-'Aqqād, *al-Mara' fī al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1943.
- M. al-Ghazālī, *A thematic commentary on the Qur'ān*, trans. A. A. Shamīs, Herndon, Va. 2000.
- S. A. 'A. Maudoodi, *Towards understanding Islam*, trans. and ed. K. Aḥmad, Riyadh 1960.
- , *Purdah and the status of women in Islam*, trans. and ed. al-'Asharī, Lahore 1972.
- , *Towards understanding the Qur'ān*, trans. and ed. Z. I. Ansari, 10 vols., Lahore 1984.
- Y. al-Qaraḍāwī, *The lawful and the prohibited in Islam*, trans. K. el-Ḥelbawī, M. M. Siddiqi, and S. Shukry, Indianapolis 1980.
- , *Fatāwā li-al-mar'a al-Muslima*, Amman 1996.
- , *Fī fiqh al-aqalliyāt al-Muslima. Hayāt al-Muslimīn wasat al-mujtama'āt al-ukbrā*, Cairo 2001.
- M. M. Sha'rāwī, various CDs.
- A. 'A. Thanawī, *Perfecting women. Maulana Ashraf 'Alī Thanawī's Bibishti Zewar. A partial translation with commentary*, trans. and comm. B. D. Metcalf, Berkeley 1990.



## SECONDARY SOURCES

- L. Abu-Lughod, The marriage of feminism and Islamism in Egypt. Selective repudiation as a dynamic of postcolonial cultural politics, in L. Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking women. Feminism and modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton, N. J. 1998, 243–69.
- Z. Bashier, *Muslim women in the midst of change*, Leicester, England 1980, repr. 1990.
- N. Hijab, Islam, social change, and the reality of Arab women's lives, in Y. Y. Haddad and J. L. Esposito (eds.), *Islam, gender, and social change*, New York 1998, 45–55.
- H. A. Jawad, *The rights of women in Islam. An authentic approach*, New York 1998.
- A. Khurshid, *Family life in Islam*, Leicester, England 1974, 35.
- A. Maududi, *Purdah and the status of women in Islam*, trans. and ed. Al-Ashari, Lahore 1984.
- C. T. Mohanty, Under Western eyes. Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses, in C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo, and L. Torres (eds.), *Third World women and the politics of feminism*, Bloomington, Ind. 1991, 51–80.
- A. El Azhary Sonbol, Law and gender. Violence in Ottoman and modern Egypt, in A. El Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the family, and divorce laws in Islamic history*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1996, 277–89.
- , *Ta'a* and modern legal reform. A rereading, in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 9 (1998), 285–94.
- B. F. Stowasser, Liberated equal or protected dependant? Contemporary religious paradigms on women's status in Islam, in *Arab Studies Quarterly* 9 (1987), 260–83.
- , Religious ideology, women and the family. The Islamic paradigm, in B. F. Stowasser (ed.), *The Islamic impulse*, Washington, D.C. 1987, 262–96.
- , Women's issues in modern Islamic thought, in J. E. Tucker (ed.), *Arab women. Old boundaries, new frontiers*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993, 3–28.

HIBBA ABUGIDEIRI

## Euro-American Languages

Modern texts on women in the Qur'ān published in the last quarter of the twentieth century in Euro-American languages are unparalleled in any other period since the late eighteenth century. This proliferation of texts in English and other European languages immediately raises the question of language as a determinant of scholarship on modern interpretation of women in the Qur'ān. In attempting to categorize the plethora of literature on this topic – whether in Asian or Euro-American languages – language is arguably an arbitrary determinant. This entry, along with its sister entry on Qur'ānic interpretations of women in Arabic and Urdu, demonstrates this point.

In the preceding entry on Arabic and Urdu language sources, despite the use of some English translations, the sources are grouped together because of their shared interpretive approach to understanding woman as relational based on a native language – both literal and cultural – that was understood in

the modern Muslim world. How then is language an arbitrary determinant since these Asian language texts were collectively grouped as a scholarly genre?

The problem is that there are a number of sources written in English that subscribe to the same pan-Islamic paradigm of family to interpret women's rights as the Asian language texts. This explains the interpretive view of thinkers like Maryam Jameelah, Lois al-Faruqi, Fatima Umar Naseef, Muhammad S. Siddiqi, and others, who uphold, to varying degrees, the same normative model of family based on a traditional sexual division of labor, thus women's rights as inscribed by motherhood and domesticity. These English sources fit quite comfortably in the epistemological view of the Asian texts, but were excluded in that entry because of the language criteria. Therefore, neither the language of the source, nor even gender of the author, is an adequate analytical determinant of scholarship on modern Qur'ānic interpretations of women.

Accordingly, of the sources written in the European languages, in this case German, French, and English, discussed in this entry, language is also not indicative of the interpretive approach used by scholars. A better determinant is the period in which the source was written. In contrast to the Asian language texts, Euro-American texts are predominantly academic rather than exegetical in purpose, and mostly are of two types: deconstructive and reconstructive scholarship. Generally, deconstructive studies, which dominate the field, are based on discourse analysis of women in Islam, while reconstructive texts move beyond this view to formulate alternative Qur'ānic readings of woman. Both types are discussed in this entry.

As academic literature, deconstructive work reflects the evolution of religious studies as a Western discipline: it emerged from Orientalist scholarship of the nineteenth century, which governed the discipline until the late 1970s, after which revisionist scholarship became the dominant paradigm. Thus, while Orientalist scholars scrutinized Muslim canonical sources as a way of understanding Islam's rationale, revisionist scholars shifted the focus to deconstructing the various sociohistorical and political factors to better explain Islamic culture. Edward Said's forceful critique of Orientalist scholarship as a "European invention" in his signature work, *Orientalism*, plays no small role in this paradigm shift in scholarly focus within religious studies.

Indeed, much of the early deconstructive scholarship on the Qur'ān more generally comes out of the Orientalist scholarly tradition whose understanding of the Qur'ān and its classical commentary

(*tafsīr*) hinges on early debates about Muḥammad's prophetic legitimacy, and by extension, that of Islam itself. Increasingly, Orientalist classicists such as Gustav Flügel (1802–70), Theodor Nöldeke (1836–1930), Ignác Goldziher (1850–1921), H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton (1851–1937), William St. Clair Tisdall (1859–1928), Richard Bell (1876–1952), and W. Montgomery Watt (1909–2006) deliberated primarily on the Qur'ān's doctrines, language, form, chronology, recording, and influences.

Their objective was not simply to deconstruct the holy text as Arabic literature so much as to find a method of speaking of the Qur'ān as Muḥammad's own. Clearly, the influence of Christianity on this dated but significant body of literature is not benign. What prompted this intensified scrutiny of the Qur'ān by Orientalists, according to Watt, was increased contact in the second half of the twentieth century between Christians and Muslims. "A consequence of this is that it is no longer possible for the occidental scholar to pontificate about the religions of Asia as he did in the nineteenth century" (1970, i).

What is striking about these Orientalist canons on the Qur'ān is their collective silence about women; little or no mention is made of women in the Qur'ān, historical female archetypes of Islamic history, or women's rights. To include these works here is indicative that Orientalist interpretive ideas about Muslim women and their status, so associated with nineteenth-century imperialism, were embedded not in any Orientalist religious debate about the Qur'ān and women, but rather in Orientalist and missionary discourse and scholarship on cultural difference. That is, the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Orientalist portrayal of Muslim women as oppressed, illiterate, submissive, secluded, and sexually arousing, as a method of denouncing and exoticizing Islam, is the product of European travel literature and academic knowledge produced by Western sociology, anthropology, history, literature, and art. These disciplines were endowed with an authority to speak about Islam's presumed cultural inferiority, and by extension, the inferiority of its women, in a way that classical Orientalist sources on the Qur'ān were not. Because this cultural view is not based on any Orientalist exegesis of the Qur'ān, it is located outside the purview of this entry.

Subsequent academic sources deconstructed the relationship of women to Islam, the bulk of which dates to the post-*Orientalism* climate of the early 1980s and especially the 1990s. The purpose behind these revisionist studies is to move beyond Orientalist misconceptions and stereotypes of Muslim

women and pay more attention to the various facets of women's relationship to Islam. The availability of new sources was critical to these new scholarly vignettes. In the 1980s, this was often articulated in terms of women's status in Islam or their treatment in Muslim societies. Prime examples are Wiebke Walther, *Women in Islam* (1981) and Muhammad Taqi Mesbah et al., *Status of Women in Islam* (1985).

By the 1990s, however, the scholarly focus turned to topics that revealed the diversity and complexity of Islam's legal interaction with women, including how women were historically treated by diverse Ottoman Shari'a courts, and most recently, personal status laws. While it is a voluminous body of scholarship, not all of it is relevant to Qur'ānic exegesis. Of those that are, only a cross section that is emblematic of this genre is discussed here.

Of those scholars whose intent is to deconstruct the historical community of Muslim exegetes and the politics that inspired their particular interpretations of women, the most noteworthy include Asghar Ali Engineer, Haifaa Jawad, Barbara Stowasser, and most recently Khaled Abou El Fadl. There are key features characteristic of this deconstructive literature worth noting. First, all these works scrutinize the canonical sources of Islamic exegesis to elucidate the contextual factors that have contributed to modern patriarchal readings, or the "authoritarian interpretive process" (Abou El Fadl 2001, xii), that has decided women's rights and roles. For instance, Stowasser teaches us that exegetical texts provide "a valuable record of the scholarly debate on sociopolitical questions" that were deliberated through differing understandings of women's status in family and society (Stowasser 1994, 4).

Second, these scholars' critiques are premised on the fundamental view that there are other more gender-equal possibilities within the interpretive process. As proof, they recount how women's rights and roles were interpreted by Muḥammad himself and practiced by the first Islamic community in Medina during the normative period of Islam – a period that is collectively viewed as more liberatory and just for Muslim women than any following it. Finally, typical subjects discussed as evidence of the interpretive gap between the teachings of Muḥammad and the Qur'ān and the historical exegetical view of women include education, dowry, marital rights and divorce, veiling (segregation), and inheritance.

Turning to the final category of academic sources, we find that reconstructive texts work hand in hand epistemologically with the deconstructive

texts discussed since, at their very core, they share the goal of exposing traditional interpretations of women as problematic. However, they go further than questioning the legitimacy of patriarchal readings to formulate their own interpretations of woman. Still, these two bodies of literature are historically contingent: the reconstructive texts that posit alternative Qur'ānic interpretations of woman emerged out of the scholarly literature that focused on discourse analysis of traditional Qur'ānic exegesis. Deconstructive scholarship laid the groundwork for the reconstructive perspective.

This is not surprising if one chronicles the evolution of religious studies, particularly in the United States after the 1980s, when critical changes were underway. Not only were religious scholars influenced by Michel Foucault and postmodernist critique of knowledge that gave them the academic authority to contest and challenge the founding authority of scriptural interpretative knowledge as sacred. American Muslims also increasingly entered the discipline as scholarly interlocutors, only to change the way the field deliberated – epistemologically and topically – on issues of Islam.

In fact, distinctive about the reconstructive literature, in contrast to its deconstructive predecessor, is the identity of its scholars. Written predominantly by American Muslim academics, many of whom are women, this modest but growing body of literature boldly challenges the longstanding and pervasive view of woman as relational. Instead, these writers opt for a fresh reading of the Qur'ān, and consequently a different understanding of woman, namely as an independent vicegerent (*khilāfa*). This shift in woman's nature from relational to independent vicegerent certainly has far-reaching effects: if woman is not created from “the crooked bone” of Adam, and if her nature is therefore not predisposed to reproduction and domesticity, as Muslim exegetes have historically opined, then this opens the discussion of not only other possible sociopolitical roles that women can assume. More importantly, this new reading of women's nature necessitates a radical reform of personal status laws – the direct goal of much of this explicitly political literature.

The most pioneering authors in this regard include Riffat Hassan, Amira El-Azhary Sonbol, Maysum al-Faruqi, Asma Barlas, and Amina Wadud. The works of these women “academic-activists” share much in the way of epistemological approach. First, they all understand the Sharī'a as a historical body of human, thus fallible, interpretation undertaken by male exegetes, and therefore gender roles are cultural constructs. As such, “the underlying presumption that the male person is the normative human

being restricts women from full consideration in the construction of ethical-spiritual and socio-political postulates in Islamic thought” (Wudud 1999, xi). Consequently, because women were excluded from the foundational discourse that established what became the Sharī'a, “they are often relegated to the role of subject without agency” (ibid.). Their reinterpretations of the sacred text – readings that are female-inclusive – are an attempt to reclaim female agency within revelation, but also as authoritative interpreters.

Third, because of the suspect nature of the *ḥadīth* literature and to neutralize the misogynistic effects of certain weak Prophetic traditions that nonetheless have been venerated in traditional exegesis, these scholars base their interpretations of women exclusively on the “inimitable, inviolate, inerrant, incontrovertible” Qur'ān (ibid., 3). Fourth, their reading of the Qur'ān is based on a shared interpretative approach, or hermeneutics, that is based on a careful consideration of context, language, and the inner logic, or the “Qur'ānic *Weltanschauung*.”

Finally, because of their shared Qur'ānic interpretative approach, these American Muslim scholars formulate alternative, contesting understandings of the most problematic areas of family law in a way that is more gender just. These include marriage, divorce, polygamy, and inheritance as well as an explication of Qur'ānic terminology, such as *daraja* (degree) and *qawāma*, in a way that negates the possibility of an absolute male supremacy over women, which characteristically inscribes traditional exegesis.

In sum, at the heart of this “Islamic feminist theology” is a critique of traditional exegesis that situates itself within a legacy of Qur'ānic exegesis, thereby neutralizing any Muslim critiques that attempt to dispel such rethinking as feminist, thus culturally polluted by the West, and by implication, Islamically inauthentic. How the Qur'ān is seen by these women is best summarized by Barlas:

It is obvious that much is at stake for Muslims in how we answer these questions, especially in view of the increasing levels of violence against women in many states from Afghanistan to Algeria today. What is less obvious – given the widespread tendency to blame Islam for oppressing Muslims rather than blaming Muslims for misreading Islam – is the possibility that we can answer the first set of questions – is the Qur'an a patriarchal or misogynistic text – in the negative, while we answer the second – can the Qur'an be a source for women's liberation – in the affirmative (Barlas 2002, 2).

Key to these writers' rereading of the Qur'ān is the role of hermeneutics, which cannot be ignored in its alternative view of women's rights, since it allows these academic-activists to theorize the “radical equality of the sexes” (ibid.).

What we gain from both the deconstructive and reconstructive bodies of scholarship on modern Qur'anic exegesis and women is not only knowledge about how contestation can operate from within both the Islamic and academic tradition, but we also learn how scholarship is politically motivated in a way that inspires and mobilizes social and legal change for Muslim women's betterment.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- K. Abou El Fadl, *Speaking in God's name. Islamic law, authority and women*, Oxford 2001.
- A. Barlas, "Believing women" in Islam. *Unreading patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an*, Austin, Tex. 2002.
- R. Bell, *Introduction to the Qur'an*, rev. and enl. W. Montgomery Watt, Edinburgh 1970.
- R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1959.
- T. S. Dahl, *The Muslim family. A study of women's rights in Islam*, trans. R. Walford, Oslo 1997.
- A. R. I. Doi, *Women in Shar'ah (Islamic Law)*, London 1989.
- A. Engineer, *The rights of women in Islam*, New York 1992.
- , *The Qur'an, women, and modern society*, New Delhi 1999.
- J. L. Esposito, *Women in Muslim family law*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1982.
- L. al-Faruqi, *Women, Muslim society, and Islam*, Indianapolis 1988.
- M. al-Faruqi, Women's self-identity in the Qur'an and Islamic law, in G. Webb (ed.), *Windows of faith. Muslim women scholar-activists in North America*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2000, 72–101.
- G. Flügel, *Concordance of the Koran. Carefully compiled alphabetically and according to roots of words*, Lahore 1978. [Repr. of *Concordantiae Corani Arabicae*, Leipzig 1842.]
- I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, an der Universität Upsala gehaltene Olaus-Petri-Vorlesungen*, Leiden 1970.
- A. Hekmat, *Women and the Koran. The status of women in Islam*, Amherst, N.Y. 1997.
- M. Jameelah, *Islam and the Muslim woman today*, Lahore 1976.
- H. A. Jawad, *The rights of women in Islam. An authentic approach*, New York 1998.
- M. T. Mesbah, and M. J. Bahonar, and L. al-Faruqi, *Status of women in Islam*, New Delhi 1985, repr. New York 1990.
- J. Mincés, *Le Coran et les femmes*, Paris 1996.
- F. U. Naseef, *Women in Islam. Discourse in rights and obligations*, London 1999.
- T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qur'ans*, Göttingen 1860.
- E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.
- A. El Azhary Sonbol, Law and gender violence in Ottoman and Modern Egypt, in A. El Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the family, and divorce laws in Islamic history*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1996, 277–89.
- H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton, *The teaching of the Qur'an, with an account of its growth and a subject index*, New York 1919.
- B. F. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, traditions, and interpretation*, New York 1994.
- W. St. Clair Tisdall, *The original sources of the Qur'an*. New York 1905.
- A. Wadud, *Qur'an and woman*, Oxford 1999.
- W. Walther, *Women in Islam*, trans. C. S. V. Salt, Princeton, N. J. 1981.
- W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an*, Edinburgh 1970.
- L. Wilcox, *Women and the Holy Qur'an*, Riverside, Calif. 1998.

HIBBA ABUGIDEIRI

#### Persian

The modern interpretation of the Qur'an reflects an uneven progression of inclusion, participation, and reformulation (*ijtihad*) championed by women and progressive men within the indigenous context of Iranian Islam. The Persian-speaking population concentrated in Iran and Afghanistan also spreads to Iraq, Tajikistan, and some other Central Asian republics. Even so, sociohistorical trends in Iran have had more sway on the modern interpretation of the Qur'an by Persian-speaking scholars. Specifically, three periods stand out: the Constitutional period of the late nineteenth century till 1925; the Pahlavi regime of 1925–79; and finally the Islamic Revolution of 1979 to the present.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD, 1905–25

From the late 1700s, a discursive dialogue with an intruding "other" marks Qur'anic interpretations. This "other" at different historical junctures is called modernism, Westernism, imperialism, and recently globalization. The gender narrative is integral to various formulations of this discourse. As the Muslim East stumbled to forge an identity distinct from the West, the issue of woman found energy. The battle of modernity and cultural authenticity has been fought over women's bodies and souls. To reject the claim of backwardness, intellectuals had to disclaim, apologize for, or expose women's subjugation in their native cultures. This discourse became a national debate in the Constitutional Revolution of Iran.

The Constitutional Revolution began the modern interpretation of the Qur'an by some progressive ulema and the active participation of women at the scene of the revolution. The central theme during this period was of woman as a civic entity with social rights and responsibilities. Until then, mainstream interpretations of the Qur'an allowed women some rights in the family, including economic rights of inheritance and ownership.

During the Constitutional Revolution, the discourse of modernization versus Islam was played out among the Constitutionals and the Shari'atists. The Constitutionals used Qur'anic verses to

justify consideration of women as citizens, while their opponents pointed to the harmful aspects of such an endeavor. The narrative of authenticating woman as person often obscured other narratives. The Constitutionalists allowed that women, as individuals with acumen, wisdom, and determination, were vital to the national dignity and progress. For example, Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī (1854–96) warned, “humanity will not progress unless women are equal to men in all areas and rights” (quoted in Tavakoli-Targhi, 1991, 79). The Sharī'atists, such as Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (1842–1909), warned against the constitutionalists, who were said to plan the unveiling and prostitution of women.

The tobacco boycott movement (1891–2) demonstrated a slight departure from the masculinist readings of the Qur'ān by allowing the mobilization of women and their social agency. The hermeneutics of Nā'īnī (1860–1936) regarding the compatibility of Islam with a constitutional government infused the narrative of citizenship. His early exegeses, first published in 1909, confirmed the right of the *umma* to self rule and to depose a tyrannical dynasty. Such a daring interpretation then allowed the questioning of other time-honored doctrinal points, including women's rights.

Women who participated in the Constitutional Revolution were less engaged in independent interpretation of the Qur'ān than with challenging the restrictions on women as being against the spirit of Islam and harmful to the family. They challenged the conservative ulemas' opposition to women's education and suffrage, and questioned the merit of polygamy for the Iranian family. A consequence of this argument was the emergence of a gendered discourse in oppositional Shī'ī discourse, which had remained masculine despite an occasional women's perspective. The Shī'ī ulema debated women and sexuality extensively but their writings lacked a gendered perspective. The Constitutional period reveals germination of a gender paradigm.

#### THE PAHLAVI ERA, 1925–79

The modernization discourse of the Constitutional period later evolved into a discourse of Westernization encompassing similar narratives of national authenticity, state building, and gender relations. Like its predecessor, this was also a regional discourse. Reza Shah's programs in public education, expansion of civil services, and urbanization had created a receptive environment for a gender discourse. By the late 1950s, women were entering public education in record numbers and finding employment in civil services deemed suitable for women. Women's magazines such as *Zan-i*

*rūz* (Woman of the day) were instrumental in publicizing this discourse at the national level.

While women wrote, it was the writings of two men that received national coverage: Murtaẓā Mutahharī, a member of the clergy, and 'Alī Sharī'atī, a lay writer. A close examination reveals two themes: an existential debate championed by Mutahharī; and an oppositional narrative by Sharī'atī and Āl Aḥmad, reflected in activism of a generation of young Muslim men and women. The first narrative debated the legal reforms, while the oppositional narrative remained marginal and partially underground.

The existential narrative deals with the essence of woman along the lines of the nature versus nurture debate. The social definition of the nature of each gender was given as the basis of their divine social roles. There is a tension between woman's nature and her ordained roles in the private domain, which in turn dictates her place in the public sphere. Mutahharī was the first clergy member to write essays exclusively about women by focusing on the idea that the nature of the sexes derives complementarily from the Qur'ān and other sources. He engaged in early modernist debate and borrowed selectively from the few Western writers translated into Farsi. His essays first appeared in *Zan-i rūz* magazine in response to the Family Protection Law of 1966.

Navigating between the Qur'ān, the *ḥadīth*, and Western writers, Mutahharī nudges his narrative toward a systematic deliberation of gender roles. He reiterates the feminine personality as emotional, caring, and weak, but he departs from the traditionalist writers by attempting a systematic analysis of complementary gender roles. He concurs that the Qur'ān views the sexes equally but not similarly. Women's nature as gentle, emotional, and self-sacrificing as well as cunning and narcissistic complements men's rationality and aggressive sexuality. Yet he is conflicted. In his deliberations about women as judges he rejects *ḥadīths* that deny women judgeship as unreliable or attributes their source to Sunnī reporters. Then he debates whether the Arabic pronoun for male, or the word *rijāl*, refer to males, or are generic and applicable to both sexes. His is the first widely read and debated discourse of gender roles in modern Shī'ī Islam.

The oppositional narrative derives its force from writings of Sharī'atī and Āl Aḥmad and the activism of a new generation of young Muslim women and men. Sharī'atī's writings, and in particular his essay on Fāṭima (1980), the Prophet's daughter, propose a gendered hermeneutics of the *fiqh* and the text. Ironically, in his attempts to rid Islam and

Sharī'a from the rigidity of the traditionalists and protect them against "the decadence of the West," he applies a rudimentary gender analysis produced by Western feminism. His rhetoric, though contradictory, introduces the notion of gender as a social construct and therefore the possibility of individual agency. In *Fatima is Fatima* he barrages the traditionalists for depriving women of their individuality and exemplifies Fāṭima, not just because she is the Prophet's daughter, but because of her agency in forming her own destiny. This oppositional discourse is also reflected in Āl Aḥmad's disparaging of the West and the Westoxification of women as mindless followers of Western consumerism.

Sharī'ati's and to some extent Āl Aḥmad's contribution is in ideologizing the Qur'ān for oppositional mobilization. A young generation of Muslim men and especially women personified this oppositional agenda in activism. Shī'ī oppositional hermeneutics that had been a male domain became a gendered ideology of armed struggle. This new hermeneutics developed new interpretations of sex segregated Islam that allowed young Muslim activists to share co-educational clandestine safe houses, travel in disguise as family, and attack their targets together. This narrative of woman as soldier of Islam benefited from a populist hermeneutics that confirmed her individual agency. Later, this gendered ideology of the Qur'ān matured in the oratory of the Ayatollah Khomeini and led to national mobilization of women for the Islamic Revolution.

Of these two intertwined narratives, the existential narrative informed definition of woman and accordingly man, and the oppositional hermeneutics furthered women's agency of the Constitutional period. A form of women's activism enriched each. From 1950 to 1980 a coalition of upper-class women and the royal family used the new interpretations of the Qur'ān to justify legal reforms. If women's activism during the Constitutional Revolution gave them civil identity, the reform period consolidated their identity in civil and penal codes. The young women who rejected the *hijāb* as a symbol of opposition and the few who took to armed struggle against the regime reinforced the oppositional hermeneutics. Here women as Islamic freedom fighters became personified and celebrated.

#### THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION, 1979–PRESENT

The liveliest interpretive discourse of the Qur'ān started after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. The Westernization discourse first staggered into the rhetoric of anti-imperialism, but soon returned to an impressive path of exploration and *ijtihād*. The

gender narrative has been paramount in the post-revolutionary interpretive literature. The multitude of approaches and scholarly works points to two broad themes with clear gender implications. The existentialist debate became a marketplace of ideas with clear legal and social ramifications. The oppositional became institutional. Mutahhari's epistemology had laid the foundation for the Islamic Republic's gendered ideology. Some ulema, such as Javādī Āmulī and Sanā'ī, further elaborated on Mutahhari's gender complementarity. Among the features of this discourse are Qur'ānic interpretations about equality versus similarity of the sexes. Allah sees the sexes as equal and addresses them as believers. Javādī Āmulī summarizes this discourse as follows:

Two kinds of rules and prescriptions are declared for woman. The first are regarding the essence of woman that will not change, such as *hijāb*, modesty, and chastity. The second are those – not about her essence – but those about her rearing, and quality and environment of her socialization. If she receives appropriate training and quality education, she will think like men (*rijāl*), will have their acumen and wisdom. She will not be different from men in this regard, except those differences observed among men (Javādī Āmulī 1995, 29).

With regard to submission, worship, and creation, interpreting verses 49:13, 4:1, 124, 6:98, and others, the majority concur that Allah regards the sexes equally. The sources of contention are problematic aspects of the family laws and treatment of women in the penal codes of *qisas*. Even so, the dualistic interpretation reverberates in most writings of the ulema.

The more vibrant narrative is a fresh discourse with the "other" by a new breed of Western-informed writers. These writers, such as Soroush, Mujtahid Shabistari, Kadivar, and others, do not expressly engage in a gender discourse. Rather, there are clear gender implications in their proposed hermeneutics of the text and *hadith*, such as:

1. Rational interpretation of the *fiqh*;
2. Sociohistorical contingency of the sources and the need for relevancy of interpretations to time and space;
3. Recognition of plurality of approaches and ideas that allows interpretive methods based on human language and social context; and
4. Islamic order as a social construct subject to democratic formulation.

This brand of hermeneutics challenges the foundation of religious jurisprudence as basis of social order. While the earlier participants turned interpretive Qur'ān into an ideology, the new narrative sets out to dismantle this "ideologization of religion,

which means turning it into an instrument of fanaticism and hatred" (Sorush 2000, 21). This new hermeneutics is masculinist and does not challenge the patriarchal nature of religious orientation.

The challenges come through women's activism. A clear voice for women's rights is the magazine *Zanān* (Women). It often takes officials and the ulema to task, delineating the disparate treatment of women institutionalized in the Republic. The magazine challenges the patriarchal aspects of *fiqh* that have produced the harshest legal treatment of women. If the modernists challenge the epistemology of *fiqh* and jurisprudence, *Zanān* magazine demonstrates practical applications of their reasoning. It poses questions on issues such as blood money for women victims of a serial murderer, suicide of child brides, wife battery, whether a woman could become president, and other concerns of a similar vein. Indeed, indirectly, the modernists pose the theory and this magazine and women's non-governmental organizations produce the applications.

Should this gendered hermeneutic develop unhampered, Shī'ī epistemology will further modify ordained gender roles. Certain factors can inform the future course of Qur'ānic interpretations. First among them are women's oral interpretations produced in women's gatherings. Irrespective of social class and region, women gather to read and interpret the Qur'ān and other texts. A session may be directed by a woman leader well versed in the Qur'ān and *tafsīr*, or it may be non-hierarchical, with each member assigned a verse or other texts to research and explain to the rest of the group. A second factor is female seminary students. The increasing number of these students will no doubt lead to qualitatively women-oriented interpretations. Third is new technologies. Changes in medical technology have furthered the argument that binary sexuality is a social construct, which in turn has pushed reluctant Islamic scholars to deal with the new reproductive and sexual technologies. Finally, as a result of globalization, the intruding Western "other" has turned into an all-encompassing Western universe that has absorbed Islamic socioeconomic systems. Muslim scholars have begun exploring new ways of dealing with this membership, which is different from other forms of Western domination. No doubt, these changes will hasten the pace of Islamic transformation to include voices of subjugated groups such as women and minorities.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

J. Afray, On the origins of feminism in early 20th-century Iran, in *Journal of Women's History* 1:2 (1989), 65–87.

- J. Āl Aḥmad, *Plagued by the West*, trans. P. Sprachman, Delmor, N.Y. 1981.
- Z. Āyat Allāhī, *Zan, dīn, siyāsāt*, Tehran 2000.
- N. Awde (trans. and ed.), *Women in Islam. An anthology from the Qur'ān and hadīths*, New York 2000.
- S. Gerami, Privatization of women's roles in the Islamic Republic of Iran, in G. Benavides and M. W. Daly (eds.), *Religion and political power*, New York 1989, 99–119.
- ʿA. A. Javādī-Āmulī, *Zan dar ā'inab-i jalāl va jamāl*, Tehran 1995.
- K. Khaz'alī, S. Bihzād'pur, and Z. Āyāt'allāhī, *Zan. 'Aql, imān, mashvarat?*, Tehran 2001.
- M. Miḥrizī, *Zan*, Qum 1998.
- H. Miḥrpūr, *Mabāhiṣi az huqūq*, Tehran 2000.
- Z. Mir-Hoessini, *Islam and gender. The religious debate in contemporary Iran*, Princeton, N.J. 1999.
- M. Mutahharī, *Nizām-i huqūq-i zan dar Islām*, Qum 1978.
- M. Nā'īnī, *Hukumat-i Islāmī*, Qum 1972.
- A. Najmabadi, "Years of hardship, years of growth." Feminisms in an Islamic republic, in Y. Y. Haddad and J. L. Esposito (eds.), *Islam, gender, and social change*, Oxford 1998, 59–84.
- E. Sanasarian, *The women's rights movement in Iran. Mutiny, appeasement, and repression from 1900 to Khomeini*, New York 1982.
- ʿA. Sharī'atī, *Zan*, Tehran n.d.
- , *Fatima is Fatima*, trans. L. Bakhtiar, Tehran 1980.
- A. Sorush, *Reason, freedom, and democracy in Islam*, ed. and trans. M. Sadri and A. Sadri, New York 2000.
- M. Tavakoli-Targhi, Yik zan-i būd, yik zan-i nabūd, in *Nimib-i Digar* 14 (1991), 77–111.

SHAHIN GERAMI AND KHADIJEH SAFIRI

### South Asian Languages

One of the major developments in South Asian Qur'ān interpretation in the modern period is the shift from atomistic *tafsīr*, where material related to women and gender issues is treated only in the context of specific verses of the Qur'ān, to a proliferation of works that treat the subject more topically and comprehensively, invoking Qur'ānic verses as proof texts for the authors' interpretations.

A further dimension of modern Qur'ān interpretation in this region is the prominent role of South Asians as translators of the scripture either from Arabic to Urdu or, as a consequence of British colonialism, into English. Such translations implicitly offer interpretations and may include notes that further elaborate on gender issues.

The main division among modern interpretations is based on whether Qur'ānic language is encountered as "poetic" (namely metaphorically), usually the case of liberals or modernist commentators, or as "scientific" (namely literally), as is the case with Islamists and conservatives.

South Asians have been at the forefront of globalization and the postcolonial experience, both

materially and theoretically. From the colonial encounter with British thought and British missionaries to the current global diaspora, South Asians often read and write in English and reside in the United States, Great Britain, or South Africa, all significant areas for progressive interpretive trends on gender issues. South Asian Muslims have also been prominent in late twentieth-century “movement” Islam and works by scholars such as Abū al-A‘lā Mawdūdī, founder of *Jamā‘at-i Islāmī*, and Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān, whose English Qur’ān translation is promoted by Saudi Salafī interests, have a global reach in promulgating conservative interpretations of gender issues along with other aspects of political, literalist Islam.

South Asia has been home to important sectarian communities of Muslims. The contribution of Shī‘ī, Ismā‘īlī, Bohra, and Aḥmadī scholars to the discussion of gender issues should not be overlooked. Commentators from this region sometimes address specifically South Asian concerns or practices regarding females, for example the perceived taboo against widow remarriage, women’s seclusion, and female political leadership.

Yet another feature of modern South Asian Qur’ān interpretation is the growing role and eventually dominance of scholars trained outside the traditional *madrassa* context. These include academics such as Fazlur Rahman, and more recently academic women (Asma Barlas and Riffat Hassan), independent scholars such as Abdullah Yusuf Ali, literary figures (Rashīd al-Khayrī), and Muslims originally specialized in fields other than Islamic studies, such as Asghar Ali Engineer.

#### HISTORICAL SURVEY

Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1762) could be considered the first South Asian Qur’ān interpreter of the modern period, or at least a transitional figure in the sense that his Persian translation of the Qur’ān into accessible language and his acceptance of *ijtihād* and juristic diversity broke new ground. His grandsons, Shāh ‘Abd al-Qādir (d. 1813) and Shāh Rafī‘ al-Dīn (d. 1818), continued the trend by translating the Qur’ān into the South Asian vernacular language, Urdu. Gender issues were not addressed in a novel way in these translations.

#### Nineteenth century

Qur’ān interpretations of the nineteenth century, such as those of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (1898) and Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān (1890), reflect the vibrant debates in South Asian Muslim religious thought between modernists who favored more historical

critical analysis and were skeptical about *ḥadīth* reports, versus literalists who, together with a strict following of Qur’ān and *ḥadīth*, also stressed reforms in the treatment of females.

Each trend made important strides in advancing women’s issues. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, the modernist scholar, opened the door to a rejection of polygamy and the historical contextualization of scriptural rulings while the conservative Ahl-e Ḥadīs movement followed Ṣiddīq Khān’s example of rejecting the taboo against widow remarriage. One of the first South Asian females to write on gender issues was his wife, the ruler of the princely state Bhopal, Shāh Jahān Begum (d. 1901), who composed her own study of gender norms based on Qur’ān and *ḥadīth* citations, *Ta’ḍīb al-niswān* (Cultivation of women). Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān devoted a volume, written in Arabic, *Husn al-uswa bi-mā thabata ‘an Allāh wa-Rasūlihi fī-al-niswa* (The best example in what is confirmed from Allah and his Prophet regarding women), to a discussion of women’s issues. In addition, he translated parts of the Qur’ān and composed Persian and Arabic commentaries on the scripture.

Another nineteenth-century development was the role of Urdu translations of the Qur’ān made by Christian missionaries and some of their indigenous followers. Gender disparities were one area in which Christian and even Hindu reformers criticized Muslims and the turn of the twentieth century finds responses to these attacks embedded in Muslim commentators’ discussions of Qur’ānic verses pertaining to topics such as female seclusion and polygamy.

Another well known nineteenth-century Urdu *tafsīr* is that of Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqānī. Interpreting the verse on humankind being created from a single soul (4:1), Haqqānī inserts the story of Eve being formed from Adam’s crooked rib as derived from certain *ḥadīth*. He also addresses the missionary critique of polygamy in Islam, justifying multiple marriages on the basis of males’ need for lawful sex while wives are menstruating, pregnant, or lactating. He sees the context of this ruling as cultural since men from certain climates are “hotter.”

#### Twentieth century

Writers of the twentieth century increasingly addressed gender issues as having a special significance both in the context of *tafsīr* and in separate studies. An element evident in this period is the rejection by some commentators of Western attitudes to women’s issues. This may be found, for example, in works by Mirzā Ghulām Aḥmad (d. 1905), founder of the Aḥmadī movement, as



well as in writings of influential conservative activist and founder of the Jamā'at-i Islāmī, Mawdūdī (d. 1978).

The Aḥmadīs, due to their global efforts in proselytization, have prepared a number of English Qur'ān translations; the best known are those of Sher Ali, Muhammad Ali, and Muhammad Zafarullah Khan. In fact, the first English Qur'ān translation made by a female, Amatul Rahman Omar, who worked from the Urdu notes of the nineteenth-century scholar Allamah Nooruddin, emerged from this movement.

Ghulām Aḥmad himself was rather hard on women, asserting that, "God says that no women can be righteous unless she obeys her husband in every matter," but subsequent Aḥmadī translators into English blunted the force of "beating" recalcitrant wives by rendering the command as "chastise." Amatul Rahman Omar (2000) offers "punish (lightly)."

Many Muslim scholars of this period are comfortable with evoking universal norms of human rights and gender equality. Rather than the question of widow remarriage, a prominent twentieth-century litmus test of a person's stand on women's roles was the issue of whether a female could be head of state, which in fact has occurred in all three major South Asian nations, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. In Pakistan, the sister of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah (d. 1967), unsuccessfully contested the national elections of 1964 while Benazir Bhutto was prime minister in 1988–90 and 1993–6. A spate of volumes supporting the possibility of female rule based on the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* emerged in this regard. For example, the story of the Queen of Sheba mentioned in the Qur'ān was cited by some as a precedent for a woman's being head of state.

Exploring the detailed discussions of how interpretations or translation of particular Qur'ānic terms with relevance to gender roles, for example *qawwāmūn* (in charge of) or *nushūz* (rebellion) in 4:34, is beyond the scope of this entry. However, it is this very process of sifting and recovering all previous understandings that is characteristic of twentieth-century South Asian Muslim efforts to examine gender issues in the Qur'ān. While classical *mufasssirs* might have cited every existing interpretation or philological connotation, modern commentators trace or recover comments of previous authorities whose discussions might open the door to a more progressive or egalitarian reading of the text. A good example of this process is a work by Asghar Ali Engineer, *The Qur'ān, Women, and Modern Society* (1999).

Engineer is a liberal Bohra and an activist who uses terms such as "gender justice" and "anti-patriarchy." He believes that the veil was not introduced by the Qur'ān or the Prophet and he cites the *ḥadīth* of Umm Waraqa as a precedent for a female leading congregational prayer. Like many other twentieth-century writers on gender, Engineer addresses a set of verses on issues such as polygamy (4:3–4), intrinsic male authority/superiority (4:34), and wife beating (4:34). He concludes that verse 33:35 on male female equality is normative whereas 4:34 is contextual. "To read 4:34 in isolation would be injuring the spirit of the Qur'ān and its ideological intention to empower women . . . wife beating in our times has no place whatever in the holy scripture, and equality of both sexes should prevail" (Engineer 1999, 64). He cites other South Asian Qur'ānic scholars including Āzād, Parvez, Ahmed Ali, and 'Umar 'Usmān Farūqī to support his position, while criticizing conservative apologists.

In the case of Urdu Qur'ān translations that have been subsequently rendered into English, one finds a tendency to adjust to the sensibilities of a more liberal audience. In fact, when translating from Arabic to Urdu the similarity of abstract terms between them gives a translator less scope to interpret.

For example, one of the best-known Urdu commentaries, that of the scholar 'Abd al-Mājid Darī-yabādī (d. 1977), was translated into English with an expanded version of the original Urdu notes. The Urdu original stuck closely to traditional *tafsīr* whereas the English translation (Lahore 1957) expanded on topics such as wife beating in several pages of footnotes. Among the observations made on this issue are that the Qur'ān was addressed to people at all stages of social evolution (therefore beating would be suitable for some but not others). The notes also claimed the universal presence of "masochism" and cited comments on it by Western notables such as Freud, Nietzsche, and Karen Horney in order to demonstrate that the instinct to physical punishment was not exclusive to Islam.

A similar softening occurs in the English translation of Āzād's *Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*, where translator Syed Abdul Latif renders the Urdu *māro* (beat) as "shake." In Zafar Ishaq Ansari's translation of Mawdūdī's *tafsīr*, the comment "there are certain women who do not mend their ways without a beating" is omitted (Ansari 1989, 325), although it appears in the Urdu original and a previous English translation.

One of the most gentle solutions to the "beating" verse was made by Mirza Abul Fazl in a 1916 translation: "Admonish them and remove them in beds apart and *propound to them parables*" (80). Since

one idiomatic meaning of the Arabic verb *daraba*, to strike, is “to coin [a parable],” Ali derived this interpretation. More recently Ahmed Ali (d. 1994), a Pakistan literary figure and diplomat, translated the same line, “talk to them suavely; then leave them alone in bed (without molesting them) *and go to bed with them (when they are willing).*” In a note he explains that some early Arab authorities stated that the verb *daraba* could metaphorically mean “to have intercourse” rather than “to beat” (78).

As for Qurʾān commentaries in South Asian languages other than Urdu, the majority were made from Urdu by followers of either the Aḥmādī or the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī movements.

Among twentieth-century Shīʿī Qurʾān translators into English is S. V. Mir Ahmed Ali, whose attitude to women appears rather negative: “However much it may be resented by the selfish and false regard to womankind in the name of modern chivalry, man is unquestionably superior, not only in physique but also in his intellect and natural dominance in many respects of the native endowments, over a woman” (Mir 1964, 374 commenting on verse 4:34).

In apologizing for polygamy, Abdullah Yusuf Ali (1934) cites the cases of a sick first wife and of a man who is of “extraordinarily physically developed manhood” that could not be easily satisfied by one wife. He devotes a further two pages to citing historical cases of polygamy in Hinduism and the Bible, explaining how Islam restricted this practice.

The Hyderabadī Shīʿī scholar, Hashim Amir Ali, translated the Qurʾān into English in 1974 in a non-controversial way. In a later article (1997) treating the polygamy verses (4:3–4), Ali made a novel suggestion regarding the interpretation of the unusual Arabic numeric grammatical forms in “marry of the women who seem good to you, ‘twos’, ‘threes’ and ‘fours.’” He proposed that the verse was recommending marriage to the mothers of orphans having two, three, or four children, rather than permitting multiple wives.

The liberal or modernist Islamic movement is progressive on education and on women’s issues. From early figures such as Sayyid Aḥmad an intellectual genealogy can be traced to Syed Ameer Ali (d. 1905), Yusuf Ali (d. 1952), Abū al-Kalām Āzād (d. 1958), and Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988). While gender was not one of the themes highlighted in Rahman’s *Major Themes of the Qurʾān* (1980), he addressed the subject in a number of published articles, using the strategy of isolating the verses implicated in issues of gender inequality in law (including being a witness, inheritance, and polygamy). Rahman contends that social change requires a reinterpretation that remains faithful

to the spirit of the Qurʾān or universal principle of gender equality while questioning the historical particulars and the ensuing juristic and exegetical tradition wherever it violates the greater principle.

Translation of the Qurʾān in the twentieth century is a significant aspect of reinterpretation. South Asian Muslim renderings of the Qurʾān, particularly in English, which was rapidly becoming the global language for Muslims, had a wide effect. Thus, Abdullah Yusuf Ali’s translation of the Qurʾān, first published in 1934, influenced not only fellow South Asian Muslims, but Muslims worldwide as well as non-Muslims. Yusuf Ali was a Bohra but his sectarian affiliation was largely ignored, although subsequent editions of his classic translation were subjected to editorial changes. His copious notes constitute a modernist *tafsīr*. On women’s issues he is generally egalitarian and progressive. For example on the issue of modesty, he presented the idea that it was culturally constructed.

Mawdūdī’s *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* (1954) is widely influential and takes a conservative position on most women’s issues. Mawdūdī held the priority of Adam’s creation to that of the female since it was his belief that males and females are essentially different and that females are by nature emotional and less fit for public roles and responsibilities than males. His book *Purdah and the Status of Women in Islam* (1972) argues this thesis, although his proofs are taken largely from outdated Western studies of female physiology and psychology rather than the Qurʾān itself.

Most recently, the strategies of Western biblical feminists who are attempting to reread the religious sources of Judaism and Christianity are being employed by South Asian Muslim women scholars working in the West, such as Riffat Hassan and Asma Barlas. Questions relating to the construction of gender are being asked of the Qurʾānic narrative as they have been addressed to the Western scriptures. These query, for example, Qurʾānic accounts of the origin of life: was the male (Adam) the prime creation and the women derivative? Is the primal “single soul” (4:1) ungendered or is it identified with the male? Was woman to blame for the fall of humanity? Hassan might be termed a “Qurʾānic feminist” and international gender justice activist. She argues that many of the negative representations of female nature absorbed into Muslim Qurʾān commentary were derived from misogynistic elements of Near Eastern or biblical lore that became incorporated in *ḥadīth* narratives.

Asma Barlas’s work is postmodern and theoretical. She argues for a feminist rereading of the Qurʾān supporting an egalitarian ethos against traditional

male exegesis that emerged from a historical context embedding patriarchal social structures and sexist attitudes. Once the authority of the exegetical corpus has been destabilized through historical analysis, she attempts to recover an egalitarian reading of themes such as gender roles and attitudes to sexuality.

Progressive Muslim thought and Qur'ān interpretation in the service of gender justice in South Africa also incorporates an important influence from South Asian Islam, indicating the difficulty of fixing regional and ethnic boundaries in this age of hybridity and serial migration.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Abul Fazl, *The Koran, a new translation. From the original*, Bombay 1916, 1955<sup>2</sup>.
- M. G. Aḥmad, *Sūra Al-e Imrān wa-al-Nisā*, Rabwa 1980.
- A. Ali, *Al-Qur'ān. A contemporary translation*, Princeton, N.J. 1988.
- H. A. Ali, *The message of the Qur'an*, Rutland, Va. 1974.
- , A millennium-old Qur'anic puzzle. The matter on polygyny, in M. Taher (ed.), *Encyclopaedic survey of Islamic culture*, ii, New Delhi 1997, 223–34.
- M. Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, Woking, Surrey 1917.
- S. S. 'Alī, *Urdū tafāsīr biswīn ṣadī men*, New Delhi 2001.
- S. V. Mir Ahmed Ali, *Holy Quran*, Karachi 1964.
- Y. A. Ali, *The Qur'an. Text, translation, and commentary*, Lahore 1934.
- A. Azād, *The Tarjumān al-Qur'ān*, trans. S. A. Latif, Bombay 1967.
- A. Barlas, *Believing women in Islam. Unreading patriarchal interpretations of the Quran*, Austin, Tex. 2002.
- A. M. Daryabadi, *The glorious Quran. Text, translation and commentary*, Lahore 1957.
- A. A. Engineer, *The Qur'an, women, and modern society*, New Delhi 1999.
- 'A. al-H. Ḥaqqānī, *Tafsīr-i Haqqānī*, Deoband n.d.
- R. Hassan, Religious human rights in the Qur'an, in J. Witte, Jr. and J. D. van der Vyver (eds.), *Religious human rights in global perspective. Religious perspectives*, The Hague 1996, 361–86.
- , Feminism and Islam, in A. Sharma and K. Young (eds.), *Feminism and world religions*, Albany, N.Y. 1998, 248–78.
- M. H. Khan, *The Holy Qur'an in South Asia*, Dhaka 2001. [Bibliography of translations in 23 South Asian languages.]
- M. M. Khan and M. T. al-D. Hilali, *Translation of the meanings of the Noble Qur'an*, Medina 1419/1998.
- M. Z. Khan, *Woman in Islam*, Islamabad 1988.
- S. A. Khān, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa-huwa al-hudā wa-al-furqān*, 2 vols., Patna 1995. [Khān completed up to ch. 20 only.]
- Ṣ. H. Khān, *Husn al-uswa bi-mā thabata 'an Allāh wa-Rasūlihi fī-al-niswa*, Beirut 1976.
- S. A. al-A. Mawdūdī, *Tafhīm al-Qur'ān*, Lahore 1963.
- , *The meaning of the Qur'an*, trans. M. Akbar et al., ii, Lahore 1971.
- , *Towards understanding the Qur'an*, trans. Z. I. Ansari, ii, Leicester 1989.
- 'A. Mawlānā Muḥammad, *al-Bayān al-Qur'ānī*, Lahore 1922.
- S. McDonough, Modern Muslim Qur'ān commentaries

in relation to gender roles and distinctions, in *Religious Studies and Theology* 7:2/3 (May–September 1987), 56–67.

- M. S. Nāz, *Islām men'aurat kī qiyādat*, Lahore 1989
- A. R. Omar, *The Holy Qur'an as explained by Allamah Nooruddin*, Hockessin, Del. 2000.
- G. Parvez, *Islam. A challenge to religion*, Lahore 1968.
- , *Maṭālib al-Qur'ān*, iii, Lahore 1979.
- F. Rahman, Status of women in the Qur'an, in G. Nashat (ed.), *Women and revolution in Iran*, Boulder, Colo. 1983, 37–54.
- Shāh Jahān Begum, *Tāḍīb al-niswān*, Lahore 1976. [First published 1884.]
- Ṣ. 'A. Sharfuddīn, *Qur'ān-i ḥakīm ke Urdū tarājīm*, Bombay 1984.
- M. M. Siddiqi, *Women in Islam*, Lahore 1952.
- F. M. Tadros, *The Holy Koran in the Library of Congress*, Washington, D.C. 1993.
- A. 'A. Thānvī, *Mukammal bayān al-Qur'ān*, Delhi 1934.
- M. N. 'Uthmānī, *Urdu men tafsīrī adab*, Karachi 1994.

MARCIA HERMANSEN

#### Turkish

Although the Qur'ān is believed to be the word of God, the authenticity of which is not questioned by the followers of Islam, like all texts, it has been open to interpretation, by both believers and non-Muslim observers and analysts. Depending on the status and ideological position of the interpreter, there is a considerable variation as to what constitutes women's rights and obligations according to the Qur'ān.

Interpretations of the Qur'ān with regard to women and gender relations, produced in Turkey since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in October 1923, can be classified according to the authority and gender ideology of the interpreters as interpretations by state officials; the traditionalist male clergy; reformist Muslim men and women; and as popular or folk beliefs.

Despite their secular outlook, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his followers, who founded the Turkish Republic, were careful to present their reforms, known as Kemalist reforms, which included the goal of improving women's access to education and participation in public life, as consistent with the normative principles of Islam. They attributed the lack of development and backwardness of science and technology, as well as the wretched condition of women under Ottoman rule, to the wrongful interpretation of Islam by opportunist clerics and degenerate rulers. They founded the Diyānet İşleri Başkanlığı (Directorate of Religious Affairs) on 3 March 1924 to assure the teaching and practice of "actual" Islam (and to contain the influence of the conservative religious opposition to the new regime). In addition to the training and

appointment of *imāms* and *muftīs*, the directorate was assigned the task of devising guidelines and educational tools for the public, and it carried out these functions in accordance with the Ḥanafī school of law of the Sunnī sect.

As expressed in Kemal Atatürk's speeches and in the decrees and guidelines provided by the directorate, the official interpretation of the Qur'ān emphasizes the equality of men and women in terms of their value and obligations to Allah and women's equal ability to reason. The veiling and segregation of women are rejected as being un-Islamic. The Qur'ān is cited as evidence that as early as the seventh century Muslim women were granted the right to life, education, and work, to earn income and dispose of it at their own will, to inherit and maintain property in their own names, to choose their partners in marriage, and to initiate divorce.

According to the official approach, the Qur'ān does not discriminate between the sexes by treating one as superior to the other, but neither does it prescribe equality in all aspects of life. Since men and women have different psychological and physical characteristics, the directorate argues, the Qur'ān treats the two sexes as complementary. Their complementary characteristics naturally result in different social responsibilities. As the stronger, man is recognized as the head of the household and charged with the responsibility of protecting the wife and children and providing for them. On the other hand, the unequal treatment of men and women in some Qur'ānic verses, namely those that give advantage to men in divorce, inheritance rights, and polygyny, is defined as historically contextual and not relevant to modern conditions. It can be dismissed in the light of the egalitarian spirit of the Qur'ān. This particular interpretation found its expression in the Civil Code of 1926, which banned polygyny and child marriages and established equality in inheritance rights, but continued to recognize the man as the head of the family and provider, and made the wife's work outside the home contingent upon the approval of the husband. The Code was maintained without any significant changes till 2001.

The approach that sees the sexes as complementary also justifies men's near monopoly over religious affairs (women can touch, recite, read, study, and teach the Qur'ān but can lead only women and children in prayers – thus they cannot serve as *imāms* at mosques or issue *fatāwā*) and the exclusion of women from the political process, as both electors and representatives.

However, the official interpretation has changed over time. The legislation of the 1930s, which

granted women the right to vote and run for office, was not even debated in terms of its conformity with the principles of Islam. The regime's subscription to secularism would not allow such a debate. Thus, the directorate provided the doctrinaire justification for the political and legislative change after the fact, by removing the previously accepted restrictions on women's political role and participation, without attracting attention to the religious implications of the change. Similarly, the directorate did not play a role in the discussions that led to the 2001 reform of the Civil Code, which removed the provisions that recognized men as heads of household and ended the principle of separate ownership of property. The change in the law is likely to be quietly adopted by the directorate and appear in its future publications without any specific reference to the former position by the simple removal of the lines referring to the higher authority of the husband in family affairs.

Interpretations by private groups or individuals cover a wide spectrum, ranging from claims that the Qur'ān recognizes the absolute authority of men over "intellectually and spiritually inferior" women to arguments supporting complete equality.

The traditionalist interpreters, following the practices that prevailed during Ottoman rule and largely inspired by the Seljuk period teachings of the theologian Imām al-Ghazālī (1058–1111), also emphasize the elements of differences between sexes and their complementary nature. The traditionalist interpretations differ from the official position in that they define the public domain as inappropriate for women and insist that women's hair and body be concealed in the presence of men who are not immediate relatives. Although some interpretations advocate intellectual equality between men and women, most of them refer to the Qur'ān, especially to verses in Sura 2, al-Bakara, and Sura 4, al-Nisā', to document the inferiority of women. Emphasizing the literal meaning of the verses that are unfavorable to women, they advocate men's leadership, guidance, and discipline of women as Qur'ānic orders.

The revival of Islam in the 1980s, as both a religion and a political movement, also resulted in a resurgence of debates about women's place and rights in Islam. The debates included diverse voices, some of which belonged to reform-minded Muslims including theologians, legal scholars, and activists who want to end the monopoly of the directorate over religious affairs. The period also witnessed the rise of a women's movement that included well-educated and professional women who embraced Islam and engaged in activism. Despite their

diversity, the modernists share a few elements of interpretation: they acknowledge the unfavorable treatment of Muslim women and explain it by the misinterpretation of the religious texts; they reject some discriminating practices, which can be supported by the Qur'ân or the *hadîth*, on the grounds that they are contextual; and they promote women's rights, including their full participation in public affairs and partnership in the union of marriage, as complete equals of men.

However, the modernists are far from being in complete agreement on the religiously sanctioned role and rights of Muslim women. Some interpreters, including women, define the primary function of women as motherhood and argue that women should assume other responsibilities only after the fulfillment of this domestic responsibility (for example Hüseyin Hatemi and Cihan Aktaş). While they support women's right and need to enter the public space, they argue that it should be done by assuming a proper "Islamic" attire that conceals the hair completely, covers the body from the neck to the wrists and ankles, and hide the contours of the body. Such concealment is claimed to be an order of the Qur'ân, and the claim is justified by invoking the verses concerning the attire of ordinary women (24:32 and 33:59) and by generalizing from the orders given to the wives of the Prophet (33:32-4 and 33:53). A particular form of concealment that follows these guidelines and involves shrouding the body with a long and loose overcoat and covering the entire hair, but not the face, with a large rectangular scarf that falls over the bosom, referred to as *tesettür* (being veiled), was adopted by Islamist women who were university students and graduates in the mid-1980s. This highly educated and politicized group of women also engaged in a protest movement against the state policy that bans the wearing of head garments, including headscarves, by government officials, teachers, and students while they are at work or attending schools and universities.

More liberal Muslim interpreters, such as Yaşar Nuri Öztürk, who served as the Dean of the Faculty of Divinity at Istanbul University, argue that the moral message of the Qur'ân is based on the principle of equality, and that means equal rights and practices for women, not only in social and political life, but also in performing religious duties. They attribute restrictive and discriminatory notions and practices to persistent local customs, which, they claim, have thwarted the egalitarian message of Islam from the beginning. According to them, the Qur'ân, with its emphasis on reasoning and equal treatment of men and women as believers, devises

a religion of freedom and equality, not one of debilitating restrictions and extensive regulations. Women are not expected to follow any rigid dress codes, they do not have to conceal their hair, even when they are praying, and they can lead prayers. Within the progressive group, some interpreters use the pro-women *hadîths* and stories about the Prophet's life selectively to interpret the Qur'ânic verses and to support their equality claims (for example Yaşar Nuri Öztürk). Others, in contrast, stress the difficulty of sorting out the authentic *hadîths* from the fabricated ones, uphold the Qur'ân as the only source, and argue that its moral message should be used as the guide for interpretation of the verses about believers' rights and obligations (for example Hidayet Şevkatli Tuksal).

Popular folk beliefs, sometimes reinforced by local clerics or community leaders, tend to be the most restrictive in defining women's rights. In fact, the emphasis in folk beliefs tends to be on men's rights over women, rather than on women's rights. The full authority of the husband, or the father in the case of an unmarried woman, in decisions concerning her education, marriage, proper attire, entering the workforce, and leaving the house, are justified as being ordered by the Qur'ân. Disciplining of women through every means, including beating and "honor killings" are treated as sanctioned by the religion. For them, the Qur'ân specifies women's obligations rather than their rights.

The staunch secularists consider the rise of religious activism as a threat to the legal rights and some social freedoms that are currently enjoyed by women. They include the organizers of the Association for the Protection of the Contemporary Lifestyle. It is their view that the educated women's embrace of *tesettür* and promotion of it as their religious right is not a modernist step that opens the public space to devout women or a sincere expression of religious beliefs, but is a reactionary scheme that attempts to reverse the modernization process initiated by Kemal Atatürk.

In addition to the intentions of the interpreters (to liberate women or to sustain male privileges), the diversity in interpretations, even among the modernists, also stems from the nature of the sources. First, the Qur'ân, all *hadîth* collections, and stories about the Prophet's life and deeds (which are supposed to be taken as examples by the believers) contain contradictions. Second, although the Qur'ân is the highest authority and its provisions should overrule what is prescribed by other sources, the meaning of the Qur'ânic verses cannot be captured without a knowledge of the triggering events and circumstances under which they were revealed to

the Prophet. That necessity creates an inevitable dependency on the medieval records of the Prophet's life, which were largely based on the stories related by the conservative male elite.

In Turkey, the Kemalist modernization project has been able to limit the restrictions imposed upon women, to some extent, by contextualizing the Qur'anic verses selectively and gradually expanding that selection. The Islamist modernists tend to be more holistic in their effort to capture and reveal the essence of the religion; they employ a more systematic approach to separating the contextual messages of the Qur'an from the universal one. The result of their work and their ability to convince others is crucial to the future of women living in Turkey and other Muslim societies.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Afetinan, *Medeni bilgiler ve M. Kemal Atatürk'ün el yazıları*, Ankara 1988<sup>2</sup>.
- C. Aktaş, *Modernizmin evsizliği ve ailenin gerekliliği*, İstanbul 1992.
- M. Altaytaş, *Hangi din?*, İstanbul 2001.
- K. Atatürk, *Atatürk'ün söylev ve demeçleri*, 3 vols., Ankara 1945-54.
- O. Çalışırlar, *İslamda kadın ve cinsellik*, İstanbul 1991<sup>3</sup>.
- Diyânet İşleri Başkanlığı, *Diyânet aylık dergisi*, Ankara. [Monthly periodical.]
- A. İlyasoğlu, *Örtülü kimlik*, İstanbul 1994.
- A. İnan, *Tarih boyunca Türk kadının hak ve görevleri*, İstanbul 1982.
- M. R. İnan, *Atatürk ve Türk kadını ve tarihte Türk kadını*, İstanbul 1991.
- Y. N. Öztürk, *İslam nasıl yozlaştırıldı?* İstanbul, 2001.
- , *Cevap veriyorum*, İstanbul 2001<sup>7</sup>.
- M. Söymen, *Concise Islamic catechism*, trans. E. İhsanoğlu, Ankara 1998.
- H. Ş. Tuksal and İ. Arsel, Şeriat ve kadın, in *İslâmiyât* 1:4 (1998), 227-38.

ZEHRA F. KABASAKAL ARAT

# Qur'ān: Qur'ān and Early *Tafsīr*

## Overview

The process of Muslim reflection on, and interrogation of, the text of the Qur'ān, known as *tafsīr*, incorporated a broad range of interests and concerns during classical Islamic times. Working with the tools of narrative, grammar, lexicography, theology, and legal principles, the exegetes aimed both to make the text of the Qur'ān relevant to their contemporary Muslim audiences and to ensure that the full meaning of the text had been extricated. Given the immensity of the literary genre of *tafsīr*, it is possible here to provide only the broadest of generalizations and to suggest the framework within which investigations of this topic might proceed. The focus is on glimpsing the intellectual endeavour of *tafsīr* over a period of some 1,000 years. While isolating one or two examples of “problematic” Qur'ānic passages and their exegetical treatment might serve to illustrate approaches to the question of women and gender and would likely provoke a different picture of the exegetical attitudes than that sketched here, such an approach hardly does justice to the literature as a whole and overlooks its fundamental characteristics, which are worthy of attention.

To the extent that one may generalize on such matters, the text of the Qur'ān as a whole may be said to be neutral on the matter of women: it neither ignores them nor problematizes them. Certainly, much of the text assumes a male audience, both grammatically and thematically, and only infrequently are women isolated as a specific component of the audience. Yet, the spirit of the Qur'ān aims toward a universalism such that, when women are mentioned, their inclusion in the general spiritual conception of Islam is asserted and their specific role (complementary to that of men) in the emerging Muslim society is delineated.

The writers of early Muslim exegetical texts – all of whom were male – do not display any unease with the way in which the Qur'ān deals with women and gender relations. They see it neither as a matter which needs to be examined extensively, nor as one which needs to be justified and reconciled with contemporary practice. For example, the treatment by any classical Muslim exegete of a chapter of the Qur'ān which has nothing explicit to say about women and gender discloses no consciousness of

gender issues in relationship to the text. Both men and women are assumed where relevant, but the primacy of men as the audience is at the same time unremarked. So, in Sura 1, al-Fātiḥa, verses 6–7, the use of the masculine plural to refer to the members of the Muslim community is simply understood to be standard Arabic and is not deemed worthy of isolation or comment about how this pronominal referent includes women also. Early Muslim exegetes from Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767) to al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) flowing down to the late classical writer al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) do not find this first instance in the Qur'ānic text of the use of the inclusive masculine pronoun to cover both genders worthy of comment. It is simply assumed.

Of greater consequence, perhaps, is the fact that gender is not addressed in the Qur'ān when, for example, the rules for the pilgrimage or food restrictions are stipulated. However, this was not taken by the exegetes to mean that women were excluded from the obligation to follow such laws (that is, all Muslims assert that women should not drink wine even though the commands in the Qur'ān are phrased exclusively in the masculine plural – see Q. 2:219, 4:43, 5:90). Rather, the assumption in both the Qur'ān and the exegetical works is that the nature of the Muslim *umma* is that it includes both men and women. Qur'ānic verses for which the audience is clearly male (since they have as their focus the treatment of wives) are not seen by the exegetes as disruptive to the flow of the text. So, at the beginning of Sura 4, al-Nisā', the assertion is made in verse 1 that all of humanity, men and women (alluding to Adam and Eve), was created from one *nafs*, “Be dutiful to your Lord who created you from a single *nafs* and from it created its mate.” However, in verse 3, the addressee of the “you” is clearly male: “and if you fear that you will be unable to deal justly with orphan girls, then marry women of your choice.” The possible implication that women are not included in the reference in verse 1 is not taken by the exegetical tradition. More revealing are passages which raise (at least to the modern mind) questions of reciprocity. The rule of Q. 9:28 states that “touching a woman” creates a situation of requiring the renewal of purity by means of the ritual of *wuḍū'*. The presumption seems to be that the Qur'ān is referring to the actor being a man; but then, what of the woman? Once

again, it appears that, for the Islamic tradition, despite the way in which the rule was expressed, the requirement is to be applied to women also and the absence of an explicit statement to that effect was not generally worthy of remark. As Marion Holmes Katz (2002) has shown, that the rule did likewise apply to women according to the jurists (and the exegetical tradition where the focus was on law) flowed from an understanding of impurity not being contagious but the result of (potential or actual, depending on the law school) sexual desire in the individual.

Of course, women are mentioned specifically in some verses of the Qurʾān. Some of these passages address the Prophet's wives; others deal with women-limited topics such as menstruation and breastfeeding of infants. Especially noteworthy are passages which address Muslim/"believing" women alongside Muslim/"believing" men. Among the examples are Q. 9:71, 9:72, 33:35, 33:36, 33:58, 33:73, 47:19, 48:5, 57:12, 71:28, and 85:10. All of these passages emphasize the equality of punishment and reward with which God treats his creation, and that sense of the universality of the Islamic message is the thrust which exegetes such as Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) take out of these passages, rather than seeing them as isolating anything specific about women in these particular contexts.

It certainly is possible to find examples of the text of the Qurʾān being read by the exegetes with gender considerations playing a significant part. The treatment of Q. 4:34 with its "Men are the protectors of women; for that God has preferred in bounty one of them [masculine] over another" and "those [feminine] whom you [masculine] fear may be rebellious, admonish" has become a touchstone for the accusation of the "misogyny" on the part of the male interpreters of the Qurʾān. But the point extends further and more subtly. Fatima Mernissi (1987) has drawn attention to the glosses provided for the *sufahāʾ* in Q. 4:5 as meaning "women and children" rather than the generalized "ignorant ones." This served, she argues, to undermine the equity present within the laws of inheritance. While Mernissi focuses on al-Ṭabarī, that exegete is not alone in citing these traditions glossing "ignorant ones" as women – it stands as a firm part of the lexicographical tradition within *tafsīr* as displayed in the work of al-Sijistānī (d. 330/942), *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* – nor is he alone in rejecting the suggestion. To support his rejection of the gloss, al-Ṭabarī uses his tools of grammar and the category of standard Arabic in a manner which is characteristic of both his approach and his time when grammar

was anointed the arbiter of correct interpretation (a position which lasted until the fourteenth century). He argues on this occasion that the rules of Arabic grammar exclude restricting the reference to women on the grounds that the masculine plural is used and thus cannot be restricted to women only but must entail both genders.

Likewise, the same sort of attitude may be seen to emerge in narrative contexts where the subtle embedding of gender-based notions by the exegetes reveals more deep-seated attitudes. In elaborating the story of Joseph as told in Q. 12:31, exegetes were concerned as to why the women whom the wife of Joseph's master in Egypt invited to a banquet cut themselves with the knives they were given. Glossing the word *akbarnahu*, usually taken to mean "they exalted him," some traditions found in the works of al-Suyūṭī and al-Ṭabarī in dealing with this passage provide the meaning "they menstruated" or "they ejaculated." Reflected here is a basic understanding of women as lacking in physical control of their bodies which is then linked to desire and sexual functioning.

Another way of approaching this question of women and gender in the Qurʾān and *tafsīr* is possible and it has been followed by many scholars in their work. The examination of significant female characters as they are treated by exegetes in terms of what they provide as exemplars of "women" as a category has been a productive line of investigation. The biblical figures of Eve and Mary provide the ideal focal points for attention in the Muslim tradition, just as they do in the Jewish and Christian traditions.

The influence of the biblical tradition on the Muslim exegetes in their reading of the narratives of Adam and Eve has often been remarked. For example, the notion that Eve was responsible for tempting Adam to eat from the forbidden tree is not explicitly stated in the Qurʾān and the text is open to other interpretations (for example Q. 2:35–6, 7:19–22). However, the *tafsīr* tradition stands in the line of earlier Jewish and Christian interpretation by making Eve responsible while, at the same time, not wanting to picture Adam as innocent either. For al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035), it was Eve who ate of the tree first and then urged Adam to do likewise. Wine was the vehicle by which Eve lowered Adam's rational faculties in order to tempt him according to a tradition found in many exegetical works including those of al-Ṭabarī, al-Thaʿlabī, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209). In that conception, the notion of the male as the repository of rationality and woman as inferior and lacking in moral responsibility was inherent. The sense



in which Eve, as “woman,” is responsible for the exile from the garden of paradise is strong, therefore, with all its repercussions in the law as it has been set out by God in Islam and in the relations between men and women in Muslim society.

Mary, the mother of Jesus, is the only woman provided with a name in the Qur'ān and her story is central within the development of the Jesus narratives. For the Qur'ān, Mary is an “example to the believers” according to Q. 43:57 because of her faith and her guarding of her chastity. While the aim of the attention in the Qur'ān and the *tafsīr* tradition is to assert the humanity of Jesus and his mother against Christian claims, certain aspects of Mary's life act as an ideal do draw the exegetes' attention. Mary was exceptional as a woman (the “chosen of all women” according to Q. 3:42) and thus not necessarily to be taken as model for all other women while, at the same time, she provides an image of absolute purity and devotion. Whether she should be considered a prophet was a topic of substantial debate among the exegetes in dealing with Q. 3:42: al-Rāzī argues strenuously that a woman cannot be a prophet while al-Qurṭubī (d. 671/1273) argues that the evidence of her being given revelation (*wahy*) suggests that she was. The purity given by God to Mary was exceptional, given that she was a woman and thus not normally suitable for consecrated status within a temple as the Qur'ānic narrative suggests. The implication of this status is seen by al-Rāzī to be the necessary absence of menstruation in Mary which is also linked to her sinlessness.

The women prominent in the life of Muḥammad—especially his daughter Fāṭima and his wives Khadija and 'Ā'isha— all garner significant attention in later Muslim tradition. However, their undifferentiated and minimal presence in the Qur'ān means that the exegetical tradition has limited occasion to focus on them with the exception of specific contexts (such as Fāṭima's role within Shī'ism). However, the role of 'Ā'isha as a reliable source of information on the interpretation of the Qur'ān is noteworthy in this regard: her status as a woman does not seem to have influenced the assessment of her, at least among Sunnī Muslims. Of course, 'Ā'isha is also a locus of controversy regarding the accusation of adultery which gets debated at length by the exegetes in dealing with Q. 24:11–20 (and complicated by Sunnī–Shī'ī polemic) but her intelligence and memory were attributes which were emphasized to vouchsafe her authority.

Thus, buried within the *tafsīr* tradition are the attitudes and approaches of the male intellectual elite of the classical period. The exegetes do not see the Qur'ān as providing a major challenge on

the topic of women and gender to the society they see around them (as compared, for example, to the perceived threat of *shirk*, polytheism, or the need to understand and implement the law fully). The Qur'ān provides a sufficient number of pegs through which they can enunciate their conceptualizations of women, both real and ideal. But underlying the entire approach is a full acceptance of women as members of the Islamic community, as rightful partners in the hereafter promised by God, and as having the duties and responsibilities demanded by the will of God for all human beings.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Muqatīl b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, 5 vols., repr. Beirut 2002.  
 al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān*, 20 vols., Cairo 1935–6.  
 al-Rāzī, *Mafātīh al-ghayb. al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 14 vols., Beirut n.d.  
 al-Sijistānī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb fī gharīb al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1983.  
 al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr fī tafsīr bi al-ma'thūr*, 6 vols., Beirut n.d.  
 al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān*, 30 vols., repr. Beirut 1989.  
 al-Tha'labī, *'Arā'is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo, n.d.; trans. and annotated W. M. Brinner, *'Arā'is al-majālis fī qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, or *Lives of the prophets as recounted by Abū Ishāq Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Tha'labī*, Leiden 2002.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- M. J. Al-Faruqī, Women's self identity in the Qur'an and Islamic law, in G. Webb (ed.), *Windows of faith. Muslim women scholar-activists in North America*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2000, 72–101.  
 M. Ayoub, *The Qur'an and its interpreters*, 2 vols., Albany, N.Y. 1984–92. [A useful introduction to *tafsīr* and a collection of translated sections from the main works, organized to follow the text of the Qur'ān.]  
 M. Holmes Katz, *Body of text. The emergence of the Sunnī law of ritual purity*, Albany, N.Y. 2002.  
 J. Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba. Boundaries of gender and culture in postbiblical Judaism and medieval Islam*, Chicago 1993. [An analysis of al-Tha'labī's elaboration of the story of Solomon and Bilqīs.]  
 J. D. McAuliffe, Chosen of all women. Mary and Fāṭima in Qur'ānic exegesis, in *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981), 19–28.  
 F. Mernissi, *Le harem politique. Le prophète et les femmes*, Paris 1987; trans. M. J. Lakeland, *Women and Islam. An historical and theological enquiry*, Oxford 1991; trans. M. J. Lakeland, *The veil and the male elite. A feminist interpretation of women's rights in Islam*, Reading, Mass. 1991.  
 J. I. Smith and Y. Y. Haddad, Eve. The Islamic vision of woman, in *Women's Studies International Forum* 5 (1982), 135–44.  
 —, The Virgin Mary in Islamic tradition and commentary, in *Muslim World* 79 (1989), 161–87.  
 D. A. Spellberg, *Politics, gender, and the Islamic past. The legacy of 'Ā'isha bint Abi Bakr*, New York 1994.  
 B. F. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, tradition, and interpretation*, New York 1994.

# Religious Practices: Ablution, Purification, Prayer, Fasting, and Piety

## Central Asia

In Central Asia, *otnae* (women spiritual teachers) occupied an important place in teaching the Islamic faith to young girls and women. In the past and today as well, parents sent their daughters at age eight and up to *otnae* to study how to pray. Girls born in religious families, however, would start to pray at age five and learn from their parents without going to *otnae*, even though their mothers were not necessarily *otnae*. Until recently, girls in Central Asia were taught ablution and prayer at the home of the *otnae*. Nowadays some of this education takes place in the mosque, at the students' lodging or *hujra*, or at a special prayer school.

*Otnae* usually inherited this title from their mothers as a *kasb* (profession) or as a result of learning from their husbands, who usually were well-respected ulema or *kazis* (judges) in cities. In Central Asia, there is still one famous *kazi* family that produced several renowned *otnae* – Araphat, Mariam, Rabia, and others. They were not paid for teaching because they were very well off.

An *otnae* first tells girls how to perform an ablution, and then demonstrates. She asks the girls to write down and repeat what she has told them. She tells the girls that a Muslim should properly perform purification or ablution before going to pray. First, before the ablution, she needs to recite the *bismillāh* and a short *sūra* from the Qur'ān each prayer time. Then she should wash her hands, including both wrists, with water, wash and clean her teeth and mouth, sniff water into her nose and eject it, wash her face, wipe her forehead with wet fingers, wash her hands and arms including the elbows, and wash her feet and ankles. Women in Central Asia tend to believe this is precisely as stated in the Qur'ān, but also as interpreted by Imam Bukhari as well as by Imam Termesi. The books on *ṭabarāt* (ablution) were widely circulated in the past among *otnae* women. They always tried to understand and follow the correct path in order to be pious Muslims. *Otnae* instructed their students to remember the reasons for the ablutions – to seek God's love, to show respect for God, to seek the true path, to refrain from bad thoughts and actions (including laziness, lying, and thinking about sexual matters),

to be humble, to think positively about people, and to remember that women as well as men should fear God and no one else.

*Namaz* (prayer) among Central Asian women is a private ritual. It represents acknowledgment by women of their weaknesses and limited power, and their dependence on God. Women and girls learn the proper way to pray from *otnae*, so *otnae* play a key role in how women pray. Usually women in Central Asia pray at home alone in separate rooms. No men are allowed to enter while they pray. Women try to pray five times a day, except when they cannot for reasons of health or prohibition (for example while menstruating). There are cases of women who continued to pray even when they lost their legs; they would just pray sitting, and in this way show devotion to God. Central Asia women believe that if they pray five times a day, God forgives their sins. The concept of God's forgiveness, as stated by Imam Bukhari, is accepted by Central Asian women. According to Central Asian *otnae*, praying helps a woman to attain moral strength and act righteously as ordained in the Qur'ān, and reveals true equality, unity, and familiarity among men and women. Central Asian women hold that even though men and women pray separately, they pray in the same manner. All the actions of the prayer apply equally to men and women. There is nothing in the Qur'ān making woman an exception. Aside from the dress code, women do not differ from men in the way they pray.

*Ruza* (fasting) is a critical part of the expression of faith among Central Asian women. They believe firmly that fasting provides an occasion to think about their spiritual lives. They teach their daughters that through fasting they experience the nature of hunger, poverty, loneliness, and discomfort, and prepare themselves to meet life's challenges. Some pious Muslim women, in addition to keeping the obligatory fast during the month of Ramadan, engage in additional optional fasts, particularly when they are in trouble. It is thought that prayers offered during fasting are more effective. Some people keep extra fasts to ward off trouble, but some do it only for the sake of winning Allah's special favor. If a pregnant woman nearing childbirth or the child of a nursing mother suffers from fasting,

they must break their fasts because it is not permissible to fast if it does harm. Central Asian women agree that if harm is feared for the child, the woman is to perform *qadā'* (compensate for missed days of fasting later) as well as give *fidya* (charitable donation). If harm is feared only for the woman's own person, some say she is obligated to perform *qadā'* but not to give *fidya*, and others say she is bound to do both.

According to Central Asian women, piety is of the essence, for both men and women. It implies consciousness of God. Muslims should always act righteously for they are accountable to Allah for all their earthly deeds. Men and women are the vice-regents of Allah on earth; they have imbibed the divine spirit, whatever their physical form. Consequently they must make a conscious effort to strike a balance between the physical and the spiritual. Human beings possess angelic qualities, but they cannot rise to the status of angels; they have animal instincts as well, but they should not enslave themselves to their animal desires and behave wildly and shamelessly. Whether a person faces east or west during worship is immaterial. True piety, they believe, consists of this: believing in God and in his final judgment; believing in his angels, in the Book and in the prophets; giving wealth for the sake of God to relatives, to orphans, to the needy, to wayfarers, and to strangers; ransoming slaves; attending prayers and paying *zakāt* (poor-rate); being true to promises; and being steadfast in times of distress, adversity, and war. Those who show true piety are genuine in their faith. They honor God.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Z. Babakhanov, The tradition of hadith and famous Central Asian theologians, in *The study of the history, history of science, and culture of the Central Asians* [in Russian], Tashkent 1993, 129–60.
- B. E. Majov, A. A. Divavev, H. B. Dmitrovskiy, and A. A. Semenov, *Essays and research articles about Turkestan and the Turkestan region* [in Russian], 6 vols., 1936.
- A. Nasirova, *Rules on how to clean and wash before prayer and praying for women* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1994.
- , *Fasting* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1996.

OIDINPOSHA IMAMKHODJAEVA

### The Gulf

In the Arab Gulf countries, cultural norms regarding women's expressions of piety are guided by the principle that Islam requires the same fundamental duties of both women and men. However, certain biological characteristics unique to women, in particular their menstrual cycle and the physi-

cal requirements of childbirth and breastfeeding, inflect the way that women fulfill their religious duties of ablution and purification, prayer, and fasting. In addition, cultural and religious norms regarding women's use of public space influence the places where women pray.

A believing and practicing Muslim is expected to pray five times daily. A Muslim may perform additional daily prayers, or additional prostrations within these prayers, in accordance with her desire to become closer to God, to manifest to God and others her devotion, or to privately seek relief for a troubled soul. Similarly, pious Muslim men and women may voluntarily fast additional days of the year.

Gulf men pray the five daily prayers communally whenever possible. It is an act that shows not only submission to God but that unites Muslims in a community. Gulf women, on the other hand, are encouraged to pray in their homes, in accordance with the belief that a woman should not be away from her family or in the street more than necessary. Thus Gulf women do not pray at the mosque nearly as often as men do. But every mosque has a separate space for women to perform their ablutions and pray, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Gulf women can almost always be found praying in the mosque at any given prayer time. Often these are women who are traveling or out shopping when prayer time comes, especially in Saudi Arabia, where the government mandates that all shops and businesses close during prayer times.

While men often pray in small groups in public spaces outside the mosque (such as in their offices or their shops), women do not pray in such public places, as the body postures entailed in the prostrations of prayer are considered to be sexually tempting to men and thus inappropriate in public. Thus women who pray while out of the home seek a mosque or designated prayer space that gives women privacy from the gaze of men. In the Gulf, most public spaces where women go, such as schools, markets and shopping malls, airports, hospitals, and amusement parks, have mosques or designated prayer areas for both men and women.

The time that Gulf women are most likely to pray at a mosque is the Friday prayer. A minority of women attend Friday prayers at the mosque and listen to the sermon (*khutba*). In densely populated areas, the mosque loudspeakers broadcast the Friday sermon loudly enough that most people can hear it from their home, so the fact that some women still decide to listen to the sermon at the mosque rather than from the balcony of their home also speaks to the social function of Friday prayer

in providing opportunities for women to gather together regularly outside their homes. But in the last quarter of the twentieth century, technology and oil wealth transformed women's Friday mosque attendance. Sermons from Mecca and Medina are now broadcast on local television and satellite at the time of Friday prayers. The influx of oil wealth has enabled many urban families to build large homes on plots of land on the outskirts of towns, where the new residences may be at some distance from local mosques. Together with cultural traditions of female seclusion, these two changes encourage upper- and middle-class women to stay at home to pray and listen to a televised sermon rather than attending Friday prayers at a local mosque.

This remote participation in religious rituals has some broader effects on both religious belief and community. Sermons broadcast from Mecca and Medina help to spread more centralized, state-condoned interpretations of Islam. They may also lessen women's links to local social networks. There are some efforts to counteract this centralizing trend: in some neighborhoods, local mosques circulate flyers advertising the subject of upcoming Friday sermons, to encourage men and women to attend. The increased emphasis on women acquiring their own religious knowledge in Gulf countries means that Gulf women are increasingly equipped to assert their right to pray in the mosque, even if local tradition or family custom emphasizes female seclusion.

Aside from this gendered use of public space, the other chief way that Gulf women's and men's expressions of piety differ has to do with menstruation and childbearing. Pregnant and breastfeeding women are not required to fast, in consideration of the physical burden that is entailed. Menstruation is considered a polluting state and a menstruating woman does not pray, fast, or perform ablutions. Women who thus miss fasting days during Ramadan fast to make up missed days at any other time of the year of their choosing. However, Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) distinguishes between menstrual blood and other vaginal bleeding: if a woman experiences bleeding outside the normal time of her period or bleeding that lasts longer than a week, she can resume praying and fasting.

Ablutions for both men and women involve washing hands, feet, and faces, and rinsing out the mouth and nostrils before praying. This must be repeated before each prayer unless nothing has defiled an individual's state of ritual purity since the last time they performed their ablutions. Acts which defile range from speaking ill of others to sexual contact with a man to defecating or even passing

gas. It is important to distinguish this process of ritual purification (*wudu'*) from that of washing for the sake of cleanliness or beautification (Kanafani 1983). The water used for ablutions must be religiously pure (*tāhir*), which means it should be running water and should not contain additives such as scents or even soap. Pious women often avoid wearing make-up on a daily basis since it has to be reapplied after each ablution washes it off. Further, nail polish constitutes a barrier between the water and the person and must be removed before ablutions and prayer. Many women thus only wear nail polish during the week of their period, and when nail polish is worn by a Gulf woman other than for some special event (such as a wedding party), this conveys to others either that she is menstruating or that she does not pray regularly. Thus piety is constructed and enacted through bodily practices (Meneley 1996).

Other manifestations of piety (*'ibādāt*) include memorizing and reading the Qur'ān, giving alms (*sadaqa*) to the poor, visiting the sick, attending funerals, and other voluntary, uncompensated acts of service toward others. Such acts are enjoined upon both men and women. Other acts are specifically expected of pious women but not men. These include obeying one's husband, guarding modesty by wearing *hijāb*, and keeping one's voice low.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Abu Saud, *Qatari women, past and present*, London 1984.
- S. Altorki, *Women in Saudi Arabia. Ideology and behavior among the elite*, New York 1986.
- E. A. Doumato, *Getting God's ear. Women, Islam and healing in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf*, New York 2000.
- C. Eickelman, *Women and community in Oman*, New York 1984.
- A. S. Kanafani, *Aesthetics and ritual in the United Arab Emirates. The anthropology of food and personal adornment among Arabian women*, Beirut 1983.
- A. Meneley, *Tournaments of value. Sociability and hierarchy in a Yemeni town*, Toronto 1996.
- C. Nelson, Public and private politics. Women in the Middle Eastern world, in *American Ethnologist* 3 (1974), 551-63.
- U. Wikan, *Behind the veil in Arabia. Women in Oman*, Baltimore 1982.
- M. Yamani, *Changed identities. The challenge of the new generation in Saudi Arabia*, London 2000.

LISA WYNN

#### Iran

Since the early 1970s, ethnographic studies addressing Muslim women in Iran have demonstrated that they engaged in a variety of private

and public ritual practices. In urban environments these activities include formalized prayer and commemoration gatherings, such as *rawza khvānī* (congregation for mourning), and pilgrimage to local shrines (Betteridge 1985, 1989, 1993). Village women have few possibilities of receiving religious instruction and engage in communal religious activity (Friedl 1989). Marginalized in the gender-segregated settings of mosques, and prevented from attending during menstruation, women do not give priority to attending mosque ceremonies. Neglect of religious duty often results in moral conflicts, although prayers are performed in the privacy of the home. Many women have found it rewarding to attend outdoor ceremonies commemorating Imām Ḥusayn during Muḥarram. Women can watch male-dominated religious processions and passion plays (*taʿziyya*), the interactive nature of which makes spectatorship a pious, meritorious act (*thavāb*), and induces blessing (*tabarruk*).

After the 1979 Revolution and the subsequent Islamization of society, it became legitimate for women to participate in public ritual activities and pursue religious education. Like men, women attend mourning meetings (*rawza khvānī*, *mātām*), and celebrate saints' birthdays (*mawlūdī*). Women's rituals are autonomous, and women act as hosts, leaders, assistants, lay participants, and economic supporters (Kamalkhani 1993, 1997, Kalinock 2003, Torab 1996, 1998, 2002, 2005, Flaskerud 2003, 2004, 2005). A common pious expression is the making of a vow (*naḍr kardān*), in which a person asks a saint to act as a mediator in front of God to secure help in matters of health, employment, education, marriage, and salvation in the afterlife. If help is granted, the votary must present an offering. Typically, this is a meal (*sufra*) held in honor of Abu al-Faḍl ʿAbbās, an outfit for religious ceremonies, a donation to charity, or a pilgrimage to the benefactor's shrine. Although women can act independently in such matters of piety, many are dependent on their husband's means to fulfill a vow. Before and after the revolution the practices of vowing have been criticized by men, and by women of orthodox leaning, for being superstitious and materialistic. However, the piety of both men and women may be oriented toward the belief in the intermediary power of saints, and men may use women to forward their vow to a saint (Torab 2005) and seek a female relative's guidance in matters of pious conduct (Kamalkhani 1998). Women's ability to communicate with saints is regarded as the same as men's, and may contribute to the empowerment of women. After the revolution, prayer meetings

(*jalasāt*) have become widespread. Women meet to discuss social and political issues, recite from the Qurʾān, and receive instructions on the fast, obligatory prayer, compensation prayers, alms, ablution, purity and impurity, and merciful acts (Kamalkhani 1993, Torab 1996). Menstruation, pregnancy, and childbirth are considered legitimate reasons for not performing ritual prayers. Nevertheless, women are expected to perform compensatory prayers at another time (Kamalkhani 1997). In addition, some women perceive piousness as a state of mind, as ethics, as a model for social action, expressed in good conduct and right intention (Torab 1998).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Betteridge, Ziarat. Pilgrimage to the shrines of Shiraz, Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago 1985.
- , The controversial vows of urban Muslim women in Iran, in N. A. Falk and R. M. Gross (eds.), *Unspoken worlds. Women's religious lives*, Belmont, Calif. 1989, 102–11.
- , Women and shrines in Shiraz, in D. L. Bowen and E. A. Early (eds.), *Everyday life in the Muslim Middle East*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993, 239–47.
- I. Flaskerud, *Standard-bearers of Hussein. Women commemorating Karbala*, DVD 35 mins., Tromsø 2003.
- , Shia-Muslim women as ritual performers in Iran, in I. Mæhle and I. M. Okkenhaug (eds.), *Women and religion in the Middle East and the Mediterranean*, Oslo 2004, 115–34.
- , Oh, my heart is sad. It is Moharram, the month of Zaynab. Aesthetics and women's mourning ceremonies in Shiraz, in K. S. Aghaie (ed.), *The women of Karbala. Gender dynamics of ritual performances and symbolic discourses of modern Shi'i Islam*, Austin, Tex. 2005, 65–91.
- E. Friedl, Islam and tribal women in a village in Iran, in N. A. Falk and R. M. Gross (eds.), *Unspoken worlds. Women's religious lives*, Belmont, Calif. 1989, 125–33.
- S. Kalinock, Supernatural intercession to earthly problems. Sofre rituals among Shiite Muslims and Zoroastrian women in Iran, in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian rituals in context*, Leiden 2003, 173–87.
- , Between party and devotion. Mowludi of Teheran women, in *Critique. Critical Middle Eastern Studies* 12:2 (2003), 173–87.
- Z. Kamalkhani, Women's everyday religious discourse in Iran, in H. Afshar (ed.), *Women in the Middle East. Perceptions, realities and struggles for liberation*, London 1993, 85–95.
- , *Women's Islam. Religious practices among women in today's Iran*, London 1997.
- A. Torab, Piety as gendered agency. A study of jaleseh ritual discourse in an urban neighbourhood in Iran, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 2:2 (1996), 235–52.
- , Neighbourhoods of piety. Gender and ritual in south Teheran, Ph.D. dissertation, University of London 1998.
- , The politicization of women's religious circles in post-revolutionary Iran, in S. Ansari and V. Martin (eds.), *Women, religion and culture in Iran*, Richmond, Surrey 2002, 139–64.

— Vows, mediumship and gender. Women's votive meals in Iran, in I. M. Okkenhaug and I. Flakerud (eds.), *Gender, religion and change in the Middle East*, Oxford 2005, 207–22.

INGVILD FLASKERUD

## North Africa

How do North African Muslim women enact themselves as believers and persons of piety? Like Muslim men, they can do so by fulfilling the five main religious obligations: the profession of faith, prayer five times a day, alms giving, fasting, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. An analysis of how women deal with these pillars of Islam shows that gendered notions and practices, in particular those concerning purity, life stage roles, and the division of labor, impact on how North African women can express their religiosity and how this affects their position as believers.

The performance of any religious act requires purity. Both sexes can reach a pure state by performing a small or large ablution to free themselves from the impurity caused by bodily excretions, in particular sexual fluids. Women's biological make-up, their socially assigned tasks, and gendered spatial rules, however, make it more difficult for them than for men to reach the purity needed to make their religious acts valid and to enjoy divine protection as believers.

Young mothers often abstain from praying because they find it too difficult to maintain purity. Menstruation, childbirth, and post-partum lochia make women more often impure than men. Also their task as primary caretaker frequently brings them into contact with impure substances such as feces, blood, or vomit produced by small children or sick people. Moreover, their duty as obedient sexual partner gives them less control over their purity. For the major ablution (*ghusl*) after the sexual act, nocturnal emissions, menstruation, or childbirth, most North African women depend on the public bathhouse (*hammām*). Visits to the public baths remain popular for religious and social reasons, although Muslim Sisters in Moroccan towns now seek out public showers with private cabins or modern bathhouses with secluded corners because they disapprove of the public nudity of bathing women (Graïouid 2004, Buitelaar 1998). The financial and time costs and the limited freedom of many women to move in public spaces, however, inhibit frequent visits to the public bath and thus the permanent maintenance of purity. Moreover, people consider frequent washing by women not

as a sign of piety but of excessive sexual activity. Algerian women therefore feel ashamed to visit the bathhouse too often, or even to be seen with water for the ablution by their father-in-law (Jansen 1987, 43–61), while Moroccan women often avoid the term *hammām* and simply say that they are “out to run an errand” (Graïouid 2004, 106). Instead of praying, many young mothers show their good religious intention (*nīya*) by promises that they will pray later, and in the meantime express their piety by proper conduct and veiling, and cultivating feminine virtues such as modesty and patience (Davis 1983).

Post-menopausal women, who are more concerned with their afterlife and less constrained by their sexual and caring duties, pray more often. Yet, this may conflict with their obligations of being supportive and hospitable toward younger women and their children. At times, visiting toddlers who are not yet toilet trained are quickly returned to their mothers with the excuse that the hostess is praying. Some elderly women pray in the women's section of the mosque, but normally women prefer to say the prayers at home. When living near the mosque, they might open the window to hear the Friday sermon, or else follow one on television.

Until the Islamic revival in the late twentieth century, girls usually did not pray regularly. But nowadays many take religion seriously and often convince their mothers and other family members to pray with them. The most active young women follow female prayer groups in the mosques and consciously try to lead a religious life also after marriage (Mahmood 2004). Carøe Christiansen (1999) showed how young Islamist women in Fez manifested their faith in the control of the body, by organizing their time, working diligently, attending to conduct and clothing, controlling their sexuality, offering prayers that are punctual, correct, and supplementary, or fasting surplus to obligatory fasting. For these women, faith in Islam of necessity is its practice.

The fast is widely followed by North African women. Even those who do not normally manage to pray do insist on not eating between sunrise and sunset during Ramadan. This is extra hard for women as, unlike men, they spend long hours in the kitchen to prepare the elaborate fast-breaking meal. Moreover, as role models for their children when teaching them abstinence, they cannot afford to be lax themselves (Buitelaar 1993). During Ramadan, bathhouses usually stay open all night so that people can perform the ablution before the sun rises. Women may sleep separately or avoid having sex in order not to invalidate the fast by pollution.

When they menstruate, they have to make up for the missed days later. Fasting outside Ramadan, however, is considered extra difficult. Religious merit (*ajr*) can be gained by fasting more than the necessary days, saying more prayers than required, making extra visits to the graveyard, giving more than generous alms, or doing good deeds for others. Especially elderly women work toward gaining such extra religious merit (Jansen 2004).

Mostly older women make the pilgrimage to Mecca. It brings them the status of *hajja*, a woman whose piety and purity is symbolized in her white dress. Their age, experience, and pure status make them sought after for performing the final ablution on the dead, in itself a pious act that brings religious merit. Among the Algerian Ibadites the purifying of the dead enabled some women to gain an influential religious position (Goichon 1927, Jansen 1987). Yet nowadays, more and more younger women may join their family members in going to Mecca. In the Maghrib, small pilgrimages to local saints and participation in Sufi rituals to obtain blessing (*baraka*) and to seek spiritual support in situations of illness, death, or psychological frustration are very common (Dwyer 1978, Fernea and Fernea 1972, Jansen 1987, Mernissi 1977, Rausch 2000).

Giving the obligatory alms at the end of Ramadan is seen as a duty of the male head of household, but women frequently give alms to beggars or share food with others as religious intention. Women's profession of faith, learned young from parents or in Qur'an school, is not sufficient to warrant a woman's religious autonomy. Her faith is decided upon by her father and husband, as can be seen in the rule that a Muslim woman, unlike a Muslim man, cannot marry a Christian or a Jew. As a woman, she has to follow her husband, even in faith.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Buitelaar, *Fasting and feasting in Morocco. Women's participation in Ramadan*, London 1993.
- , Public baths as private places, in K. Ask and M. Tjomsland (eds.), *Women and Islamization. Contemporary dimensions of discourse and gender relations*, Oxford 1998, 103–23.
- C. Carøe Christiansen, Self and social process in women's Islamic activism, Ph.D. diss., University of Copenhagen 1999.
- S. Davis, *Patience and power. Women's lives in a Moroccan village*, Cambridge, Mass. 1983.
- D. H. Dwyer, Women, Sufism, and decision-making in Moroccan Islam, in L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, 585–98.
- R. A. Fernea and E. W. Fernea, Variation in religious observance among Islamic women, in N. R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints and Sufis. Muslim religious insti-*

*tutions in the Middle East since 1500*, Berkeley 1972, 385–401.

- A. M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, 2 vols., Paris 1927–31.
- S. Graiouid, Communication and the social production of space. The hammam, the public sphere and Moroccan women, in *Journal of North African Studies* 9 (2004), 104–30.
- W. Jansen, *Women without men. Gender and marginality in an Algerian town*, Leiden 1987.
- , The economy of religious merit. Women and *ajr* in Algeria, in *Journal of North African Studies* 9 (2004), 1–17.
- S. Mahmood, *Politics of piety. The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton, N.J. 2005.
- F. Mernissi, Women, saints, and sanctuaries, in *Signs. Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 3:1 (1977), 101–12.
- M. Rausch, *Bodies, boundaries and spirit possession. Moroccan women and the revision of tradition*, Bielefeld 2000.

WILLY JANSEN

## South Asia

### INTRODUCTION

Rituals and beliefs concerning notions of purity and piety in South Asian Islam have undoubtedly been influenced by the indigenous environment in which they arose, but they are also increasingly shaped by the idea of a universal, global Islam guided by the *sunna* (practice) of the Prophet Muḥammad and the precepts of Islamic Shari'a. For instance, it is possible to speak of convergences between Hindu and Muslim (as well as Sikh, Christian, and Buddhist) beliefs in the connection between endogamous marriage practices and the purity of one's bloodline (Jacobsen 1970), or the ability of certain sacred sites and objects, such as bodies of water, shrines, or the personal items of deceased and living saints, to confer ritual purity upon those who come into physical contact with them. Similarly, the observance of fasts and certain kinds of prayers by women of Hindu, Muslim, and other religiously-defined communities in the subcontinent share some common references to notions of purity, especially as they are performed in connection with vows to a righteous or holy personage, or to give protection or blessing to a living or deceased individual. Particularly since the latter half of the nineteenth century, such performances have been contested sites of piety among Muslims. Prevalent opinions about the connections between Islamic observances and female piety – articulated in ways that suggest an “ideal” of Muslim womanhood – emerge from the many popular Islamic texts for women that have been published in the last century. While there is a wide divergence in their

approaches, most articulate a “normative” blueprint of pious Islamic womanhood as measured against local customary beliefs and practices.

PRAYER, PURITY, AND THE SACRED:  
ISLAMIC OBSERVANCES IN THEIR  
LOCAL ENVIRONMENTS

The notion of caste (*jati*) among South Asian Muslims has been amply documented (for example Ahmed 1973, Anwar 2001, Alam 2003, Satvani 2005). However, while caste-like features may be observed in terms of marriage practices, occupational titles, reservations in political and educational institutions, and discriminatory practices against Muslims of the lower social strata, caste among Muslims, unlike among Hindus, has no religious sanction. Thus, Islam in its South Asian environment does not share the same caste-based concepts of purity and impurity as seen in Hinduism. Nonetheless, there are several underlying values as well as expiatory practices attached to ideas of purity and impurity that are shared among Muslims and Hindus in the subcontinent. For instance, childbirth, miscarriage, and menstruation are considered times of pollution. While Muslim women are discouraged from handling the Qurʾān, visiting sacred sites, and (in some cases) performing the daily prayers, they do maintain important ritual observances during these periods of pollution. For instance, in Bengal, protection from evil influences for the mother and newborn child (whether Hindu or Muslim) is achieved by a series of actions such as the burial of the placenta along with a series of food objects in a new clay pot, fastening amulets and other protective objects (such as an iron bangle or a piece of fisherman’s net) to the child’s body, and feeding the mother restorative substances such as *jhal*, a spicy mixture. Many Muslim women across the subcontinent also observe a 40-day period of pollution (*chhati*) during which they have limited (or no) contact with the outside world, and after which the mother undertakes a purificatory bath and a *maulvi* or other ritual specialist comes to recite the *fatīha* prayer (Fruzzetti 1984). Other particularities of local ritual practices connected with these times of impurity have also been documented (Metcalf 1990, Jacobson 1970, Sharif 1921).

Pilgrimage to saints’ shrines, and performing fasts and vows in the name of the *panjatan pak*, or five “pure ones” – the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn – or in the name of saints, continue to be important practices for many Muslim women. Often, fasts and vows are undertaken in conjunction with specific requests,

as for a child (usually male), but other reasons are also cited: acquiring blessings for one’s husband, children, or family, strengthening community relationships and sectarian affiliations, and acquiring religious merit (Ghadially 2003). This latter reason is especially true of the reading of *muʿjizat khānis* (miracle stories) among Shīʿīs. These performances, also connected with fasting and the taking of vows, bear similarities to Hindu *vrats* (Schubel 1993). While these ritual occasions are usually associated with domestic rites, among Shīʿī groups the fasting and vow-taking, performed in conjunction with other ritual events, are often carried out in public celebrations.

REFORMIST IDEALS: BETWEEN FAITH  
AND PRACTICE

There are a number of contemporary popular publications that focus on purity, piety, and Muslim women’s behavior in the modern world. Many of these are manuals of faith that outline the basic ritual obligations (*wājib*, *al-fard*) and thus include detailed instructions on purifying oneself after coming into contact with polluting or impure substances (*najāsa*). Others target women specifically as objects of reform, linking women’s religious observance, speech, dress, and behavior toward others (particularly unrelated men) with the cultivation of virtue, compassion, benevolence, and purity (*zakawāt*). These discussions of the transformative power of ritual and everyday behavior sometimes suggest the influence of Sufi ideas about the perfection of the soul (Anis and Yunus 1914). Elsewhere, the language is designed to draw definitive boundaries between Islamic and non-Islamic traditions in the subcontinent, equating the adherence to Sharīʿa-based norms of Islamic belief and practice with purity of faith, soul, and mind (Aʿzami 1977, Ansari n.d.). Drawing upon discourses of reform and revival from recent and earlier Islamic history, the authors of these texts sometimes address women as the main perpetrators of un-Islamic beliefs and practices, drawing parallels between women’s virtue (or lack thereof), purity, and the fortunes of Islam in the subcontinent.

State-sanctioned campaigns for the reform (*iṣlah*) of women, as in the case of the Islamization campaigns initiated by General Zia ul-Haq in Pakistan in the late 1970s, and present campaigns seen in Bangladesh, draw upon Islamic discourses to win the support of an increasingly influential Islamic lobby. Within such discourses the language of piety and domesticity as virtue, emphasizing female knowledge of Islam, and praise of traditional roles of wife and mother, have been effectively



marshaled to justify the “rehabilitation” of women, while the denunciation of Western societies, and their allowance of free mixing of the sexes, is used as justification for restricting women’s employment, education, and movement outside the home (Kabeer 1991).

#### CONCLUSION

Women’s polluted status during the time of their menstruation has sometimes served as an argument against women’s attendance at prayers in mosques, though increasing demands by Muslim women (and some men) for women-only mosques, or for accommodations for women in existing mosques, may help reconfigure prevalent notions of purity and pollution altogether. As more women become acquainted with the foundational sources of Islamic belief and practice, more assertive about their participation in a worldwide *umma*, and increasingly touched by reformist criticisms of customary beliefs and practices deemed antithetical to Islam, it is reasonable to assume a future decrease in the practice of many of the popular rituals intended to mitigate the pollution believed to adhere to women during childbirth and menstruation, as well as the beliefs surrounding the deleterious effects of entering sacred spaces during these times of impurity.

It is less likely, however, that increased mosque attendance by women will obviate other common beliefs and practices, such as those concerning the efficacy of fasting in connection with vows, and the spiritual power inherent in objects such as relics from the Prophet Muḥammad, *panjatan pak* (shrines), or items connected with living and deceased saints. Two reasons for this are the prevalence of similar beliefs and practices elsewhere in the Muslim world, including the Arab heartlands of Islam, and the ambivalence many Muslim reformers and revivalists have demonstrated toward these beliefs and practices.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Ahmad (ed.), *Caste and social stratification among the Muslims*, Delhi 1973.
- A. Alam, Democratization of Indian Muslims, in *Economic and Political Weekly* 38:46 (15 November 2003), 4881–5.
- M. Anis and M. Yunus (eds.), [Ashraf ‘Ali Thanawi’s] *The propagation of Bihishti zewar (complete)* [in Urdu], Delhi 1914.
- M. I. Ansari, *Muslim wives* [in Urdu], Delhi n.d.
- A. Anwar, *The struggle for equality. The background of Bihar’s backward Muslims* [in Urdu], Delhi 2001.
- A. M. A’zami, *Heavenly ornaments* [in Urdu], Lahore 1977.
- T. Blanchet, *Meanings and rituals of birth in rural Bangladesh*, Dhaka 1984.
- L. Fruzzetti, Muslim rituals. The household rites vs. the public festivals in rural India, in I. Ahmad (ed.), *Ritual*

*and religion among Muslims in India*, Delhi 1981, 91–112.

- R. Ghadially, A hajari (meal tray) for ‘Abbas Alam Dar. Women’s household ritual in a South Asian Muslim sect, in *Muslim World* 93:2 (April 2003), 309–21.
- D. Jacobson, Hidden faces. Hindu and Muslim purdah in a central Indian village, Ph.D. diss., Columbia University 1970.
- N. Kabeer, The quest for national identity. Women, Islam and the state in Bangladesh, in *Feminist Review* 37 (Spring 1991), 38–58.
- B. D. Metcalf, *Perfecting women. Maulana Ashraf ‘Ali Thanawi’s Bihishti zewar*, Los Angeles and Oxford 1990.
- P. L. Satyani, *Let us also live. The situation of the untouchables in Pakistan* [in Urdu], Lahore 2005.
- V. J. Schubel, *Religious performance in contemporary Islam. Shi’a devotional rituals in South Asia*, Columbia, S.C. 1993.
- J. Sharif, *Islam in India, or, The Qanun-i Islam*, trans. G. A. Herklots, new edn. rev. W. Crooke, London 1921.
- J. Vernon, *Religious performance in contemporary Islam. Shi’a devotional rituals in South Asia* Columbia, S.C. 1993, 35–70.
- Women in the mosque, in *Qalandar*, May 2004, <<http://www.islaminterfaith.org/may2004/issue-05-04.htm>>.

KELLY PEMBERTON

#### Southeast Asia

The question of gender has been discussed quite widely in contemporary Southeast Asian Muslim circles. There are many different perceptions of it and it is sometimes even considered to be a Western or strange concept imported into Muslim nations. Books about gender, however, have been translated and circulated extensively in Muslim countries and this, to a large extent, has brought about many changes and become a challenge and inspiration for a great number of Muslim intellectuals and thinkers. In Indonesia, for example, among the Nahdhatul Ulama (NU), the largest Islamic organization in the country, the topic of gender has been intensively and extensively discussed and debated since the early 1990s. Even the Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Indonesian ulama council), which also functions as an authoritative Islamic law deliberation board for the state, has recently issued a decision stating it is compulsory for Muslims to understand gender issues according to Islamic teachings and for Muslim scholars to study them without any bias or dishonesty in analysis and interpretation (Departemen Agama 2003, 285).

Studies about women in Southeast Asia have been much focused on the questions of their role in the public arena and their participation in economic, cultural, and educational developments. Women’s involvement in religious and ritual activities has been less studied or only observed partly in the

context of socio-anthropological analysis. Möller's (2005) study about fasting among Javanese Muslims and Siapno's (2004) description of the religious lives and ritual activities of Acehese women, however, prove the significance of the matter.

#### ISLAM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Southeast Asia is a region of diversities: it contains many different ethnic groups, nations, languages, and cultures. As Islam is believed to encompass all geographical and cultural boundaries, however, Muslim women of this region perceive themselves as sisters.

Differences of opinions and interpretations of Islamic teachings, nonetheless, have occurred over a great number of matters and problems in almost all aspects of life. In the case of ritual ceremonies and observations, many schools of thought have developed their own specific interpretations and codifications, which have resulted in the emergence of an enormous range of sources and literature about *fiqh* study. Thus, as the spread of Islam into different parts of the world was carried out by people of different Islamic schools of law, there is actually no universal, homogeneous unity in terms of ritual practices – as well as in other matters – among Muslims in different parts of the world. In the Southeast Asian region, most Muslims subscribe to the Shāfi'ī school of thought or *madhhab*. In many cases, this school of *fiqh* is considered moderate in the application of ritual practices compared with the other three major schools in Islam: Ḥanafī and Mālikī being more flexible and Ḥanbalī stricter (Farah 2003, 197).

Sources of religious learning are provided in books written largely in the Malay language and Arabic script. Many religious books of this sort are still studied by Muslim women in the rural areas of Southeast Asia. In Aceh, north Sumatra, *Jam' jawāmi' al-muṣannafāt*, written in the early twentieth century by Ismā'īl ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, an Acehese 'ālim, still serves as a source of guidance for ritual activities. However, in urban societies, new books and translations have replaced the old ones. But the messages they convey do not vary greatly. In higher education, though, particularly in Indonesia, Islamic liberal thinking (in the sense that it is not strictly focused on one *madhhab*) has been applied for decades, but in Malaysia and some other parts of Southeast Asia the case is just the reverse.

#### PURITY AND CLEANLINESS

Muslim women, like Muslim men, are expected always to maintain physical and spiritual clean-

ness, especially when they perform their ritual prayers. Spiritual cleanliness is considered the very foundation of 'ibāda (worshiping God); it is also called *ikhlāṣ* (sincere devotion) – men and women serve only God, direct their prayers to God alone, and hope for no reward or praise from anyone else. Therefore *nīya* (intention) is always stressed before any ritual activities. In terms of 'ibāda, *nīya* has a deeper meaning than mere intention; 'ibāda is considered invalid if it is performed without *nīya*. Thus, as some Islamic leaders have said, it is considered *sunna* (optional or preferable) to say *nīya* out loud before ritual prayer in order to confirm what is in one's heart.

Physical cleanliness requires that men and women keep their bodies and clothes and surroundings pure and clean, especially while they are performing ritual prayer. Thus women will perform *wuḍū'* (minor ritual ablution) if they are in the state of minor ritual impurity (such as having slept, broken wind, or gone to the toilet), and major ritual ablution (*ghuṣl*) if they are in the state of *janāba* (major ritual impurity, namely after having sexual intercourse or menstruation). They will also need to perform ablution (to be ritually pure) if they are going to touch a copy of the Holy Qur'ān or to perform *tawāf* (circumambulation of the Ka'ba). But reciting the Qur'ān and entering the mosque, except in a case of necessity, is only forbidden to those who are in a state of major ritual impurity.

Thus in every mosque or place of prayer, water and facilities for ablutions are provided. In rural areas of Southeast Asia a well and a basin are found near a mosque or a place of prayer. In the cities, the provision is more sophisticated, and facilities for women are provided in a separate place. As not many women are expected to come to the mosques in rural areas, mosques and places of prayer only provide general facilities that are not specifically assigned for males or females; should women wish to go to the mosque, they are expected to perform their ablutions at home.

#### PRAYER AND FASTING

Conducting prayer regularly and fasting during Ramadan are considered essential if women are to be known as good and pious Muslims. In any Muslim community in Southeast Asia, as in any Muslim communities in the world, ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) is observed five times a day: *ṣubḥ*, *ẓuhr*, 'aṣr, *maghrib*, and 'ishā'. These five prayers are held to be compulsory (*wājib*). Other prayers are considered optional, such as the night prayers (*ṣalāt al-tarāwīb*) during the month of Ramadan.

*Ṣalāt*, in most books of *fiqh*, is literally defined as *duʿāʾ*: prayer, supplication, or invocation of God. In prayer, Muslims recite verses of the Qurʾān, pray to God and appeal for His forgiveness, and praise and glorify His names. All recitations must be in Arabic, although the person praying may not know what he or she is reciting. In most cases in Southeast Asia, most women do not know the meaning of the entire *duʿāʾ* they pray in Arabic. All of them know the meaning of a few words, of course, but as this is not considered compulsory many women are not much concerned with the meaning of what they recite in the prayer, although they count it as important.

Men and women recite the same prayers, although there are slight differences between men and women in the manner of performing the prayer, especially in terms of collective or congregational prayer (*ṣalāt al-jamāʿa*). In collective prayer, there is a leader (*imām*) and followers (*maʾmūms*). If the leader or *imām* forgets something or makes a mistake, a male *maʾmūm* reminds him by reciting *ṣubḥāna Allāh*, while a woman indicates the same by clapping her hands. In congregational prayer, men stand in front with the women behind them. A man may lead prayers for men and women, while a woman may lead only women. Although a woman is allowed to lead prayer for female followers, she should soften her voice in reciting the verses of the Qurʾān so as not to attract the attention of men, should any be present.

Besides prayer, fasting in the month of Ramadan is also practiced with great enthusiasm by women in Muslim communities. Even the coming of the month is celebrated; pamphlets and *imsakiyahs* (schedules of prayer times and the times of starting and ending the fast) are disseminated, banners welcoming the month of Ramadan and reminders are hung in the streets or in front of buildings.

Muslim women fast during the days of Ramadan; they do not eat, drink, have sexual intercourse, or do anything else that invalidates their fasting from dawn until sunset. Fasting for them serves as a great *jihād*, a test and challenge of their discipline and self-endurance, an exercise to strengthen their spirituality and to conquer bodily and worldly temptations (Siapno 2004, 133–6).

What makes the fasting month special for women is their relationship with cooking and serving meals. In Southeast Asian communities, women take responsibility for the cooking and serving of meals for their families. Thus, during Ramadan they get up very early in the morning, before dawn, to prepare the meal for *saḥūr*, the last meal before the day of fasting. Again when *maghrib*, the time

for breaking the fast, is approaching, women will make themselves ready to cook and serve the meal for *iftār*, breaking the fast. Most women seem to enjoy this job as they express their feeling of pride if the food tastes perfect for the recipients; no complaint, says Möller (2005, 267), is heard from women about this.

As cleanliness is required in *ʿibāda*, menstruating women are not allowed to fast, but to compensate they should fast on other days after Ramadan when they are no longer in a state of major ritual impurity. Pregnant women and women who are breastfeeding have two options: fasting if they feel they are able or replacing it with *fiḍya*, giving food for the poor, one day's consumption to replace one fasting day. This is perhaps another way of testing their feelings of humanitarianism and sisterhood, knowing that one of the reasons for fasting is to feel in a direct way how suffering is endured by the poor.

#### THE RIGHTEOUS WOMEN

The status of women in Islam is actually believed to be equal to that of men, particularly in terms of observing their ritual activities. The Qurʾān (33: 35) is usually quoted to indicate that pious Muslim men and women are to be equally rewarded by God according to their deeds and honesty. In the public sphere in Southeast Asian communities, the presence of women is clear. They walk in the street, drive cars, and even enter the mosque. Many of them nowadays receive higher education and hold professional jobs. Some slight and insignificant technical variations in observing ritual activities do not bother them as these are perceived to be a necessity, as some differences between men and women are thought to be basically natural.

Most women start to cover their heads when they enter adulthood as this is believed to be the symbol of modesty. Some younger girls are instructed by their parents or religious teachers to train themselves to wear a head cover (in Indonesia usually called *jilbab*) and to learn how to behave as good and pious Muslims. They go to religious learning centers in the afternoon as well as going to school in the morning. In some villages, young girls spend their nights at the house of a religious teacher in order to study the Qurʾān and basic religious instructions.

Being a woman is religiously no less than being a man. Even though women are forbidden to perform ritual activities during menstruation, they are allowed to say prayers other than those contained in the Qurʾān. To avoid ritual prayer during menstruation is itself a kind of *ʿibāda* as the word itself

implies obedience to God. More than that, for a woman, the worth of being a mother is always highly respected and appreciated. No one would dare behave in ways that hurt their mother as the curse of mother is believed to result in severe and horrible consequences.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, *Jam' jawāmi' al-muṣannafāt*, Banda Aceh n.d.
- B. W. Andaya, *Other pasts. Women, gender and history in early modern Southeast Asia*, Honolulu 2000.
- Departemen Agama, *Compilation of legal opinions of the Indonesian Ulama Council* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2003.
- S. Errington, Recasting sex, gender, and power. A theoretical and regional overview, in J. M. Atkinson and S. Errington (eds.), *Power and difference. Gender in island Southeast Asia*, Stanford, Calif. 1990.
- C. E. Farah, *Islam*, New York 2003.
- Z. al-D. al-Malibārī, *Faḥ al-mu'īn*, Beirut 1997.
- A. Möller, *Ramadan in Java. An outsider's perspective* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2005.
- J. A. Siapno, *Gender, Islam, nationalism and the state in Aceh. The paradox of power, co-operation and resistance*, London 2004.

ZULKARNAINI ABDULLAH

## Turkey

It is generally accepted that Turks began to convert to Islam by the end of the seventh century when they encountered Muslims in Central Asia. As the Turkish-speaking people moved westward into Anatolia, they met Persians and Arabs and were influenced mostly by Sunni Islam. Shi'i influences are represented by the Alevis in Anatolia. The Turks also encountered local cultures. The outcome of these diverse encounters is reflected in ritual practices. That is to say, because there is no single unified Islam, women's piety in Turkey reflects its own peculiar practices in accordance with its sociocultural structures. Ablution and purification, for example, occupy a crucial place in the life of Turkish people. They involve more than hygiene, being ceremonial washing of the human body or particular parts of it, which must be performed before certain religious rituals in order to symbolically remove physical or ritual uncleanness. Women perform ablutions and purifications in special buildings, *abdesthane* (ablution house) and *şadırvan* (ablution fountain), constructed in or near the courtyard of every mosque and most importantly, the *kadınlr hamamı* (bath for women), constructed exclusively for women.

Women have their own ritual places separate from men, particularly in *selatin camis* (sul-

tans' mosques), such as Sultanahmet Camii (Blue Mosque) and Fatih Camii in Istanbul and Ulu Camii in Bursa, and also in modern congregational mosques. Women are strongly encouraged to perform their prayers at home rather than in the mosque and they do not necessarily follow the regular five times daily pattern of the congregation in the mosque. However, they do participate in many weekly and annual prayers with men. They are frequently placed at the rear of the courtyard, which is called *kadınlr mahfili* (lodge, platform for women). There have also been recent applications for praying together in the same line at funerals. For performing *namaz* (prayer) in their homes, Turkish women use a *seccade*, a special patterned prayer rug.

Alevi women, unlikely Sunnis, appear to have no specialized ritual places that are theirs alone. They participate in the ceremony held in the *cem evi* (assembly house) together with males. They sit together on cushions and rugs in the *cem evi* or in an empty room and perform their ceremony under the leadership of the *dede* (senior dervish). They also perform a kind of ritual dancing, *semah*, together with men.

Both Sunni and regular Shi'i Muslims keep a fast (*oruç*) during Ramadan. Those who wish to fast get up while it is still dark and have a meal (*sabur*). They neither eat nor drink from approximately one and a half hours before sunrise, which is called *imsak vakti*, until sunset, *iftar vakti*. After the *adhan* (call to prayer) at sunset, they sit down around the table and break their fast together. In Turkey the *iftar yemeği* (fast-breaking meal) involves women in the preparation of a special feast for the family. After the meal and evening prayer, the whole family goes to *teravih* prayer. *Mukabele* (face-to-face reading of the Qur'ān) is another religious duty that attracts a significant number of women in Turkey. Just before morning or especially noon prayer, they gather in the mosque or in a house, and one woman reads a part of the Qur'ān and the others follow the lines of text. They continue for 30 days. Having completed, they celebrate by a special *hatim duası* (finishing prayer) and a feast ending with sweets.

Women in Turkey start to learn how to perform the religious rituals from their family. When they reach the end of childhood, *mümeyyiz yaş* (the age of ability to distinguish between what is right and wrong), if they wish, they begin to attend daily sermons. These are not all compulsory for a new member of the religious community at this age. After proper training in the family, and most importantly in religious schools, they are expected to perform daily rituals, certainly by the age of

around 13–14; the exact age is flexible and is determined according to individual physiology and local conditions. For religious education, girls can easily find an official *Kur'an kursu* (Qur'an course), which offers a completely religious curriculum and is open to students beyond primary school level. These schools are segregated by sex. They can also attend a religious vocational school, an *imam hatip lisesi* (high school) or an *ilahiyat fakultesi* (faculty of theology). The Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı (Directorate of Religious Affairs), which was established immediately after the founding of the Republic, is an institution organizing the religious affairs of both men and women in Turkey. Its headquarters are in Ankara and it has representatives, called *mufti*, in every city and town. One of the deputies of the *mufti* in every city has to be a woman. They deliver religious and ethical lectures to women and inform them about Islamic rituals, such as ablution, prayer, and fasting.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- C. Delaney, *The seed and the soil. Gender and cosmology in Turkish village society*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford 1991.  
 İ. Gülsün (ed.), 1. *Türk diynyası kadımlar kurultayı*, Ankara 2002.  
 O. Pesle, *La femme musulmane dans le droit, le religion, et les mœurs*, Rabat 1946.  
 D. Shankland, *The Alevi in Turkey. The emergence of a secular Islamic tradition*, London 2003.  
 J. I. Smith, *Women in world religion*, Albany, N.Y. 1987.  
 B. Toprak, *Türk kadını ve din*, in N. Abadan-Unat (ed.), *Türk toplumunda kadın*, Istanbul 1982, 361–73.

NECMETTİN GÖKKIR AND HİDAYET AYDAR

### West Africa

Through a discussion of the various ways in which Muslim women in West Africa express their piety, in both public and private spheres, this entry explores the meaning of being a pious woman and the difficulties that are encountered by women on their way to becoming “appropriately” pious.

Although Islam offers guidelines to believers seeking to behave in a pious manner, individuals interpret and negotiate these behaviors in a variety of ways. Thus, while there are many parallels and similarities to be found in the ways Muslim women of different parts of West Africa conceptualize themselves as pious, there are also many ways of being a pious Muslim that are particular to a specific ethnic group or to certain individuals within those groups. These particularities may be linked to the presence of elements of traditional African practices, to the

constraints set by the particular form of Islam that is followed in the region (Dunbar 2000), or even to the individual's own interpretations of what being a pious Muslim woman entails.

The key act of piety is prayer, a ritual that should be performed regularly and correctly. This means that a woman should perform the five daily prayers on all days, abstaining only if she is menstruating, pregnant, lactating, or ill. Muslim women in Burkina Faso believe that only a woman who prays regularly can receive the eternal blessing of going to Heaven, a blessing she can pass onto her children as well (Debevec 2005).

Prior to performing prayer, each person must carry out ablution. Literature on women and ablution in this part of the world is almost non-existent. However, we can observe that women are careful to keep the water which is used for ablution clean. While this water should not be polluted in any way, it is often possible to notice different levels of attention paid to this issue by different women of the same household. Considering that access to clean water is difficult in many parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, definitions of what is considered clean, unpolluted water vary depending on the access to water. In urban compounds where there is a private well, or even running water, these rules may be stricter than in a remote rural parts. In areas closer to the desert, where water is scarce, it is acceptable to rub one's hands and face in sand as an act of ablution.

Apart from the ablution performed immediately before the prayer, women also pay attention to their bodily hygiene, which in their eyes is essential for a pious woman. For example, in the view of most Muslim women in urban Burkina Faso, a woman whose bodily hygiene is questionable cannot be a pious person (Debevec 2005).

Besides praying regularly, and being clean, Muslim women should also dress respectably, in order to be considered proper and pious Muslims by other women and men. This means that their outfit should be modest and should cover their body, including head, arms, shoulders, and legs. This, again, is open to various interpretations and it can be noticed that older women pay particular attention to the way they are dressed and the way they cover their head. In Burkina Faso women past menopause, who are more likely to attend prayer at the mosque, wear a scarf wrapped around their head and also a veil that covers their head, neck, and shoulders, whenever they are in public. Younger married women always wear a headscarf in public, but only put on a veil when praying. While the appropriate outfit in itself does not make a woman into a pious Muslim, in the

eyes of the observers, an inappropriate outfit could cause people to question the level of one's piety, and since public opinion plays a great role in asserting one's position as a pious woman, women are careful not to be seen dressed in a non-respectable way.

Attention to the fulfillment of the other religious commandments that are set forth in the five pillars of Islam are likewise important for the pious and while some of these – such as making the pilgrimage – may be beyond the means of individual women, others – such as fasting during Ramadan – are more commonly observed (again, with exceptions made when one is menstruating, pregnant, lactating, or ill). In Burkina Faso, and elsewhere, some devout women who are preparing for the *hajj* or have recently returned from it, may choose to fast on additional days throughout the year, particularly on Mondays and Thursdays.

A pious woman should also perform good deeds, including regular acts of charity to those less fortunate. A final marker of piety for a woman is to respect her husband and her elders. This mostly means that she must assume a subordinate position in relation to anyone who is older than her and that she avoids arguments and generally does not act in any way that could put her or her family to shame. Marriage to a Muslim man is included in this concept of behavior appropriate for a Muslim woman. Traditionally, it has been unthinkable for a Muslim woman to remain unmarried or not to remarry after losing a husband, either through divorce or widowhood. Among the Hausa of Nigeria there is “no acceptable social place for unmarried women of childbearing age” (Callaway 1987, 35). A woman who fulfills her role as wife and mother and acts in a subordinate way is more likely to go to heaven. Among Mande populations of West Africa, it is through being an obedient wife and a good mother that a woman passes on blessing to her child (Jackson 2004, 164). Today, however, many urban Muslim women throughout the region remain unmarried, but at the same time they can continue to be seen as pious women by behaviors such as almsgiving or going on pilgrimage.

Thus, in West Africa, there is no single definition of a pious woman or of the concept of piety. Much of this seems to lie in the eyes of the beholder. This is clearly visible in the case of the women members of the Tablighi Jamaat movement in The Gambia. These women dedicate their lives to performing a role of pious Muslim and they are dedicated to spreading the “true” Islam (Janson 2005). However, in her study, Janson has found that in the eyes of the “mainstream Muslims,” the Tablighi are often considered to be “anti-social and arrogant”

since they do not wish to accept gifts of food or money. Not accepting a gift of food is deemed as totally unacceptable among West Africans and thus as anti-social behavior which, in its impropriety, is not something a pious person would ever do. However, what the general Muslim public sees as odd behavior on the part of members of reformist Islamic movements is often condoned under the claim that it is “the Wahhabi way.” While there are many different reformist groups present in West Africa, they are often referred to by outsiders as the Wahhabi. For women in Burkina Faso, their fellow believers who adhere to the Wahhabiyya are usually not seen as more pious. However, women who have recently converted to Wahhabism, or those on the verge of conversion, often claim that they are choosing the Wahhabi way because it is the way of the truly pious Muslims. While their argument may seem contradictory, it is clearly linked to the fact that one of the more conspicuous ways of expressing one's piety is through a modest dress code, which, for most Muslim women in Burkina Faso is the most visible sign of Wahhabism.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- B. J. Callaway, *Muslim Hausa women in Nigeria. Tradition and change*, New York 1987.
- L. Debevec, *Through the food lens. The politics of everyday life in urban Burkina Faso*, Ph.D. thesis, University of St. Andrews 2005.
- R. A. Dunbar, *Muslim women in African history*, in N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels (eds.), *The history of Islam in West Africa*, Athens, Oxford, and Cape Town 2000 397–417.
- M. Jackson, *In Sierra Leone*, Durham, N.C. 2004.
- M. Janson, *Roaming about for God's sake. The upsurge of the Tablighi Jamā'at in The Gambia*, in *Journal of Religion in Africa* 35:4 (2005), 450–81.
- A. Masquelier, *The scorpion's sting. Youth, marriage and the struggle for social maturity in Niger*, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11 (2005), 59–83.

LIZA DEBEVEC

## Western Europe

### INTRODUCTION

Ritual practice plays an important role for pious Muslims throughout the Islamic world as well as in the diaspora, including in Western Europe. Although there are important differences in regard to origin and historical background of migration (postcolonial immigration, guest worker programs, and asylum seekers) depending on the different national context, the Islamic revival has affected Muslim communities throughout Europe. The Islamization process in regard to young women socialized in Europe is perceived especially through

their visible decision to don the veil. This phenomenon has largely been discussed in public debates – most dramatically in France, but also and to a lesser degree in other countries – as well as in academia. Ritual practice in most of the scholarly discussions has been rather taken for granted, therefore little attention has been paid to questions relating to how these practices are learned, lived, and given meaning.

This entry aims to explore these questions. As much as there are similarities across Europe regarding how pious women understand ritual practices, when they have to be negotiated inside the larger majority societies significant variations emerge in regard to the different Western European nation-states. Each of these countries has a different history of dealing with religion in general and with Islam as a migrated religion in particular.

#### BECOMING PIOUS

While there are Muslim families living in Europe that encourage their children from early on to lead a pious life according to Islamic norms and values, other youngsters do not receive this kind of education, and therefore grow up with little consciousness of the importance of the Islamic rituals. In this case, it is often the confrontation with their own difference which triggers during adolescence a more profound interest in their parents' religion. It is at this moment that they often turn to Islamic organizations, which are today established all over Western Europe and are concerned with the dissemination of Islamic instruction. But young European Muslims today searching for religious knowledge also have at their disposition a broad scope of literature translated into European languages and other media technologies intended for the religious education of Muslims. It is most often through their reflexive engagement with Islam that these young Muslims feel the need to break with a mode of "traditional" belonging to Islam closely associated with an unreflexive, emulative Islam of the first generation of migrants. They, on the contrary, consider that through the conscious approach to Islam, which is tantamount to a quest for authentic, religious knowledge (*ilm*), they become "really" Islamic. Through this approach women particularly question parental traditions that limit their active participation in society. While the distinction between a "traditional" (often associated with the older generations) and an "authentic" Islam is something that characterizes generally the discourse of contemporary Islamic movements, this trend takes yet another dimension in the context of migration: by distancing themselves from

the often poorly educated parent's generation, considered by them as not fitting into European societies, the Islamized women feel that their "authentic" approach is compatible with their being European, socially upward, and "modern."

One important aspect in the women's process of becoming pious is their emphasis on the importance of the feeling of love for God. They often talk about developing a relationship characterized by love with a clement and most forgiving God. This emphasis on the feeling of love is again something that pious women in Europe consider distinguishes their own approach to Islam from the one their parents' generation had, which they claim is characterized by fear of a punishing God. While they do not question the importance of fear, women tend to criticize their parents for having stressed this point too much and too exclusively, especially when they wanted to legitimate with religious arguments restrictions they imposed unevenly on their daughters. This selective stress on fear is often evoked as one of the reasons why so many young people and especially women leave Islam, seduced by the secular Western way of life. Emphasis of this very personal relationship to God also testifies to a consciousness where the individual experiences herself as a specific singular subject.

#### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RITUAL PRACTICE

With the acquisition of religious knowledge comes the awareness of the importance of ritual practice. Women particularly evoke in this context the fact that concerning *'ibādāt* (Islamic laws governing religious observances), and unlike in the field of *mu'āmalāt* (Islamic laws governing social relations such as family and civil codes), there is no difference in regard to gender. Women and men alike have the same duties and receive the same reward for accomplishing them, the same retribution for neglecting them. In the minority context of Western Europe, the Islamic rituals, especially fasting and praying, gain additional meaning because not only do they foster belonging to a transnational *umma* (community of Muslims) but they strengthen identification and solidarity with a stigmatized minority community as well. Another concept that is currently stressed among pious Muslims is the beneficial effect of *ṣalāt* (the five daily prayers), as well as of *wuḍū'* (performing ablutions) and fasting for psychological and physical well-being. It seems that in a secular context such an approach gives, more than anything else, a legitimate justification for one's faith and religious practice. That "doing yourself good" discourse prevalent in many Islamic organizations in Europe today tries to make

faith appealing for the individual believer. While this is observable elsewhere as a general trait of a modern, pious, and especially urban Islam, it might also be understood in the particular minority context where being Muslim cannot be taken for granted any more. Religion becomes one choice among many and competition characterizes the religious market. This implies that faith has to become attractive, promising the believer some immediate profit.

However, rituals such as *sawm* (fasting), *wuḍūʿ*, and *ṣalāt* are especially understood as religious duties and as acts of piety. Not only do they wash away one's sins and give the believer credit for the thereafter, but they are a crucial means to strengthen piety and to enable the believer to adopt Islamic moral life conduct through a continuous effort of *jihād al-naḥs* (the struggle against one's inner vices and illicit passions). Ritual practice is, therefore, not an end in itself, but plays an important role in the project of "self-reform" in order to constitute a "pious subject" (Mahmood 2005) where morality should eventually become embodied as a stable disposition. Here again, this reflexive and conscious approach is supposed by the women to differentiate them from their parents' generation.

Regarding *ṣalāt*, for example, praying regularly throughout the course of one's daily activities with concentration and the required feeling of *khudūʿ* (humility), is experienced as rather difficult. This especially holds true, as is often argued in a non-Muslim, secular context, where society is not adjusted to the Muslim way of life and where so many distractions easily interfere with remembrance of God. Therefore, it is assumed that it is a practice into which a particular effort must be invested. Classes and conferences in Islamic organizations as well as informal meetings between pious women regularly discuss these questions and try to give advice on how to improve prayers. There is also a large literature available on these questions.

Additional prayers (for example, *qiyām al-layl*, the optional night prayer during which long portions of the Qurʾān are recited) and additional fasting on certain days throughout the year are considered essential to further anchor one's faith and to create a permanent inner state of mind where God is continually present. But also reading the Qurʾān regularly or listening to it, as well as engaging through different methods with Islamic science and the search for a pious Muslim environment are evoked as important elements in this sense. All these practices are also considered crucial to foster one's faith in order to be able to become

a moral being acting according to standards of Islamic piety.

#### RITUAL PRACTICE IN EUROPEAN PUBLIC SPHERES

Punctual accomplishment of the duty of *ṣalāt* is of high importance for pious Muslims. This becomes particularly difficult in Western, non-Muslim societies based on a secular ethic that distinguishes private and public and sacred and profane. Of course, there are important differences in regard to the secular character of the different nation-states of Western Europe. While many countries are characterized by a relatively open cooperation between the state and the church and therefore allow for religious practice in public life, in the French Republic, for example, where strict *laïcité* (French constitutional policies separating state and religious activities) is state ideology, this becomes far more complicated. Furthermore, the practice of *ṣalāt* with a highly visible bodily choreography seems strange, even provocative to the non-Muslim gaze. This is, on the one hand, due to the fact that Western faith practices as a result of post-Enlightenment thought and secularization are considered legitimate only in the form of inner worship where actions of the body are not only deemed inconsequential but also alienating to true piety. On the other hand, especially in the aftermath of 11 September 2001, pictures screened on European television channels of Muslims performing *ṣalāt* are often depicted in contexts related to Muslim fundamentalism. Therefore Muslim prayer is regarded as a "dramatic gesture of submission," proof of irrationality, intolerance, and even violence (Henkel 2005, 487).

In this context, the duty of *ṣalāt* has to be negotiated with the majority society. It becomes necessarily involved in a politics of recognition where the respect for free practice of religion is claimed. Some European multicultural societies have accommodated themselves to these claims and (Muslim or multi-faith) prayer rooms are established in more and more schools, universities, or workplaces, as is, for example, the case in Britain. Also, demands for adapted office hours during Ramadan are being negotiated. But asking for prayer facilities or flexibility in regard to office hours during Ramadan in other European states that have not yet so much accommodated Muslim practice becomes for many women a question of courage. Even if these claims are considered constitutionally part of the right to religious freedom, as is the case in Germany, for example, women often feel that they first have to acquire sufficient "Islamic self-confidence" in



order to stand up for their faith and to dare to communicate their own pious self to the non-Muslim other. In France, however, there is at present little hope of achieving such an aim. Especially after the 2003 law banning all “ostentatious” religious signs from public schools, it seems that a stricter version of *laïcité* has been put into effect. Performing prayers in the republican and *laïque* public schools is unimaginable. At university, many conflicts have arisen around this issue, and in the workplace pious Muslims either postpone their prayer to the evening, look for a nearby mosque, or perform it in a hidden place. Another option is to accomplish *ṣalāt* when not at home in a facilitated, invisible way: in a sitting position. This practice is justified by referring to the Islamic principle of *taysīr* (the accommodation of exceptions to ritual requirements in difficult circumstances), an aspect which is today very much stressed in the development of a European minority *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).

#### PRAYING IN MOSQUES

Pious Muslim women give increasing importance to attending mosques, which have become important community centers in the European context. Not only do they try to attend Friday prayers, but in the course of their active day-to-day life, they also look for the next place to perform their prayers, especially if they do not have the opportunity to do so inside their schools, universities, or workplaces. In many countries where mosques are significantly lacking, as is the case in France, Muslims have often converted shop rooms or cellars into praying rooms. These locations, usually very small in size, are often portrayed as not suitable for women with the argument that they are too small and that women’s modesty cannot be guaranteed. Being confronted not only by a majority society unwilling to accommodate their religious needs but also by community structures marginalizing women, some women today try to resist these customs. They make reference, as in other cases of gender injustice inside the Muslim community, to historical practices at the time of the Prophet, notably women’s presence in the mosques, which were not segregated by a wall or a curtain, as well as to the Prophet’s dictum not to hinder women from going to the mosque. In addition, when there are plans to construct new mosques, women often mobilize to make sure that a large and decent women’s section will be included. Therefore, pious women’s desire for praying creates a further pragmatic context for negotiating gender.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Caeiro, Transnational ‘ulama, European fatwas, and Islamic authority. A case study of the European Council for Fatwa and Research, in M. van Bruinessen and S. Allievi (eds.), *Production and dissemination of Islamic knowledge in Western Europe*, Routledge (forthcoming).
- J. S. Fetzer and J. C. Soper, *Muslims and the state in Britain, France, and Germany*, Cambridge 2004.
- H. Henkel, Between belief and unbelief lies the performance of *ṣalāt*. Meaning and efficacy of a Muslim ritual, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 11 (2005), 487–507.
- S. Mahmood, *Politics of piety. The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton, N.J. and Oxford 2005.
- , Rehearsed spontaneity and the conventionality of ritual. Disciplines of *ṣalāt*, in *American Ethnologist* 28:4 (2001), 827–53.
- S. Schiffer, *Die Darstellung des Islam in den Medien*, Würzburg 2005.
- G. Starrett, The hexis of interpretation. Islam and the body in the Egyptian popular school, in *American Ethnologist* 22:4 (1995), 953–69.

JEANETTE S. JOULI

# Religious Practices: Conversion

## Arab States

Richard Bulliet (1994) asserts that the process of conversion shaped Islamic society as cities outside the Arab world (such as Khurasan in northeastern Iran) became significant centers for religious practice and learning, thereby supporting the institutionalization of Islamic belief and learning in imperial capitals. But, as his student Elizabeth Thompson points out, “Missing from Bulliet’s story – and missing from most standard histories of Islamic institutions – were women” (2004, 308). Across a narrative of institutionalization, formalization, and growth, Gauri Wiswanathan states that “conversion ranks among the most destabilizing activities in modern society, altering not only demographic patterns but also the characterization of belief as communally sanctioned assent to religious ideology.” Considering the embracing of religious identity to be a social movement, she goes on to ask, “why . . . does history throw up so many instances of conversion movements accompanying the fight against racism, sexism, and colonialism?” (1998, xvi).

Among early converts to Islam, Arab women were equivalent to men. *Hadīth* collections such as the *Ṭabaqāt* of Ibn Sa’d contain names of women – including Khadija, wife of the Prophet Muḥammad, among the first converts to Islam – who pledged their allegiance to the Prophet and their faith as Muslims. Migrants from Mecca (70 members of the Quraysh tribal confederation and 59 other Arab women) and natives of Medina (349 Anṣār and 280 Khazraj women) identified publicly with the Islamic community (*umma*) on several occasions as a praxis of conversion. The Qur’ānic *sūra* 60 (al-Mumtaḥana) describes the terms under which such women converted. When Muslims divorced and otherwise severed social relations with non-Muslims, believing women returned their dowers to non-believing husbands, and Muslim husbands had the right to expect non-believing wives to return their assets (Stowasser 1996, 29–30).

In a similar spirit to Bulliet’s suggestion that Islam’s institutions were made from its edges, Leila Ahmed insists subsequent converts to Islam transformed the community’s gendered practices. In this way, the non-Arab peripheries of the early Islamic

world influenced Arab women’s experiences. Individuals from Persia and Byzantium brought their expectations of women’s veiling and the seclusion of imperial families, introducing gender-based hierarchies into an egalitarian community (Ahmed 1993). Later, during the Ottoman caliphate, Arab women may have converted to Islam to move up the legal ladder of hierarchical privileges that distinguished Muslims from non-Muslims (*dhimmīs*), Sunnīs from Shī’īs, Arabs from non-Arabs, men from women.

Najwa al-Qatan and Huda Lutfi note that *dhimmīs* and women moved through Arab cities’ public spaces differently from Muslim men. The practice of *ṭarūq* (right of way) in Cairo and Damascus streets required both religious minorities and women to cede right of way to Sunnī men (al-Qatan 1996, 198–9, Lutfi 1991, 102–3), who enjoyed a normative citizenship. Similarly, in Damascus public records, al-Qatan observes that scribes explicitly identified *dhimmī* men by creed (*al-dhimmī*, *al-Naṣrānī*, *al-Yahūdī*), specific markers (*al-mad’ūw* and *al-khawāja*, *walad* as a patronym, and *al-bālik* and *al-mutawaffa* after their death), and orthographic signs (replacing the letter *sin* with the letter *ṣad* in given names). Women were also marked in texts by creed (*al-dhimmīyya*, *al-naṣrāniyya*, *al-yahūdiyya*) and gender-specific markers (*al-mad’uwa*, and *al-bālika* and *al-mutawaffīyya* after their demise) to indicate their special civic status.

However, al-Qatan points out that after conversion, scribes accorded Arab women the full textual honors they paid Muslim women. Zayna bint ‘Abdū, convert to Islam, is described in the government’s files as “*al-ḥurma Zayna al-mutasharīfa bi-dīm al-Islam bint ‘Abdū*, *al-mar’a al-kāmila*” (1996, 196–7). It would seem Zayna bint ‘Abdū had moved from the gutter to the middle of the road. The issue of women’s conversion to Islam provides a means to challenge what Tucker has described as the stability of categories such as “women” and “Muslims” (1993, vii).

Destabilization of these essential categories renegotiates the categories of analysis indebted to colonial power inequalities; for example, Petzet identifies “authenticity” as a concept that must be rethought in decolonization (1993, 51). A conversion exemplifying one woman’s agency challenges

an *umma* conceptualized as a theocratic state in which sovereignty belongs to God (Von Grunebaum 1962, 142), since such a community is not based on the collective will of citizens who contract to live together (Stowasser 1996, 26).

Invoking the administrative nature of the Islamic community with the Ottoman Empire's political modernization (Tanzimat), Selim Derengil describes the numerous stages imposed on those who would convert (2000, 560). First, the person who intended to convert had to state their desire before the provincial administrative council (Meclis-i İdare-i Vilayet). The council was to ask the person their religion and community affiliation, so as to determine whether the would-be convert was "free, sane, and adult" (*hiir, akil, va balig*) or if they had been "tricked, forced, or coerced" (*gebr, igfal, tergib*). Satisfied on that score, the council asked the candidate to repeat the statement of faith (*lā ilāh illā Allāh wa-Muḥammad Rasūl Allāb*). This process, enacted in the presence of the provincial governor, representatives of the candidate's former community, and perhaps even foreign observers, was to be repeated in an Islamic court. Finally, the convert was given a certificate (*ibtida ilams*). A young Christian girl from Akka was reported to have converted to Islam without such protections during May 1844; when her parents challenged the change in status that would have removed her from their guardianship, she was summoned to an Islamic court where she recanted before a judge, saying she had been forced.

When Arabs who were not Muslims turned to the security of Islamic law without registering a formal conversion, they rendered the legal status "Muslim" fluid, and also destabilized the category "Christian" or "Jew." The nineteenth-century institutionalization of state authority in the Arab world encouraged non-Muslims to take advantage of state law as in Egypt, where Christians registered their marriages in Islamic courts. Muhammad Afifi notes local Christians deem marriage an inviolate contract; hence, the Coptic church does not recognize divorce. During the Ottoman period, *dhimmi*s – including Copts – recorded marriages before Muslim judges, thereby taking advantage of the comparatively greater flexibility of the Islamic legal contract. Such marriage documents included conditions permitting the wife to initiate divorce (on grounds ranging from second marriages, abandonment, and abuse, to travel) identical to those registered by Muslim wives and husbands before the same judges. By entering into marriage by means of such a conditional contract, couples challenged the Coptic church's authority and control over the community (Afifi 1999).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam*, New Haven, Conn. 1993.
- M. Afifi, The state and the church in nineteenth-century Egypt, in *Die Welt des Islams*, new series 39:3 (November 1999), 273–88.
- R. Bulliet, *Islam. The view from the edge*, New York 1994.
- S. Deringil, "There is no compulsion in religion." On conversion and apostasy in the late Ottoman Empire 1839–1856, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42:3 (July 2000), 547–75.
- J. Peteet, Authenticity and gender. The presentation of culture, in J. E. Tucker (ed.), *Arab women. Old boundaries, new frontiers*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993, 49–62.
- N. al-Qatan, Textural differentiation in the Damascus *sijil*, in A. El Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the family, and divorce laws in Islamic history*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1996, 191–201.
- B. Stowasser, Women and citizenship in the Qur'an, A. El Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the family, and divorce laws in Islamic history*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1996, 23–38.
- E. Thompson, Public and private in Middle Eastern women's history, in *Journal of Women's History* 15:1 (Spring 2003), 52–69.
- , The gendered edge of Islam, in N. Yavari (ed.), *Views from the edge. Essays in honor of Richard W. Bulliet*, New York 2004, 304–21.
- J. E. Tucker, Introduction, in J. E. Tucker (ed.), *Arab women. Old boundaries, new frontiers*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993.
- G. Viswanathan, *Outside the fold. Conversion, modernity, and belief*, Princeton, N.J. 1998.

ELIZABETH BISHOP

## Central Asia

The experience of converting from and to Islam in the region of Central Asia differs considerably with regard to the precise geographical area, the historical circumstances, the socioeconomic situation of the converts, their gender and individual characteristics. One needs to differentiate between conversions in early Muslim history, in the pre-Russian, pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Soviet eras; between rural and urban, settled and nomadic life styles; between various kinds of Islam (or rather Muslim practice); and between the experiences of men and women of different ages. Conversions in this area have always been and continue to be inextricably linked with migration – of traders, armies, missionaries, and the local population.

Parts of Central Asia came into contact with Islam fairly early in Muslim history. In the late seventh century C.E., Muslim armies and traders reached the river Amu-Darya, which is in today's Turkmenistan, and caused the first wave of conversion to Islam in that region, mainly among the elites and in the urban centers. Neither administrative control nor religious influence could at this early stage find roots among the nomadic populations

of the Central Asian steppes and the sedentary and nomadic populations of the mountainous areas. There, people held on to a variety of religious beliefs and practices influenced by Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity, Manichaeism, and Shamanism. The early processes of "Islamization" were generally characterized by intermarriage, the immigration of Muslim scholars from the Middle East and Persia, and the establishment of centers of knowledge such as in Samarkand and Bukhara. These early conversion processes were gender-marked inasmuch as the majority of converts and scholars were male.

The population in the less urbanized, less sedentarized, and more remote areas of Central Asia only began to convert to Islam from the seventeenth century onwards. While the majority of the population converted to Sunnī Islam, the rugged geography of Central Asia always offered refuge for various Shīʿī groups. The degree of "Islamization" in these less urbanized areas remained fairly superficial, and the practice of Islam has been marked by a considerable degree of syncretism. These more syncretistic forms of Islam were more frequently practiced by women, while men's religious beliefs and practices tended to be more orthodox in character.

The incorporation of Central Asia into the Russian Empire by the nineteenth century brought with it an influx of mainly Orthodox Christian Slavs. Yet, a much deeper influence was felt by the inclusion of the area in the Soviet Union in the early 1920s. Religiousness was seen by the regime as a sign of backwardness, and thus active attempts were made to eradicate it. Ties with the rest of the Muslim world were cut off, so that Muslim practice became even more "unorthodox."

The disintegration of the Soviet Union brought unwanted national independence and led to an unprecedented influx of all kinds of missionaries into the region. The activities of Muslim as well as Christian missionaries, the socioeconomic and political circumstances, and the moral and ideological uncertainties following independence have led to an ever-increasing number of conversions or reconversions to and from Islam, a process often referred to as "revival." The motivations for Central Asians to become practicing Muslims or Christians vary greatly between the different republics, whose regimes follow different religious policies, and between individuals. Given the continuously dire economic situation in all the republics, the material and financial incentives of many missionary groups and organizations, such as free education, are attractive for the less well-off. Politically, religious organizations have in many cases proved to be the only viable opposition, so that conver-

sion and affiliation with groups such as the Hizb al-Tahrir becomes attractive for the politically active. Most of the affiliates of such groups tend to be male, yet as a growing number of them are arrested, more women join the ranks to close the gaps. As moral standards and social norms and values have become subject to fierce negotiations, religious value systems become compelling for many.

Especially women are often very supportive of the newly emerging religiousness, as this places restrictions on the widespread male aggression and alcohol consumption. Men might support this trend for slightly different reasons. The generally rather conservative and patriarchally influenced value systems of the re-emerging religions lend support to some of the developments that followed the economic and political collapse of the early 1990s. Most of the newly popular religions advocate a "traditional" division of gender roles, and many of the female (and male) converts or reconverts to Islam justify these developments as being prescribed by and highly valued in Islam. Linked to the processes of reversion to Islam are changes in women's (more so than men's) dress code. The "traditional" dress of Central Asian women gives way to the more "internationalized" (and Middle Eastern in origin) versions of Muslim dress: *hijāb* and *jilbāb*, especially in urban areas.

This trend toward a religiously inspired gender division goes hand in hand with a reinvention of social and cultural traditions, which are part of the post-independence nation-building processes and are also marked by a high degree of patriarchal values. The revival of cultural traditions is often (wrongly) justified as based on religious precepts. However, as an increasing number of women begin to study religion, they begin to dismantle these myths and empower themselves to take decisions even against the will of their religiously unlettered elders. On the other hand, one can observe a revival of (largely "unorthodox") healing practices and saint worship, including an increasing number of initiations of religious healers, most of them women. "Conversions" to these kinds of religious practices and beliefs are closely linked not only to the collapse of the health system and the economic inability of many people to afford standard medical treatment, but also to initiations of individual healers in ways commonly ascribed to shamanistic experiences.

While the trend of reversions to Islam as well as the religious healing practices meet with widespread approval, apostasy from Islam and conversion to one of the countless Christian (or other) denominations represented in the region after the

disintegration of the Soviet Union frequently cause serious social problems. The social fabric is often ruptured as converts/apostates are excluded from their families of origin and their wider kinship networks, because such a step is generally considered a shameful and treacherous act. Access to vital resources in Central Asian societies is generally controlled by kinship networks, so that ostracism proves lethal particularly for female converts; on their own, they lose any credibility and respect in the eyes of others. Curbed opportunities range from finding a marriage partner to earning a living to finding a burial space in a (Muslim) cemetery in their village.

As the Soviet political and social ideology has disintegrated many people are trying to replace it with other value systems, first and foremost with religious beliefs and practices. Even though Christian missionaries do exert considerable influence in the region, the bulk of “conversions” are in actual fact “reversions” of previously nominally Muslim people to becoming practicing Muslims.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Atkin, *The subtlest battle. Islam in Soviet Tajikistan*, Philadelphia 1989.
- J. Baldick, *Animal and shaman. Ancient religions of Central Asia*, London 2000.
- D. DeWeese, *Islamization and native religion in the Golden Horde. Baba Tükles and conversion to Islam in historical and epic tradition*, University Park, Pa. 1994.
- S. Duoignon, *Devout societies vs. impious states? Transmitting Islamic learning in Russia, Central Asia and China, through the twentieth century*, Berlin 2004.
- H. Fathi, Otines, the unknown women clerics of Central Asian Islam, in *Central Asian Survey* 16 (1997), 27–43.
- R. P. Geraci and M. Khodarkovsky (eds.), *Of religion and empire. Missions, conversion, and tolerance in Tsarist Russia*, Ithaca, N.Y. 2001.
- M. Haghayeghi, *Islam and politics in Central Asia*, New York 1996.
- F. Heyat, Re-Islamisation in Kyrgyzstan. Gender, new poverty and the moral dimension, in *Central Asian Survey* 23 (2004), 275–87.
- K. Kehl-Bodrogi, *Religiöse Heilung und Heiler in Choresm, Usbekistan*, Halle/Saale 2005.
- A. Krämer, *Geistliche Autorität und islamische Gesellschaft im Wandel, Studien über Frauenälteste (otin and xalifa) im unabhängigen Usbekistan*, Berlin, 2002.
- G. Massell, *The surrogate proletariat. Moslem women and revolutionary strategy in Soviet Central Asia (1919–1929)*, Princeton, N.J. 1974.
- National Commission of the Kyrgyz Republic for UNESCO, *Collection of materials. UNESCO international forum “Culture and religion in Central Asia,”* Kyrgyzstan 1999.
- S. P. Poliakov, *Everyday Islam. Religion and tradition in rural Central Asia*, ed. M. Brill Olcott, New York 1992.
- B. G. Privatski, *Muslim Turkistan. Kazak religion and collective memory*, Richmond, Surrey 2001.

A. Strasser, S. Haas, G. Mangott, and V. Heuberger (eds.), *Zentralasien und Islam. Central Asia and Islam*, Hamburg 2002.

G. Tazmini, The Islamic revival in Central Asia. A potent force or a misconception?, in *Central Asian Survey* 20 (2001), 63–83.

JULIA DROEBER

## East Africa

### HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

In East Africa the phenomenon of conversion to Islam is as old as Islam itself. The spread of Islam into the interior of the region, however, was largely a twentieth-century development.

The first Muslim Arab traders settled on the East African coast as early as in the middle of the eighth century C.E. Some of these traders married into the African ruling families resulting in the formation of the Swahili community, which absorbed considerable Arab influences. This new society soon gained high social, political, and economic status. From then onwards this Islamic community grew and the early coastal city states between Mogadishu (Somalia) and Kilwa (Tanzania) were founded, flourishing especially in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries. Because an important group of these new settlers came from Hadramawt (Yemen) the Shāfiʿī tradition was and remains dominant on the East African coast. In the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries the Portuguese, ending an era of prosperity, destroyed these trading centers. The Portuguese dominated the coast, though without gaining much influence on the coastal society.

Omani Arabs established their rule in the nineteenth century. Since they belonged mainly to the ʿIbadiyya sect and showed no interest in missionary work, their direct religious influence was rather weak. However, under Omani rule many trade routes into the hinterland of East Africa were established, and these became the main channels by which Islam spread. Especially near the important trading centers, such as Tabora and Ujiji, Muslim communities developed. At the end of the nineteenth century most of these Muslims were still Arab or Swahili traders, but along with them Islamic teachers, *walimu*, came and introduced Arabic scripture and teachings about the Qurʾān. The Arab way of life was seen by many of the local rulers as the model of civilization, *ustaarabu*, which they tried to imitate, for example in terms of dress code.

The urban centers on the coast became the destination of lower class people who tried to participate in the economic boom. For that purpose these new-

comers, some of whom were brought to the coast as slaves, tried to become part of the Shirazi community. To be recognized as a Swahili meant not only becoming Muslim, but also marrying into one of the urban families. Here women played a crucial role. Since the first, arranged, marriages were not very stable, many divorced Swahili women found themselves in an exposed and fragile social position; the same was true for widows. In this situation they could either rely on female kinship networks or marry again, mostly to outsiders to regain access to the economic sphere and heighten their own respectability.

The role that the slave trade played in conversion to Islam has not been fully explored yet, but certainly it did have an important impact. Becoming a Muslim and learning the Qur'ān was seen as a chance to become free, especially because of the injunctions about enslaving fellow Muslims. After the abolition of slavery, Islam served as a kind of new, supratribal identity that made it easier to cope with the situation of being isolated from places of origin. Yet, despite the ideal of the *umma* (worldwide Muslim community) the Swahili elite, who often prided themselves on their knowledge of Islam and their Arab or Persian descent, treated the new Muslims dismissively. Most of these newcomers were still seen as uncivilized "unbelievers," *washenzi*, who mixed African elements with Islam. A similar conflict between the old coastal Swahili Muslim elite and new converts can be observed even today.

During German colonial rule in Tanzania (1885–1919), Islam became much stronger, especially because it served as a unifying factor for anti-European resistances (for example the Maji Maji rebellion of 1905–7 and the Mekka-Letter affair of 1909). The spread of Islam was further enhanced by the German administrative policy, which preferred to employ coastal Muslims who were seen as superior to the "Africans," and the application of Swahili as an administrative language. At this time the economic and political situation of women became even worse since the subsistence mode of production was marginalized and the sphere of cash-crop production was mainly occupied by men. In the colonial areas controlled by Great Britain, Christianity gained much more influence, with education through missionary schools playing a major role in this. At the same time as East Africa was integrated into the capitalist world economy, a change to Islam gave men more economic freedom while women were economically and socially marginalized. In the coastal areas Shari'a (Islamic civil) law became stronger, accom-

panied by increased female seclusion. On the other hand, there were some possibilities for women to maintain an important role even in the religious sphere. On the coast, spirit possession rituals (such as *pepo*) can be seen as a compensation for the loss of status and exclusion from the official religious praxis, as a result of the tendency for the possession and taming of spirits to be experienced more often by women. From the end of the nineteenth century, Muslim Brotherhoods (*turuq*), such as the Qadiriyya and Shadhiliyya, were active in East Africa and became very important for the spread of Islam in the interior. As they were open for all classes of the population and promised to grant some kind of economic support and safety, they were especially appealing to the lower classes, which were often comprised of newcomers to the coastal areas and (ex) slaves. For women the brotherhoods offered an increased possibility of accessing the religious sphere since even though seclusion was also maintained in the *turuq*, some of the important positions were available to women. Several of the practices bore resemblance to spirit possession rituals, yet they were legitimized by Islamic scholars. While the *turuq* leaders accepted these syncretic practices to some extent because they wanted to win new converts, others complained about the lenient attitude concerning spirit cults and the visible public role women played.

"FOR ME, I WASN'T CONVERTED, I WAS  
JUST GETTING MARRIED"

In the 1960s, the Indian Ahmadiyya movement was very active in East Africa, at around the same time the eastern African offshoot of the Tabligh-i Jamaat, which also has its roots in India, was founded. The latter started gaining influence in the late 1980s. At the beginning of the 1980s, an intensification of Shari' missionary work (Bilal Muslim Mission) occurred, closely followed by a strengthening of the Ṣalafi influence. In East Africa new groups were established, for instance the Muslim Bible Scholars. Although these groups were much more successful in converting men to Islam than women, some women did join these new groups. There has been a conflict inside the East African Tabligh Jamaat recently because women took on a more active role in the movement and even seclusion was not strictly maintained during meetings. On the other hand, many women are rather sceptical of more fundamentalist Islamic leanings: fully covered women, for instance, are jokingly referred to as "Ninjas."

In East Africa women seem to convert to (and from) Islam mostly because of marriage or after

the conversion of their husbands, and, to a lesser extent, sons or fathers. After a change of religion an intensification of religious feelings can occur nonetheless. Most of the women mentioned discipline and the ideal of self-control as a benefit of their conversion to Islam. For those women for whom conversion linked with marriage would pose a problem, there are a number of different ways to cope: divorce, having an agreement with the husband, or unhappily accepting the situation. Reasons for these problems were given as follows: the women just still feel like Christians, their husbands want to marry other women, they feel alienated from family or friends as a result of the conversion, and they dislike some Islamic practices (for example wearing head coverings). Many of the same reasons were given by women who grew up as Muslims, but wanted to convert to Christianity. The issue of taking another wife is a highly debated one, and was so in the nineteenth century as well, resulting in divorce at times. Interestingly, the possibility of polygamy serves as an argument for men to become Muslim.

Divorce occurs very frequently among Muslims in East Africa, and reports from the nineteenth century indicate that this is not a new phenomenon. The question of whether or not women must change their religion when marrying is discussed very differently in the various regions of East Africa. Whereas in the case of Somali families in Kenya it is clear that a woman cannot become a Christian (that would mean apostasy) and the future husband has to convert to Islam, in the Moshi area of northern Tanzania, people say “women don’t have a religion,” which means that they are expected to adopt the religion of their husband. The amount of autonomy over religious decision-making that a woman holds is also dependent upon her social position in the family and community, factors that also hold true in multi-religious families. That there are rarely cases of intellectual conversion of women to Islam, contrary to the situation among men where this occurs quite often, can be explained in terms of women’s lack of social and economic independence.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Interviews were gathered during fieldwork in Kenya (Nakuru, Kisumu) and Tanzania (Moshi) within the scope of a project on “Islamic Mission in the Multi-Religious Context of East Africa” at the Centre for Modern Oriental Studies (ZMO) in Berlin, Germany 2004 and 2005. More than 70 interviews were conducted altogether, 32 of which were biographical interviews. One third of the interviewees were women.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- J. Glassman, *Feasts and riot. Revelry, rebellion, and popular consciousness on the Swahili coast, 1856–1888*, Portsmouth, N.H. 1995.
- K. Larsen, Spirit possession as oral history. Negotiating Islam and social status, in B. Amoretti (ed.), *The case of Zanzibar*, Rome 2001, 275–96.
- R. L. Pouwels, *Horn and crescent. Cultural change and traditional Islam on the East African coast 800–1900*, Cambridge 1987.
- M. Wright, *Strategies of slaves and women. Lifestories from East/Central Africa*, New York 1993.

TABEA SCHARRER

## Iran

This entry takes a historical and contemporary look at conversion to and from Islam among women in Iran. It will present the propagation of Islam in Iran and survey the ways in which Islamic and state laws, across historical periods, view women adopting a new faith. Although little research has examined how matters of conversion are gendered, this entry focuses on how conversion can influence women’s scope to engage in religious, socioeconomic, and political realities in Iran. The entry concludes with the influence of international missionary movements since the 1979 Revolution.

### THE ARAB CONQUEST

The seventh-century Arab conquest of Persia was followed by the eventual conversion of most Iranians to Islam. The motivations and forces behind the conversion was a complex historical process that varied from region to region. For the most part those of pre-existing faiths, including the official religion, Zoroastrianism, along with Christianity, the Sabeian religion, and Judaism, were not forced to convert to Islam. They were considered as the *Ahl al-kitāb* (People of the Book), and governed by a system of social organization which granted them the status of *Ahl al-dhimma* (People of the Covenant, protected people). Although this unevenly implemented system allowed them a measure of autonomy, they were subject to political, social, and economic restrictions, including an obligatory *jizya* (capitation tax).

Motivations to convert to Islam included liberation from slavery and opportunities for social and economic mobility; eligibility to enter Muslim armies; rights to keep and gain property; and freedom from the strict obligations, rituals and prohibitions in the Zoroastrian faith, including the intervention of priests in daily matters. Conversion among the upper classes – often done circuitously by marrying daughters into affluent

Muslim families – maintained, and in some cases, improved pre-existing socioeconomic status. Embracing Islam was also attractive to many Zoroastrian women as it relinquished them from the strict purity laws that dictated daily lives.

Customarily the newly converted women adopted a Muslim name, which inadvertently enabled the emergence of Islam in Iran to be detected and recorded. Individual experiences of conversion were often depicted in poetry and literature through the prism of dreams and perceptions of miracles. By the early tenth century Iran was predominantly a Sunnī Muslim country.

#### THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF APOSTASY LAW IN IRAN

A range of theoretical and legal precepts concerning apostasy started to develop in tandem with the growth of Islamic schools between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. Apostasy (*irtidād*) is considered a sin in Islam and can be committed by converting to another religion (*ridḍa*), as well as turning from Islam into unbelief (*ilhād*). The primacy and application of the apostasy law was gendered and varied locally in relation to the struggles within and between the range of Shīʿī, Sunnī, and mystical groupings.

The punishment – which was and is sporadic in practice – differs for women and men, for converts whose parents were Muslim (voluntary apostate), and for converts born from non-Muslim parents who accepted Islam before later recanting Islam (innate apostate). For sane men, apostasy is a crime which can be punishable by death. The male convert's marriage might also be dissolved and his family might be restricted from civil and legal rights.

A female is not executed on charges of apostasy. She might be imprisoned and/or separated from her family until she reconverts back to Islam. Note that a Muslim man is allowed to marry a woman belonging to the People of the Book. Although she is eligible to the same contractual rights availed to a Muslim wife, children are expected to be raised within Islam.

The Safavid dynasty (1501–1722) forcibly consolidated Twelver Shiʿism as the Persian state religion. Sunnīs, Sufis and non-Muslims, including those who belong to the People of the Book, were encouraged to follow the Safavid teachings, and were sometimes forced to adopt their version of Shiʿism. The implementation of the apostasy law, along with the codes of pollution (*nijāsāt*) and the imposition of Islamic dress codes were instrumental in marking the boundaries of the new Shīʿī

state. Although the system of *Ahl al-dhimma* continued to be recognized, the Safavids rewarded non-Muslims who converted to Islam by making them eligible to inherit their relatives' property and possessions.

#### CONVERSION FROM ISLAM IN IRAN

During the Qājār era (1795–1925) a number of religious and political reform movements emerged in response to the weakness of the state and the will to modernize Iran. The Shaykhī and Bābī movements, followed by the development of the Bahāʿī faith – which stressed social justice, equality of the sexes, and pacifism – attracted some Muslim and non-Muslim women from both elite and less affluent backgrounds. Regarded as apostates, Bahāʿīs faced prejudice and were often objects of persecution during the Qājār period. Many women converts, including Khadyeh Begum, Ṭāhīrīh Qur-rat al-ʿAyn, and Iṣmat Khānum, contributed to the reforms during the nineteenth century that paved the way to the women's movement and the Constitutional Revolution of 1906.

Also during the Qājār era, Christian missionaries entered their greatest period of expansion. Missionary work, carried out by both men and women, spread news of women's emancipation and Western lifestyles. Although efforts by Christians to convert Muslims were mostly unsuccessful, a number were gained from the Assyrian and Armenian populations, and several "native" churches were established.

The Pahlavī dynasty (1924–79) brought relief and protection for non-Muslim communities. Although the law of apostasy was overruled in the 1930s, the Pahlavīs' program of modernization, secularization, and building of a national identity continued to frown upon non-Muslim proselytizers and their activities.

#### CONVERSION POST-1979 REVOLUTION

After two years of revolutionary transition Ayatollah Khomeini and Islamic forces eradicated political opposition and developed the Islamic Republic of Iran. The constitution guarantees religious freedom for non-Muslim communities as long as they respect the conditions of the Muslim state. It does not, however, protect Bahāʿīs and Muslim converts. The apostasy law, modeled on the law implemented by the Safavid Dynasty, was reinstated. The persecution and institutional discrimination forced many to leave Iran.

Since the revolution, Christian missionaries have been successful in converting some Iranian Muslims to Pentecostal Christianity. Motivating factors



include: disillusionment with the revolutionary policies; exacerbation by the Iran–Iraq war; economic instability; and gender segregation of public space and new dress codes in the name of Islam. Evangelical Christians have encouraged potential converts by invoking the pre-Islamic history of Elam, referred to in the Bible as a golden period. Women often described conversion as liberating and providing a sense of freedom and self-worth. Dreams and visions are frequently referred to throughout the process of conversion.

Since the revolution eight male Christian leaders from Muslim backgrounds have been killed; churches ransacked and closed; and Bibles and Christian literature confiscated. Many have chosen to hide their conversion experience to circumvent the problems that it could create for themselves and family members. Converts have also reported that practicing Christianity is tolerated by officials as long as they do not express their faith openly. Often viewed as a strategy to gain refugee status in the West, asylum applications from converts are carefully examined by Western governments.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- R. J. Abisaab, *Converting Persia. Religion and power in the Safavid Empire*, London and New York 2004.  
 K. Babayan, *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs. Cultural landscapes of early modern Iran*, Cambridge, Mass. 2002.  
 A. Bausani, *Religion in Iran. From Zoroaster to Baha'ullah*, Chicago 2000.  
 M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians. Their religious beliefs and practices*, London and New York 1979.  
 R. W. Bulliet, Conversion to Islam and the emergence of a Muslim society in Iran, in N. Levtzion (ed.), *Conversion to Islam*, New York 1979, 30–52.  
 E. Sanasarian, *Religious minorities In Iran*, Cambridge 2000.  
 K. Spellman, *Religion and nation. Iranian local and transnational networks in Britain*, Oxford and New York 2005.

KATHRYN SPELLMAN

### Mexico: Chiapas

Islam was first brought to Mexico by Muslim Spanish conquerors in the early sixteenth century. However, the Moriscos (Muslims forced to convert to Roman Catholicism) did not openly practice their religion due to the repression of Islam in Spain, instead choosing to hide their beliefs in order to survive. In the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, Syro-Lebanese immigrants came to Mexico during the final years of the Ottoman Empire. The great majority of these immigrants were Christian but an estimated 10 percent were Muslim and most settled in urban centers such as Mexico City

where they found an economic niche as petty traders. (Reliable statistical data on the Muslim population of Mexico is unavailable, for either the past or the present.)

It was not until the beginning of the 1990s that grassroots Muslim organizations began proselytizing in Mexico with the explicit purpose of expanding Islam. These include the Sunni organizations Centro Cultural Islámico de México (CCIM) and El Centro Salafi de México, both based in Mexico City and the Murabitun Movement, an international Sufi order with an active missionary presence in the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas. Another Sufi organization is the Nur Ashki Jerrahi, based in New York City, with branches in the Mexican cities of Cuernavaca, Oaxaca, and Mexico City (Garvin 2005). Finally, there is the Comunidad Islámica de la Laguna, a Shi'ī organization established in the northern state of Coahuila (Cañas 2006).

Mexico is a predominantly Roman Catholic country; however, the southern state of Chiapas is an area with one of the lowest national rates of adherence to Roman Catholicism and presents the largest number of religious options. Islam arrived in Chiapas in 1995 through the Murabitun Sufi order, originally from southern Spain (Morquecho 2004). Muslim presence in the city of San Cristóbal de las Casas became publicized after the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. By that time, the number of Muslims in this city had increased to 250 and was distributed in two groups: the Sufi group, founded by the Spaniards, and a second, separate group subscribing to Sunni Islam. The majority of converts are Maya indigenous people who live in the shanty towns surrounding the city.

The women discussed in this entry belong to the Sunni group. Most of them are young married women with small children. A few of them are single and some are a little older than 60. Most of these women converted to Islam following their husbands, who were the first to do so. However, there are cases in which some men became Muslim after marrying Muslim indigenous women and being pressured by their fathers-in-law. In fact, for Muslim indigenous women it is of great importance that their spouse practices the same religion as theirs. Single Muslim women consider it a fundamental requirement of a marriage partner that he be Muslim.

Sunni Muslim indigenous women play an important role in the teaching and definition of the new religion in their community. One of the reasons why they separated from the original group founded by the Murabitun was their general rejection of polygamy. Women were not willing to accept that their

husbands would marry other women, arguing that even if polygamy was allowed, it was not an obligation for Muslims. In addition, women in the Sunni group have access to the mosque, as well as to reading and discussion of the Qurʾān and other holy writings. They are not allowed to conduct the prayers but, from their assigned place inside the mosque, they are able to establish dialogue with their fellow believers: they may speak and correct and comment upon the readings. Even though elderly women are illiterate, this has not been a burden in their learning of the new religion, especially since the younger women help them to get closer to the holy writings. Women of different generations share the reading of the texts and discuss them not only among themselves but also with the men. Their commitment to the Islamic texts has been expressed as a constant attempt to put into practice values such as kindness and mutual help. These values are extended beyond their Sunni group, including to non-Muslim women who live in the same community but who profess other religions. In this way, the adoption of Islam has contributed to the widening and reinforcement of solidarity networks among women, despite religious differences.

Women believe that their conversion to Islam is carried out gradually. For example, they think that it will not be until their faith is completely strong and until they achieve a solid knowledge of their religion that they will be able to wear the veil at all times. Meanwhile, they only wear this piece of clothing to attend the mosque and to perform their daily prayers. This way of wearing the veil contrasts with the experience of women in other parts of the Muslim world, for example the mosque movement in Egypt documented by Saba Mahmood (2001). From this we can extrapolate that the diversity of meanings that wearing the veil may hold depends on the context in which it takes place. This also allows us to question simplistic ideas according to which the veil is synonymous with submission and oppression.

The gradual incorporation of Arabic phrases into daily life is another illustration that Islam is learnt slowly. Women still speak their mother tongue, Tsotsil; nonetheless, they wish to learn more Arabic in order to be able to better read and understand the Qurʾān. In this sense, the incorporation of Arabic, the new language associated with their conversion to Islam, has not meant the abandonment of their mother tongue. The same can be said about many of their indigenous customs. For example, women still wear their traditional dress, demonstrating that one can retain local identity as well as being a Muslim.

Contrary to stereotypes, indigenous women actively participate in the generation of income to support their families as well as in the political issues of their community. For them, the new religion represents neither an obstacle nor an impediment; on the contrary, it has reinforced women's participation at various levels. Yet, the complex process of appropriating Islam does pose some limits and contradictions. This makes it impossible to assert that Islam has only generated positive changes or, conversely, that the transformations have only acted against women. Rather, these limits and contradictions are a result, among other things, of the different sociocultural positions women take as married or single, young or old, mothers, grandmothers, wives, and sisters-in-law – all of which are set within the larger social context of Chiapas State and are marked by the situation of marginality experienced by indigenous people living in the shanty towns around San Cristóbal de las Casas. Yet even if this is an incipient and marginal conversion process, women and men are building an indigenous Islam, in which they successfully combine their ethnic identity with their religious belief.

This active participation of women in the appropriation of Islam questions the generalized images of this religion and, more specifically, of Muslim women. It also underscores the existence of multiple ways of being a Muslim woman and of living Islam.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Cañas Cuevas, Koliyal Allah Tsontsunkotik. "Gracias a Allah que somos más fuertes." Identidades étnicas y relaciones de género entre los indígenas zuñes en San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, master's thesis, CIESAS (Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social), Mexico, D.F. 2006.
- N. Garvin, Conversion and conflict. Muslims in Mexico, in *ISIM Review* 15 (Spring 2005), 18–19.
- S. Mahmood, Feminist theory, embodiment, and the docile agent. Some reflections on the Egyptian Islamic revival, in *Cultural Anthropology* 6:2 (2001), 202–36.
- G. Morquecho, *Bajo la bandera del Islam. Un acercamiento a la identidad política y religiosa de los musulmanes en San Cristóbal de las Casas*, San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, México 2004.

SANDRA CAÑAS CUEVAS

### North America

Recent claims that the majority of North American converts to Islam are women may be correct, although definite statistics are lacking. This is due to several factors. For women, marriage to a Muslim man is a major avenue to conversion. Because of cultural attitudes, Muslim men are usually freer

to socialize with and subsequently marry outsiders than are Muslim women. According to some interpretations of Islamic law, Muslim men are allowed to marry women from the People of the Book (that is, Christians and Jews) while Muslim women must marry within the faith. Some liberal Muslim scholars have suggested that in contexts such as North America, strictures against Muslim women having non-Muslim husbands should be relaxed, particularly in the case of converts. One rationale they offer is the central role of the mother in North American society in transmitting religious identity as well as other factors such as a lack of available Muslim spouses in some communities. The fact that conversions in the modern period are individual acts rather than large-scale tribal or political switches of allegiance is also relevant in this regard.

Some of the earliest accounts of white and Latina women who converted to Islam in the United States date back to the early part of the twentieth century (Leonard 1994). Miscegenation laws of that era tended to minimize such cases of conversion, as did the fact that there were only a few Muslim immigrants in the United States until the liberalization of national immigration laws in 1965.

Also in the early twentieth century, both white and African American women were converted by Ahmadi missionaries such as Maulana Muhammad Sadiq who was active on the East Coast in the early 1920s (Turner 1997). This represents the first organized propagation of Islam (*da'wa*) in the United States.

The first significant wave of conversions to "proto-Islam" occurred in the African American community beginning in the 1930s and 1940s through the activities of the Nation of Islam under Fard Muhammad and his successor Elijah Muhammad (d. 1975). Muslim identity in this case was complex and ambiguous, drawing on Black Nationalist sentiments as well as mysticism and enriched through contact with members of the Moorish Science Temple and immigrant Muslims such as the earlier Ahmadi missionaries. Women played an important role in the Nation of Islam in the spheres of organizational leadership, education, and youth work and were inspired by the example of founder Elijah Muhammad's wife, Clara Muhammad.

In North America, generational cohort as well as class and ethnicity has played an important influence on styles of conversion to Islam, so that, for example, the characteristics of white women becoming Muslim in the 1970s – individualistic, spiritual seeker, Sufi-oriented – would differ from those of 1980s white female converts – young,

marries a Muslim student from the Middle East, adopts Islamic dress. Thus, prevailing social, economic, and ideological currents in both the Muslim world and Western societies play a role in determining styles of conversion to Islam, in addition to the social and psychological backgrounds of converts. Many Americans who embrace Islam prefer the designation "revert" as more faithful to Islamic theology in that every child is "born Muslim" and among African Americans the term "transitioner" is also current.

A similar analysis of patterns in African American conversions suggested a cohort of the 1940s and 1950s that included artists, jazz musicians, and spiritual seekers; in the 1960s and 1970s, black power advocates and Afrocentrists; and in the 1980s and 1990s, workers for African American community upliftment (Turner 1997). Aminah McCloud (1991, 1995) argues that black Americans often follow either accommodationist or separatist ideologies, with separatists adopting either "back to Africa" or "nation within a nation" positions. Ultimately it is this latter group which has been most drawn to conversion to Islam since it promised a new identity, a feeling of "somebodiness" and freedom from relegation to insignificance. The Italian researcher Stefano Allievi (1999) characterizes the principle motives and styles of European converts to Islam into "relational," "rational," "politically inclined," or "mystical" and these types may be applied to cases of female American converts as well (Allievi 1999).

Processes of conversion to Islam are as varied as the motivations of those who ultimately convert. Among sites of attraction for potential converts are college campuses because of contact with Muslims and the context of academic classes and intercultural and interfaith activities. The media as a source of information about Islam may facilitate conversion despite its often-negative depiction of Islam, in particular women's roles. Islamic media efforts may play an increasing role in presenting the religion, but by far the most active and accessible realm of information, convert testimonials, and outreach are numerous Internet sites. On the whole, efforts to systematically attract converts have been scarce among immigrant Muslim communities. Certain mosques have formed *da'wa* committees that primarily educate and support converts rather than openly recruiting them. Individual Muslims have made some efforts such as buying one minute of weekly radio time in order to propagate the faith. Testimonial videotapes for converts are available by catalogue such as "Islam My Choice" by Yusuf Islam (known around the world as the singer Cat

Stevens), and “Nancy Ali, an ex-nun.” Since the 1990s, the female convert voice has been increasingly represented in autobiographical novels, websites, and in academic studies (Jones 2002, Bullock 2002).

One important location for organized *da'wa* work is among both male and female prison inmates. The prison system has been and continues to be an important source of converts, beginning with efforts by the Nation of Islam and spanning the range of Muslim movements and sects.

The role of Islamic ritual is important in the conversion experience, and non-Muslims are often attracted to join in activities such as *dhikr* sessions (chanting pious phrases or names of God), prayer, and fast-breaking (*iftār*) dinners in Ramadan. While conversion to Islam is not normally ritualistic, in the American context some African American communities have held *shahāda* ceremonies to celebrate conversions. On occasion conversions may take place after the Friday communal prayer before the assembled congregation although this is less likely in the case of female conversions as a result of gendered space in mosques.

Sufi movements operating in North America have primarily attracted middle-class, white spiritual seekers as converts, many of whom are female, although some African Americans and Latinas affiliate to Sufism after converting to other forms of Islam. Sufi activities might be thought of as broadly contributing to conversions to Islam through their greater interface with mainstream American culture in the arts and intellectual life.

Female conversion to Islam is increasingly understood as an ongoing process that takes place in several stages and is usually experienced as a substantial transformation of religious, social, and cultural aspects of daily life. This may cause tensions within the family of origin (Anway 1995, van Nieuwkerk 2006). For female converts who adopt it, Islamic dress and veiling compound the possibility of tension and alienation from family and friends, although a strong sense of community and bonding with fellow Muslims, especially other converts, is often reported. Aminah McCloud (1991, 1995) points out some of the challenges faced by African American converts to Islam, in particular women. The Islamic ideal of being “veiled, maintained, and shielded” is not the reality experienced by most of these women upon converting. For example, wearing Islamic dress may lead to unemployment and to new oppression by the majority society. Both McCloud and Jackson (2005) have explored the difficulties faced by African American Muslims once large numbers of immigrant Muslims claimed

authenticity and criticized indigenous practices and interpretations of Islam. The “conversion” of most of the members of the Nation of Islam who followed Elijah Muhammad’s son Warith al-Din into Sunni Islam when he succeeded his father in 1977 is a rare modern instance of mass conversion.

American women converts to Islam may espouse the whole range of Islamic interpretation from conservative to liberal positions. Some women cite the appeal of what they perceive as appropriate “complementary” and “dignified” notions of masculinity and femininity and the centrality of the family in Islam as a motivation for conversion. Others are attracted to what they perceive as a vibrant and engaged spirituality. For example, Maryam Jameelah (b. 1934) became an apologist for conservative Islamic doctrine and a critic of Western mores and policies after converting from reform Judaism in the 1950s and moving to Pakistan at Abu al-Ala Maududi’s invitation.

In contrast, other convert/revert women, such as Amina Wadud, have become prominent reinterpreters of tradition or activists in ways that challenge male authority and essentialist constructions of gender within Islam.

Among the children of American converts, particularly when both parents had been non-Muslims, retaining Islam and transmitting it between generations has been challenging. Parents often veer between the extremes of either being so rigid that the children rebel or being so tolerant that the children decide to reassimilate to an American lifestyle; perhaps not changing religion, but not practicing Islam either (Hermansen 2006).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Allievi, Pour une sociologie des conversions. Lorsque des Européens deviennent musulmans, in *Social Compass* 46:3 (1999), 283–300.
- C. L. Anway, *Daughters of another path. Experiences of American women choosing Islam*, Lee’s Summit, Mo. 1995.
- K. Bullock, *Rethinking Muslim women and the veil. Challenging stereotypes*, Washington, D.C. 2002.
- M. Hermansen, Two-way acculturation, in Y. Haddad (ed.), *Muslims of America*, Oxford 1991, 188–201.
- , Roads to Mecca. Conversion narratives of European and Euro-American Muslims, in *Muslim World* 89:1 (1999), 56–90.
- , Keeping the faith, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 254–75.
- S. Jackson, *Islam and the Blackamerican. Looking toward the third resurrection*, New York 2005.
- M. Jameelah, *Memories of childhood and youth in America (1945–1962). The story of one Western convert’s quest for truth*, Lahore 1989.
- L. Lynn Jones, *Believing as ourselves (one American woman’s journey to Islam)*, Beltsville, Md. 2002.
- J. Lang, *Losing my religion. A call for help*, Beltsville, Md. 2004.

- K. Leonard, *Making ethnic choices. California's Punjabi Mexican Americans*, Philadelphia 1994.
- A. McCloud, African-American Muslim women, in Y. Y. Haddad (ed.), *The Muslims of America*, Oxford 1991, 177–88.
- , *African American Islam*, New York 1995.
- K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006.
- L. Poston, *Islamic da'wah in the West. Muslim missionary activity and the dynamics of conversion to Islam*, Oxford 1992.
- C. Rouse, *Engaged surrender. African American women and Islam*, Berkeley 2004.
- R. Turner, *Islam in the African American experience*, Bloomington, Ind. 1997.
- A. Wadud, *Qur'an and woman*, New York 1999.
- M. Wohlrab-Sahr, *Konversion zum Islam in Deutschland und den USA*, Frankfurt 1999.
- , Conversion to Islam. Between syncretism and symbolic battle, in *Social Compass* 46:3 (1999): 351–62.

MARCIA HERMANSEN

## The Ottoman Empire

Research on conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire with an analytical focus on gender is still in its infancy. It relies almost exclusively on the Ottoman administrative sources, while exploring chiefly the problems of (in)voluntary conversion and the role of the Ottoman state in the process. Nevertheless, studies based on Ottoman court records (*kadı sicilleri*) and converts' petitions to the imperial council (*kisve bahası* petitions) provide an important framework for inquiry.

A recent study suggests that in the Ottoman Empire women were approximately four times less likely to convert than men (Minkov 2004). In addition to not bearing the direct burden of taxation, labor migration, and military service, women were discouraged from converting by potential consequences such as social segregation from their previous kinship network. In fact, both Ottoman and non-Ottoman sources strongly suggest that although age and social status significantly affected the process, it was the kinship networks, or lack thereof, that played the most important role in women's conversion to and from Islam.

From the onset of Ottoman presence in Anatolia and the Balkans, intermarriage represented the single most important avenue for conversion of women to Islam. While Christian and Jewish religious laws do not tolerate interfaith marriages, Muslim law, the Shari'a, allows Muslim men to marry "women of the Book" (Jews and Christians). A non-Muslim wife had the same rights as a Muslim wife, and she was permitted to follow her religion. While not legally obliged to convert, many women nevertheless opted for conversion in interfaith marriages

(Bennassar 1989). Although the children from an interfaith marriage were Muslim by law, through their mother they could be exposed to different languages and religious traditions. This draws attention to the family as an important context of religious change and non-Muslim women's role as sources of diversity in Islam.

However, it is the conversion of non-Muslim women married to non-Muslims that is best documented and researched, as a number of such cases appear in Ottoman court records. Conversion to Islam enabled non-Muslim women to temporarily overturn the equations of power within their communities and escape the control of domineering fathers or husbands. As the Shari'a forbids a union between a non-Muslim man and a Muslim woman, the refusal of the husband to convert to Islam resulted in a quick divorce and the wife's gaining of custody over the couple's children (Baer 2004). Existing studies suggest that this phenomenon became acute in the Balkans by the seventeenth century, coinciding with the peak in conversion rates (Minkov 2004).

A survey of both Ottoman and non-Ottoman sources reveals a variety of narrative strategies for representing women's conversion. Research with court records led some scholars to view women's conversion to Islam as primarily "voluntary" and "public" acts subverting male patriarchal domination. However, this analysis overlooks different institutional and women's individual agendas reflected in the sources, and the extent to which through conversion to Islam women could also seek protection and ask to be bound to the very structures of power that subordinated them. This is evident from other less well researched instances of women's conversion, particularly those of slaves, female children (particularly orphans), and widows.

For a slave woman (*cāriye*) conversion to Islam did not automatically result in freedom, but it could help her initiate a change of an abusive master, especially if he were a non-Muslim, since according to the Shari'a a non-Muslim could not own a Muslim slave. A converted slave woman would often be freed on the day of marriage. Otherwise, she could acquire freedom by giving birth to her master's child, as the legal status of *imm-i veled* (mother of the child) stipulated (Baer 2004).

According to a study based on the converts' petitions submitted to the imperial council during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the majority of female converts on record were widowed women with or without children who petitioned the Sultan to provide them with a *nafaqa* or means of sub-

sistence, which under normal conditions would be provided by their husbands as a part of a marriage agreement (Minkov 2004).

Another category of female converts are orphans and minors whose religion was determined through the conversion of their parents to Islam or by their Muslim custodians. Ottoman legal opinions (*fetāva*), Orthodox Christian neomartyrologies, and Venetian inquisition archives documenting reconversion to Christianity of women from the Ottoman domains suggest apostasy from Islam was common in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries among women who had been converted as “undiscerning children” (Vaporis 2000, Vanzan 1996). Muslim law on apostasy was more lenient toward women: instead of the death penalty stipulated for men, women were sentenced to beating and prison for life (Düzdağ 1993).

In general, conversion to Islam in the Ottoman Empire came to an almost complete stop in the late eighteenth century, coinciding with the change in balance of power between the Ottomans and Western Christian powers. Women’s conversion, this time from Islam to Christianity, became a highly politicized issue in the nineteenth century as Western powers interfered with Ottoman religious politics and pressured the Ottoman authorities to ignore the Sharī’a apostasy laws (Deringil 2000).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- M. E. Düzdağ, *Seyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi fetvaları ışığında 16. asır Türk hayatı*, Istanbul 1983.  
 N. Vaporis, *Witnesses for Christ. Orthodox Christian neomartyrs of the Ottoman period, 1437–1860*, New York 2000.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- M. Baer, Islamic conversion narratives of women. Social change and gendered religious hierarchy in early modern Ottoman Istanbul, in *Gender and History* 16:2 (2004), 425–48.  
 B. Bennassar, Conversions, esclavage et commerce des femmes dans les péninsules iberique, italienne ou balkanique aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, in *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 2 (1996), 101–09.  
 S. Deringil, “There is no compulsion in religion.” On conversion and apostasy in the late Ottoman Empire, 1839–1856, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2000), 547–75.  
 A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans*. Kisve bahası *petitions and Ottoman social life, 1670–1730*, Leiden 2004.  
 A. Vanzan, In search of another identity. Female Muslim-Christian conversions in the Mediterranean world, in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7:3 (1996), 327–33.  
 S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization from the eleventh to the fifteenth Century*, Los Angeles 1971.

## South Africa

#### INTRODUCTION

From the end of the twentieth century, Africans in South Africa have been engaging in a complex realignment of spiritual allegiances, with Islam becoming a more visible and self-consciously practiced aspect of everyday urban life. It is clear that African women have become significant mediators of this process. This entry examines African women’s participation in, and their understanding of, conversion to Islam. Unlike the large corpus of research which details West African women’s intricate involvement with Islam, relatively little scholarship exists which examines the specific, and gendered, nature of southern African encounters with Islam. Focusing on the collected testimonies of a group of recent male and female converts in Cape Town, this entry maps African women’s unique routes to Islam, discusses the gendered implications of their decisions, and concludes with suggestions for further research.

In contemporary twenty-first-century South Africa, several factors have contributed to the “changing face” of Islam. Historically, Islam in this country has been closely linked to the Coloured and Indian sectors of the population.\* These roots date back to the colonial period, and the arrival of slaves, political prisoners, and intellectuals from Southeast Asia, as well as an influx of slaves and indentured laborers from India. Islamic culture became an integral signifier of group identity by the late nineteenth century, especially in the Malay community in Cape Town, and in the Indian communities of Johannesburg and Durban. The apartheid state (1948–94) further reinforced the association of Islam with these groups through racialized legislation, which effectively limited involvement of the majority black African population. From the 1990s, however, Islam increasingly has been making inroads into urban African communities, long the preserve of Christianity. A recent influx of Muslim migrants from Kenya, Somalia, Mozambique, and Malawi since the transition to a non-racial democracy in 1994; the removal of racial zoning of residential areas; increased mobility, especially for the youth, and access to a transnational globalized culture – all these have encouraged Africans in South Africa to reassess the role of Islam in the context of a changing African identity.

#### WOMEN’S CONVERSION TO ISLAM:

##### PROCESS AND CONSEQUENCE

Those working within the African Muslim community acknowledge the relative strength, in

numbers and influence, of recent female converts. What routes, then, have African women taken to Islam? Socioeconomic profiles reveal some important patterns. In Cape Town, female converts tended to reside in less-established, and economically more marginalized areas of the city. They also tended to be recent migrants from the rural areas of South Africa. In contrast, considerable scholarship has established the centrality of Christianity in both the organizational histories and expressed ideologies of women long resident in established African townships. Women converts' marginal position to township hierarchies was emphasized by the exacting financial demands placed on them by local churches, which made monthly or weekly subscriptions a requirement of membership. Testimonies assert that failure to keep up with these demands led to a keen disillusionment with Christianity and a subsequent receptivity to charitable outreach efforts from Muslim individuals and organizations.

Often, then, these women's first contact with Islam came alongside donations of food and clothing. In addition, women spoke highly of the opportunities made available to them, once they embraced Islam, to widen their social and economic networks through participation in workshops on Islam, scholarships, and job training offered by Muslim organizations throughout South Africa. One example of this is the Women's Project, a program within the Masakhane Muslim Community (formed in the late 1990s to help promote an African voice within Muslim organizations of the Western Cape), which aims to empower African Muslim women through skills training. Organizers working within the African Muslim community, however, voice concern that the material appeal of Islam may in future help undermine the development of a spiritual connection with their newfound faith.

It is clear, though, that some African female converts have made the step beyond viewing Islam through simply material terms. Analysis of first-person narratives reveals a dynamic integration of Islamic beliefs and rituals into women's everyday lives and identities. Women explained their conversion largely through a discourse of "reversion," a "returning-to," which equated embracing Islam with a return to traditional African ideologies and practices. This discourse emphasized similarities between Islamic and ethnic Xhosa (the dominant African ethnic group in Cape Town) burial rites, cleansing regimes, dress codes, and sexual segregation. Thus, a decision to embrace Islam became in a sense a decision to return to a nostalgic and "truer" Africanness, an identity which had been increas-

ingly eroded by modernization and the exigencies of urban life.

This discourse of reversion reflected a fluid insertion of Islam into African women's lived existences. Female converts stressed a sense of familiarity with Islam, and this is shown in the relative ease with which they attended mosque and adhered to Islamic codes and rituals. Indeed, there is little expressed sense of dramatic social or spiritual transformation. Most women asserted that their choice to follow Islam provided an avenue by which they could augment their previously held social and economic networks, but did not require a fundamental alteration of those networks. Strikingly, some women chose to continue attending church alongside mosque, stressing the perceived theological and historical similarities between Christianity and Islam. One African Muslim woman celebrated news that she was to be given the chance to go to Mecca by covertly brewing *umqombothi* (Xhosa home-brewed beer), to honor and thank her Xhosa ancestors for her good fortune. Female converts' flexible embrace of seemingly contradictory practices meant that little disjuncture was created in their social, psychological, and spiritual lives. This was essential to domestic harmony as well, given that most women returned home to a non-Muslim partner and non-Muslim family members.

The uniqueness of African women's engagement with Islam becomes clearer when analyzing the testimonies of recent male converts. African men's conversion narratives suggest a far more politicized and totalizing relationship with Islam. Their testimonies stress that for them Islam provided a radical political and theological counterpoint to Christianity and Western ideologies and lifestyles, rather than a seamless transition from them. Some male converts decided to leave their families altogether and set up new communal situations, in which several African Muslim men lived together on the grounds of the local mosque or in shared accommodation. Freed from expectations of their non-Muslim kin, they were able to reinforce their beliefs within a community of Muslim men, and helped encourage each other to act out their faith. By cutting off ties to non-Muslim networks, the transformative nature of their encounters with Islam was both reflected and reinforced.

#### CONCLUSION

This entry suggests African women's unique and fluid incorporation of Islam into their everyday thoughts and practices. It is important to stress, however, that the transition to an Islamic way of life was not always achieved seamlessly. One

area which did provoke considerable dissent and conflicting responses among African women was the issue of multiple wives. Though most agreed it was acceptable under Islamic doctrine, in private women expressed an aversion to it. In this case, African women avoided ascribing a familiar “Africanness” to this practice (though polygamy was once widely established among Africans in southern Africa), enabling them to distance themselves emotionally from it. In addition, one can interpret women’s ability to accommodate several sometimes contradictory perspectives as a practical compromise, borne of the challenges placed on them by poverty and by domestic pressures within non-Muslim households. In this sense, then, women’s conversions reveal more about the limits of their socioeconomic positions than the imaginative geographies of their spiritual worlds.

Clearly, further research needs to be done. For example, it is difficult at this stage to ascertain the numerical scope of African conversions to Islam – umbrella organizations such as the Moslem Judicial Council have not yet undertaken an estimate of the African Muslim population. In addition, government censuses which chart the religious affiliation of individual South Africans are historically problematic. Also, new research based in other urban areas of the country – such as Durban and Johannesburg – with growing Muslim African populations needs to be conducted. This would help determine the scope and trajectory of the conversion process outlined here. Finally, a stronger historical investigation of African engagement with Islam is necessary – oral evidence indicates that Islam had a much longer history of interaction with the African population than the recent “explosion” of converts would suggest.

#### NOTE

\* Recent (2001) national census figures indicate the following population breakdown, by racial group: out of a total of 44.8 million South Africans, Africans constitute 79 percent, whites 9.6 percent, coloreds 8.9 percent, and Indians/Asian 2.5 percent. Importantly, in Western Cape Province, Africans are a minority (26.7 percent) and coloreds are a majority (53.9 percent). Scholars widely acknowledge racial categories created during the apartheid period are problematic and fail to reflect more complex ethnic dynamics.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Brandel-Syrier, *Black woman in search of God*, London 1962.  
 B. Callaway and L. Creevey, *The heritage of Islam. Women, religion and politics in West Africa*, Boulder, Colo. 1994.  
 C. Coles and B. Mack (eds.), *Hausa women in the twentieth century*, Madison, Wis. 1991.  
 R. A. Dunbar, Muslim women in African history, in N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels (eds.), *The history of Islam in Africa*, Athens, Ohio 2000, 397–417.

- H. Fisher, Conversion reconsidered. Some historical aspects of religious conversion in black Africa, in *Africa* 13:1 (1973), 27–39.  
 K. Holst-Petersen (ed.), *Religion, development and identity*, Uppsala 1987.  
 R. Horton, African conversion, in *Africa* 41:2 (1971), 85–108.  
 S. Jeppie, Reclassifications. Coloured, Malay, Muslim, in Z. Erasmus (ed.), *Coloured by history, shaped by place. New perspectives on coloured identities in Cape Town*, Cape Town 2001, 80–96.  
 R. Lee, Conversion or continuum? The spread of Islam among African women in Cape Town, in *Social Dynamics* 27:2 (2001), 62–85.  
 ———, Conversion and its consequences. Africans and Islam in Cape Town, in P. Broadhead and D. Keown (eds.), *Can faiths make peace? Holy wars and the resolution of religious conflicts from historical and contemporary perspectives*, London and New York 2007.  
 T. Ranger, The local and the global in southern African religious history, in R. W. Hefner (ed.), *Conversion to Christianity. Historical and anthropological perspectives on a great transformation*, Berkeley 1993, 65–98.  
 L. Sanneh, Translatability in Islam and in Christianity in Africa. A thematic approach, in W. E. A. van Beek, T. D. Blakely, and D. L. Thomson (eds.), *Religion in Africa. Experience and expression*, Portsmouth, N.H. 1994, 22–45.  
 R. C.-H. Shell, Islam in Southern Africa, 1652–1998, in N. Levtzion and R. L. Pouwels (eds.), *The history of Islam in Africa*, Athens, Ohio 2000, 327–48.  
 T. F. Sitoto and Imam E. Al-Seppe, The emerging and unorganised African Muslim sector, in *Annual Review of Islam in South Africa* 5 (2002), 43–6.  
 StatsOnline, Statistics South Africa, *Census 2001*, <www.statssa.gov.za/>.  
 B. Utas (ed.), *Women in Islamic societies. Social attitudes and historical perspectives*, London 1983.

REBEKAH LEE

## South America

South American Islam is growing steadily as a result of continuous flows of Muslim immigrants, improved coordination and services among existing Muslim communities and centers throughout South America, and the growing number of converts throughout the region. It is estimated that there are several million Muslims, both immigrants and converts, in South America as well as thousands of Latino Muslim migrants to the United States, found mainly in Los Angeles, Chicago, Miami, and New York City. South American and Latino Muslims add new cultural dimensions to Islam’s multiculturalism as they contribute mixed heritages of a generally South Asian Caribbean Islam, a predominantly Arab Luso-Hispanic Islam (Delval 1992), and a Hispanic Latino Islam.

Conversion to Islam is sometimes the result of contact with Muslim neighbors or co-workers. Other times it is encouraged by Islam’s resonance



with core social values in South American societies, such as the respect for family ties and marital fidelity. It might also be positively influenced by Islam's stance regarding racial equity versus the various forms of racial discrimination that persist in the Americas. Nor can this increase in conversion be totally dissociated from the broader context of religious change that has been occurring throughout the region in recent decades, be it within the Roman Catholic Church and the birth of liberation theology since the 1960s or Latin American indigenous theology, resurgence, and mobilization (Cleary and Steigenga 2004, 8–13). Increased conversion to Islam thus represents to some a new spiritual path away from traditional hierarchical religious institutions with a colonial legacy.

South American conversion, especially in many Luso-Hispanic and Latino communities, may be categorized as deeply gendered and characterized by a significantly higher number of female converts. These are usually middle-class women, in their late 20s or early 30s. Many of them are single and live with their Christian birth families even after conversion. Bearing in mind the already strong patriarchal institutions in South American societies, such gendered conversion demands research to explore in more depth the reasons leading women to embrace a new faith as well as further investigation of women's strategies in adopting and adapting Muslim traditions and lifestyles. Beyond the obvious restrictions in observing *halāl* food practices and limiting social interactions with non-kin men, South American women converts face other challenges in both their private and public spheres. Throughout Latin America, the deeply rooted "Turco complex," which is an anti-Arab/Muslim prejudice derived from old stereotypes of various Middle Eastern immigrant groups, enhances public mistrust of the newly Islamized identity of these Hispanic converts. In addition, taking into consideration the crucial role of the family in Hispanic society, conversions often arouse questioning, even interference on the part of family members, especially if they are devout Catholics (for firsthand accounts, see Jahad 2002). At the same time, since wearing the veil is usually associated with conservatism – especially with respect to gender roles (El-Solh and Mabro 1995, 9–11) – relatives are frequently the first to target women who choose to veil with clichés about the subjugation of women in Islam, albeit without consideration of women's often lower status in their own societies, including the persisting gender discrimination which still undermines and limits the role of women in Christian churches (O'Conner and Drury 1999, 77–80). Moreover, having long

been subject to stereotypes – ranging from the pure, revered woman of the Christian Marianismo complex to pervasive representations of women as submissive, exotic, and subordinate (Chambers 1999, 69) – it may be argued that female Muslim converts in South America already have the ability to successfully deal with this form of social pressure when it is applied to Islam.

The phenomenon of increased conversion to Islam in South America should also take into account the historical relationship between Islam and Hispanic culture, which can be traced back to medieval Moorish Spain. Islam in fact became a substantial part of the culture and identity of the Iberian people (Lopez-Baralt 1992, 1–25) who later came to the New World, especially after the expulsion of the Muslims after the Reconquista of Iberia. Interestingly, the Moorish presence itself in the New World gives hints of being significantly gendered. The Morisca, or Moorish woman, played a role in both conserving and transmitting culture within the family (for example through food, and by preserving Arabic and continuing religious practices) from generation to generation in Iberia (Perry 2000, 274–6), a role that likely continued in the New World context (Taboada 2004, 117, 235).

As the Muslim immigrant communities in Latin America grew throughout the twentieth century, they built cultural centers and mosques to provide them with the range of support needed to practice and preserve their religious heritage and cultural identity and assist them in coping with their new host societies. Meanwhile, in the Middle East there was a developing awareness of and rising scholarship about the cultural bonds tying the Muslim Middle East to the global Hispanic world. Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia started to provide financial and cultural aid to support those cultural centers and mosques (Imām 2001). In recent decades, regular conferences started to be held annually focusing on issues relevant to local Hispanic Muslim communities, including the need to strengthen and spread *da'wa* (Arabic, summons, inviting others to learn about Islam). These conferences are coordinated and sponsored by active Hispanic Muslim institutions and associations in Latin America such as CCIM (Islamic Cultural Center of Mexico), LAMU (Latin American Muslim Unity) in Peru and in the United States, as well as IOLA (Islamic Organization of Latin America) in Argentina (Ballivan n.d., LADO n.d.). The existence of these centers, the accessibility of knowledge about Islam, and the visibility of Muslim communities in Latin American societies in general further attracted the attention and curiosity of Hispanics

to learn more about Islam, which in turn has led to further local conversions.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Ballivan, Los Musulmanes. The Spanish ummah of the Muslim world, n.d., <<http://www.islamawareness.net/LatinAmerica/spanish.html>>.
- S. C. Chambers, More than wives and mothers, in J. Lopez-Arias and G. M. Varona-Lacey (eds.), *Latin America. An interdisciplinary approach*, New York 1999, 69–85.
- E. Cleary and T. J. Steigenga (eds.), *Resurgent voices in Latin America. Indigenous peoples, political mobilization, and religious change*, New Brunswick, N.J. 2004.
- Y. Corcoran-Nantes, Female consciousness or feminist consciousness? Women's consciousness raising in community-based struggles in Brazil, in B. G. Smith (ed.), *Global feminism since 1945*, New York, 2000, 81–100.
- R. Delval, *Les musulmans en Amérique latine et aux Caraïbes*, Paris 1992.
- C. F. El-Solh and J. Mabro (eds.), *Muslim women's choices. Religious belief and social reality*, Providence, R.I. 1995.
- I. M. Imām, al-Islām fi al-yābān wa-Amrika al-Atīniyya, in *al-Sharq al-Awsat*, 27 May 2001, <[www.asharqalawsat.com/pcstatic/04aaatopics/islam/islamjapan.html](http://www.asharqalawsat.com/pcstatic/04aaatopics/islam/islamjapan.html)>.
- S. Jihad, All things considered, Chicago Public Radio, 6 July 2002, <[www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1146265](http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1146265)>.
- LADO (Latino American Dawah Association), Muslim organizations in Latin America, n.d., <<http://www.latinodawah.org/links/links2.html>>.
- L. López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish literature. From the Middle Ages to the present*, trans. A. Hurley, San Juan, Puerto Rico 1992.
- J. T. Monroe, *Islam and the Arabs in Spanish scholarship (sixteenth century to the present)*, Leiden 1970.
- F. B. O'Connor and B. S. Drury, *The female face in patriarchy. Oppression as culture*, East Lansing, Mich. 1999.
- M. E. Perry, Moriscos and the limits of assimilation, in M. D. Meyerson and E. D. English (eds.), *Christians, Muslims and Jews*, Notre Dame, Ind. 2000, 274–89.
- G. H. Hernán Taboada, *La sombra del Islam en la conquista de América*, Mexico City 2004.

HEBA EL ATTAR

### Southeast Asia

Two types of explanation are commonly put forward to account for religious conversion. Some observers emphasize the personal aspects of individual faith. Others imply that conversion takes place as the result of political or economic changes in the wider world. At the personal level, religious conversion is viewed as a means of rationalizing internal change for an emerging reflexive self. Meanwhile, locally external factors, strongly affected by the process of globalization, have received the attention of other commentators (Hayami 2004). One

element that both of these types of explanation share is an appeal to rationality: the process of conversion from local practices and beliefs to Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, or other major world religions is often asserted to be part of a process of rationalization.

Conversion, however, is not simply an internal change of faith, nor can it be explained solely by external socioeconomic factors. Moreover, conversion is not a unidirectional process such as evolutionary theory.

Adoption of a world religion is not so much a rational choice between alternatives as it is a result of adaptation and negotiation involving the process of religious practice. In other words, world religion and local faith are not involved in a zero-sum game. Characterizing this process, Horton described the religions of Africa as often having two tiers: at a local level there were lesser spirits and over these there was a supreme god. Local spirits were seen as concerned with the daily affairs of the local community, the microcosm, while the supreme god was involved with the macrocosm. Others have described similar situations in other parts of the world for Theravada Buddhism and Christianity. Here Horton emphasized the presence of local religious cosmology. Meanwhile, other discussions, such as that of Fisher, have continued to emphasize the role of rationality in world religion during the historical transformations that involve widespread conversion to a world religion. This type of discussion often argues that new types of self-understanding only become possible as an element of particular historical formations (Horton 1971, Fisher 1973, Hefner 1993, van der Veer 1996).

#### CONVERSION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In contemporary Southeast Asia, comprising 40 percent of the total population, Muslims form the most numerous religious grouping. Buddhism is second in terms of numbers. In an area that includes Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, southern Philippines, and southern Thailand, Muslims are distributed over most of island Southeast Asia. In Southeast Asia, people began adopting Islam during the thirteenth century and conversion became more generally widespread in the fifteenth century after the Islamicization of Melaka, the largest center of trade. From here the religion spread to the island of Sumatra and coastally along the Malay Peninsula. Conversion was essentially peaceful and voluntary. There was no mass migration of Muslims or armed invasions. This gradual and voluntary adoption contrasts with conversion to Christianity, which

was often spread by missionaries who came as adjuncts to colonial administration.

Rather than adopting Islam wholesale as a replacement of local belief with a more rational world religion, it seems more likely that people adapted the religion in a process of negotiation concerning social reality. Few historical reports give accounts of conversion to Islam from a local religion or other world religion. However, conversions involving Islam can be found when there is intermarriage between Muslims and non-Muslims.

Several main patterns of conversion to Islam have emerged in the history of the spread of the faith:

1. Conversion in the course of trade through contact with Islamic merchants;
2. Conversion through contact with Sufis or other organized sects;
3. Conversion through inter-religious marriage;
4. Conversion promoted by a *hajjī* after returning from Pilgrimage; and
5. Conversion promoted by kings or leaders (Iimori 1982).

In Southeast Asia, conversion types 1, 2, and 5 have played the major role. In the thirteenth century, several Islamic states emerged on the north coast of Sumatra. Then, at the beginning of the fifteenth century the kingdom of Melaka, pivotal to East-West trading, became Islamicized. After Melaka was conquered by the Portuguese in 1511, Aceh in northern Sumatra and Mataram in Java became prominent Islamic states when the local leaders, influenced by contact with Muslim merchants, adopted Islam. In these examples, conversion types 1 and 5 were the main factors. Sufi influence, exerted via Arabian and Southeast Asians who studied in Mecca, was also important in the Islamization of Southeast Asia peoples.

Even during the early phases of Islamicization, conversion through inter-religious marriage was taking place: citing the fifteenth-century observations of Ibn Majid, Reid describes situation for Melaka Malays "The infidel marries Muslim women while the Muslim takes pagans to wife. You do not know whether they are Muslims or not" (Reid 1993, 143).

Descendants from these intermarriages were known as Peranakan in Indonesia and Zerbadee in Burma. In the nineteenth century, children from unions between Chinese man and Malaysian women were known as Baba. In 1819, when the British founded their original settlement at Singapore, the first inhabitants were Babas, who held a prominent position in local Chinese society. There

were few women among early Chinese immigrants. As a result, almost all the children born to the Chinese in Singapore in the first half of the nineteenth century, and a large proportion of those born there in the latter half, were Babas. During the closing decades of the nineteenth century, in the wake of a constant flow of newcomers from China, the Babas became a minority (Freedman 1962).

In the case of Baba and Peranakan, the Muslim wife usually became a member of her spouse's non-Muslim community. For the Zerbadee, where the intermarriage was between Indian Muslim men and Burmese Buddhist women, almost without exception, the descendants remained Muslims and formed a discrete community (Yegar 1972, 35). In each of these cases, the converts were mainly women and the historical record has paid them scant attention.

#### CONVERSION IN THE PRESENT

Rather than large-scale group conversion resulting from missionary activity, conversion to Islam is currently more common at the individual level, such as through intermarriage. Furthermore, formal conversion itself seems to rarely take place. Conversion and inter-religious marriage rarely show up in demographic data.

Some data have been made available for Singapore and Malaysia (Freedman 1962, Djamor 1965, Edmonds 1968, Hassan 1971, Golomb 1978, Kuo and Tong 1990). From these, it is apparent that intermarriage rarely occurs between Malay Muslims and other ethnic groups who are not Muslims. Hassan has characterized this as a double melting pot model, echoing Kennedy's triple melting pot model, in which marriages usually take place only between sects of same-faith Protestants, Catholics, or Jews. This model highlighted the inadequacy of the idea of a melting pot in which all American ethnic groups would blend together. Hassan similarly emphasized that marriages were taking place only within the same religions: Islam and Christianity (Hassan 1971). Two decades after Hassan's work, Kuo and Tong observed little change in this tendency among Muslims: Muslim Malays marrying only other Muslims and conversion from or to Islam rarely taking place (Kuo and Tong 1990). In Indonesia, up to the Islamic resurgence that started in the 1960s, mingling of Muslims and non-Muslims was known. These days, however, marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims are few and far between.

Even so, demographic and politico-economic conditions do sometimes arise under which marriages between Muslim and non-Muslims occur: in

these instances, the Muslims are usually in a minority and they have to adapt to their environment. Today, such conditions occur on the west coast of southern Thailand and in city environments, such as Bangkok. Few reports of the details of these intermarriages have been made. The next section, using examples from southern Thailand, discusses some aspects of the situation in which spouses convert because of inter-religious marriage.

#### GENDER AND CONVERSION

##### *Intermarriage between Muslims and Buddhists*

Carsten has pointed out the importance of sharing food and living space in creating kinship where it did not previously exist (Carsten 2000, 18). If conflicting religious practices make it hard to live in the same house, religious difference can make familial cohabitation impossible. In southern Thailand, to avoid this difficulty, when marrying across the religious divide, it is considered imperative that one of the partners switches religion. People assert, "Husband and wife must be of the same religion." Despite this inconvenience, in comparison to other areas in the region that have large populations of both Muslims and Buddhists, there is a high incidence of marriage across religions: in one village on the west coast of Southern Thailand about 20 percent of all marriages are between Muslim and Buddhist partners (Nishii 1989). By contrast, in a frontier location in Malaysia, where Muslims are in a majority, out of a total of 161 unions, Winzeler reported only 5 marriages (3.1 percent) between people of differing faiths. Chavivun also reported few mixed-religion marriages in Pattani on the east coast of southern Thailand (Winzeler 1985, 116–17, Chavivun 1982, 79–80).

On the west coast of southern Thailand, the extraordinary nature of these unions requires that one of the partners undergoes religious conversion to either Islam or Buddhism. Elsewhere in the border region, such as on the east coast of southern Thailand or in northern Malaysia, in the few reported cases of conversion connected with inter-religious marriage, in each instance, the Buddhist converted to Islam.

After marriage, all a Buddhist has to do to formally become Muslim is perform the *shahāda* (profession of faith). If neither party makes this formal conversion to Islam, both spouses are regarded as Buddhists. The only formal marker of the religious boundary is Islamic. In other words, the only ritual expression that a religious boundary has been crossed is the *shahāda* affirmation of faith. The new

spouse cannot be a Muslim unless this is done. By contrast, to be regarded as a Buddhist, a Muslim does not have to actively do anything. This type of crossing is not formally marked and is assumed by the absence of contrary affirmation by the Buddhist partner. In the vernacular, by performing the *shahāda*, a person literally "enters Muslim" (*khao khaek* in Thai), which expresses the concept of going into another realm and thus crossing a boundary. The same concept of entry is also found on the east coast in both southern Thailand and Malaysia. There conversion to Islam is expressed as "enter Malay" (*masuk Melayu* in Malay). In this area Malay is synonymous with Muslim.

Whether or not entry has taken place is judged from the daily practice of converts. In daily life, villagers usually regard those who go to the mosque as Muslims and those who go to the temple as Buddhists. After marriage, spouses cannot live in an extended household in which the senior generation practices a different religion; a spouse of a different religion would be obliged to conform with domestic practices and undergo de facto conversion. Here, religious boundaries limit the elasticity of cognatic kinship relations.

##### *Gender in Muslim-Buddhist marriages*

Proportionally, women, whether originally Muslim or Buddhist, convert about two times more often than men (Nishii 1989). The same tendency holds in southern Thailand and Bangkok (Nishii 1991). This suggests that it is easier for women to cross religious boundaries.

Even so, there is much ethnographic evidence from Thailand (Keyes 1984, Kirsch 1985) to show that, in their daily lives, women tend to perform religious practices more frequently than men, which is assumed to indicate greater devotion and dedication. Indeed, in Buddhism women are said to be "gatekeepers" of the faith (Kaim 1995a, 21, Van Esterik 1982, Kirsch 1985). Despite their primary role and seemingly greater dedication, Buddhist women abandon their faith more easily than men. How can we understand this contradiction?

##### *Women as the center of the house*

Carsten and Hugh-Jones have argued that in many Southeast Asian societies there is a conceptual continuum linking family dwellings and public or religious buildings. In this model, structures often incorporate public and private, male and female, sacred and profane spaces (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995, 24). Initially, this might seem to suggest that the dyad model which allocates space inside the house to women and outside to men

does not apply to societies in Southeast Asia. Many writers, however, have observed a strong association of the house with women in societies of Southeast Asia (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995, Carsten 1997, Karim 1995a, 1995b). For example, Carsten and Hugh-Jones have stated that Malays do not make a conceptual distinction between house and home: it is taken for granted that a house contains people, minimally a woman or a married couple (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995, 44).

Thai *baan* maps very poorly to “house” in English. *Baan* contains myriad connotations that are not present in the word “house.” In some discourses it can mean house or home, but in other cases it can refer to village, community, or even country. Another word, *rwan*, is more similar to the usual meaning of house in English. *Rwan* designates the physical structure of the dwelling. *Ork rwan* refers to having a separate household. When homesickness is experienced, the phrase is *khit thung baan* is used; *rwan* is not appropriate in this context. In adjectival form, *baan* refers to what is traditional as opposed to what is modern, for example *yaa baan* (traditional remedies). Furthermore, *baan* refers to homely, domestic things contrasted with improved versions, for example *kai baan* are chickens without any special breeding. From these usages, we can infer that *baan* connotes the sphere of a villager’s everyday life.

In southern Thailand, when villagers express the desire to build a house for their parents, they always voice it as, “I want to build a house for my mother,” not for the father. It seems that the sphere of female activities is conceived of as contained mainly within the house while the sphere for male activities is mainly beyond the house. In the same vein, Muslims and Buddhists ascribe similar idealized roles to husbands and wives: a good husband works outside and brings back money to put food on the table for his wife and children; a good wife cooks for the family, stays at home, and carefully manages the money that the husband brings home. If a man is overconcerned with housework, he is open to the mockery of other men, who are likely to say, “He fears his wife.”

These role allocations are also involved in control of sexual behavior. This concern is a constant worry to Muslim and Buddhist parents of daughters who, citing female fragility, tend to express anxiety when their daughters are out of the house.

### *The gendered body*

In this region, the definition of women and control of their bodies is often held to be the key to maintaining group boundaries and traditions.

Thus, observers suggest that female sexuality and morality are guarded in the name of the group identity and continuity (Hayami 1998, Ong 1995). If there is an element of truth in this, it is also possible to infer that religious boundaries are similarly guarded by gender morality. In fact, in Thai Buddhism, it is women who are seen as engaged in ongoing practical religious activity, becoming thereby “gatekeepers” of the faith. For example, Buddhism is almost entirely dependent on women to uphold central ritual and merit-making activities (Karim 1995a, 21, Van Esterik 1982). On the other hand, in literal Buddhist teaching, with its emphasis on monkhood and monastic practice, men are encouraged to occupy the central role in religious activities. In Islam, men are similarly regarded as central and religious observance is considered to enhance masculine attributes (Karim 1995b, 44).

These gender differences also become apparent in religious discourse that leans heavily on the concepts of *satsana* and *phasa*. In village talk, these are the two terms that can be translated as religion. *Satsana* refers to knowing *bun* (merit) and *pap* (sin). This type of knowledge characterizes the human quality that both Muslims and Buddhists share, in contrast to beasts, who lack such discrimination. Meanwhile, *phasa* refers to the practices that are peculiar to each religion. In standard Thai, *phasa* means “language” or “speech.” In southern Thailand, however, *phasa* is commonly understood as custom (*prapheni*) or practice (*patibat*), which sense is reflected in common terms used for the religious practices of Muslims, *phasa khaek*, and Buddhists, *phasa thai*. When talk turns to religious difference, *phasa* is always used in the contrastive terms. The boundary between Muslims and Buddhists is indicated by differences in what either group of adherents customarily does, that is, *phasa*. Each side must follow its own religious ways.

While women are more involved in the ongoing daily religious concern with the merit making that is referred to as *satsana*, the role of maintaining *phasa* boundaries tends to fall to men. For Buddhist and Muslim men, religion confers social identity at a stage in their lifecycle: Buddhists become full men after receiving ordination and Muslims enter manhood with circumcision. Circumcision can be considered to permanently inscribe a religious marker on the male body, one that gives visual evidence of religious identity. It is local common sense that, when an unidentified body washes up on the shore, if the man was circumcised, the body must be that of a Muslim. By contrast, there

is no local practice of similarly marking the bodies of Muslim women.

*Importance of daily life – resolving the contradictions*

It is possible to resolve the seeming contradiction between women playing the central role in ongoing religious practice and the greater ease with which they seem to cross religious boundaries. Things become clearer when the everyday life of villagers is considered. What matters, for both Muslims and Buddhists, is that women are the center of daily activities that practically and symbolically take place in the house. In discourse that concerns this, religious boundaries are not emphasized. Part of the reason that “husband and wife have to be the same religion” is a concern to exclude from family life any disruption that may be caused by religious difference.

At time of marriage, religious affiliation becomes an issue if the couple has differing affiliations. Once one of the partners crosses the religious boundary, however, the crossover is not criticized in gender terms. Any criticism of such boundary crossing is usually limited to the complaints of relatives. In other words, it is not seen as the legitimate concern of a wider religious group: such crossing matters only to the kin group. Gender morality is not mobilized to maintain religious boundaries. In the evidence from this part of southern Thailand, the most important public concern in the village is getting along well with other villagers without breaching the peace of daily life.

In places where Muslims are in the majority in Southeast Asia, public concern about losing religious adherents is much more likely and it is more usual for religious boundary maintenance to be of more concern to the wider community than to the kinship group. In these areas, conversion is rare and there are few inter-religious marriages. Southern Thailand, however, is by no means an isolated case dependent on local peculiarities. In the three Muslim communities in Bangkok there is also a high (16–36 percent) incidence of inter-religious marriage (Nishii 1991) and the rate of conversion for women is higher than for men. This is evidence that conversion to and from Islam depends on extant demographic and politico-economic conditions. Furthermore, conversion is likely to result from personal adaptation and negotiation in the particular historical formation in which people find themselves.

So far, the effect on conversion of the propagation movements associated with the recent resurgence of Islamism has not been well reported in academia,

though it is sometimes covered in mass media. The effect of the movement on the topography of the world religious features is a matter for continued observation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J. Carsten, *The heart of the hearth. The process of kinship in a Malay fishing community*, Oxford 1997.
- , Introduction. Cultures of relatedness, in J. Carsten (ed.), *Cultures of relatedness. New approaches to the study of kinship*, Cambridge 2000, 1–36.
- and S. Hugh-Jones (eds.), *About the house. Lévi-Strauss and beyond*, Cambridge 1995.
- P. Chavivun, Ethnic relations among Thai, Thai Muslim and Chinese in South Thailand. Ethnicity and interpersonal interaction, in D. Y. H. Wu (ed.), *Ethnicity and interpersonal integration. A cross cultural study*, Singapore 1982.
- J. Djamour, *Malay kinship and marriage in Singapore*, London 1959, repr. 1965.
- J. Edmonds, Religion, intermarriage and assimilation. The Chinese in Malaya, in *Race* 10 (1968), 57–67.
- P. van Esterik (ed.), *Women of Southeast Asia*, De Kalb, Ill. 1982, repr. 1996.
- H. J. Fisher, Conversion reconsidered. Some historical aspects of religious conversion in black Africa, in *Africa* 43:1 (1973), 27–40.
- M. Freedman, Chinese kinship and marriage in Singapore, in *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 3 (1962), 65–73.
- L. Golomb, *Brokers of morality. Thai ethnic adaptation in a rural Malaysian setting*, Honolulu 1978.
- R. Hassan, Interethnic marriage in Singapore. A sociological analysis, in *Sociology and Social Research* 55 (1971), 305–23.
- Y. Hayami, Motherhood redefined. Women’s choices on family rituals and reproduction in the peripheries of Thailand, in *Sojourn* 13:2 (1998), 242–62.
- , *Between hills and plains. Power and practice in socio-religious dynamics among Karen*, Kyoto 2004.
- R. W. Hefner (ed.), *Conversion to Christianity*, Berkeley 1993.
- R. Horton, African conversion, in *Africa* 41 (1971), 85–108.
- K. Iimori, Conversion, in Association for Islamic Studies in Japan (supervisor), *Encyclopedia of Islam* [in Japanese], Tokyo 1982, 133–4.
- W. J. Karim, *Women and cultures. Between Malay adat and Islam*, Boulder, Colo. 1992.
- , Introduction. Gender in Southeast Asia, in W. J. Karim (ed.), *“Male” and “female” in developing Southeast Asia*, Oxford 1995a, 1–34.
- , Bilateralism and gender in Southeast Asia, in W. J. Karim (ed.), *“Male” and “female” in developing Southeast Asia*, Oxford 1995b, 35–74.
- C. F. Keyes, Mother or mistress but never a monk. Buddhist notions of female gender in rural Thailand, in *American Ethnologist* 11:2 (1984), 223–41.
- T. Kirsch, Text and context. Buddhist sex roles/culture of gender revised, in *American Ethnologist* 12:2 (1985), 302–20.
- E. Kuo and C. Tong, *Religion in Singapore*, Singapore 1990.
- R. Nishii, Intermarriage between Muslims and Buddhists in southern Thailand [in Japanese], in *Quarterly Journal of Anthropology* 20:4 (1989), 51–116.
- , Muslim community in Bangkok. A preliminary report on Muslim communities at Baan Doon and

- Khuukhot (Muu 3), in Y. Tsubouchi (ed.), *The formation of urban civilization in Southeast Asia 2*, Kyoto 1991, 74–101.
- A. Ong and M. G. Peletz (eds.), *Bewitching women and pious men. Gender and body politics in Southeast Asia*, Berkeley 1995.
- A. Reid, *Southeast Asia in the age of commerce 1450–1680*, ii, *Expansion and crisis*, New Haven, Conn. 1993.
- P. van der Veer, Religion, in A. Barnard and J. Spencer (eds.), *Encyclopedia of social and cultural anthropology*, London and New York 1996, 482–87.
- R. Winzeler, *Ethnic relations in Kelantan*, Singapore 1985.
- M. Yeger, *The Muslims of Burma. A study of a minority group*, Wiesbaden 1972.

RYOKO NISHII

## Western Europe

Conversion to Islam appears to be a gendered process. In some studies it is stated that two-thirds of the converts are female (Wohlrab-Sahr 1999, Wagtendonk 1994, Haleem 2003). Yet it is difficult to verify this statement since most European countries lack reliable statistics. Most studies focus on the conversion experience and do not give insight into the continuation and transmission of the new Islamic identity (Hermansen 2006). Conversion from Islam is hardly studied.

### CONCEPTS AND HISTORY

There is no word for conversion in Islam but there is the Arabic verb *aslama* that conveys the idea of becoming a Muslim and literally means “to submit” (Dutton 1999). Many “new Muslims” dislike the word convert and rather use expressions like “to embrace Islam,” “to accept Islam,” or “to take *shahāda*.” According to Islamic missiology, reversion is the correct notion since Islam is not a new religion but the originary and natural religion for humankind (van Nieuwkerk 2006).

Historically, Islam spread as the result of both militant and peaceful activities. Muslim traders paved the way for men of religion and once Muslims institutions began to be set up an Islamic ambience was created that became conducive to conversion. This model of conversion from “top to bottom” is less common in Western Europe, which has more the character of “bottom to top”; witnessing through word and lifestyle induces people to convert, after which an Islamic ambience is created (Woodberry 1992).

The role of Sufism in spreading Islam to the West is generally accepted as very great (Dutton 1999). A considerable number of Westerners were first attracted to Sufism and then to Islam. While in

the 1960s Sufism was part of the “hippie” movement and divorced from its Islamic roots, by the 1990s it was increasingly known as Islamic mysticism (Jawad 2006). In addition, a modernist interpretation of Islam with a message of rationality is spreading and is expressed in conversion stories on the Internet (van Nieuwkerk 2006). Several *da’wa* or missionary organizations are active in diverse countries and on the Internet (Poston 1992, Hadad 2006), among which the Tablighi Jamaat is prominent. As with most *da’wa* movements, they call on Muslims to become or remain good Muslims as well as summon non-Muslims to the faith. Being a transnational movement, the Tablighi Jamaat adopted travel as the most effective method of personal reform and *da’wa* (Masud 2000).

At present, most conversions take place in relation to the immigrant community in Western Europe. Living in a multicultural environment, meeting Muslims, and particularly finding a Muslim partner trigger interest in Islam that can eventually lead to conversion. Yet there are also so-called “cold” conversions. Allievi (1998) distinguishes two main forms of conversion, rational and relational. The rational conversion is not induced by people but by an intellectual search. It can be subdivided into intellectual, political, and mystically oriented routes. The relational conversion can be either instrumental or non-instrumental. Non-instrumental relational conversions are induced by relationships with Muslims. Instrumental conversion usually pertains to the marriage of a European male with a Muslim woman and does not necessarily entail a religious transformation.

### CONVERSION PROCESSES

Whereas the only formal requirement is to say the declaration of faith – the *shahāda* – publicly in front of witnesses, conversion is usually experienced as a substantial transformation of religious, social, and cultural aspects of daily life. Conversion is embodied through taking up new bodily practices pertaining to praying, fasting, and food. In addition, important markers of identity are often changed, such as the name and appearance, including wearing *hijāb* or occasionally *niqāb*. Moreover, converting frequently leads to changing social and cultural practices, for instance related to celebrations or contacts with the opposite sex. (Bourque 2006). The way the new religious identity is embodied is also connected to the nationality of the spouse. Whereas in Scotland most converts are married to Pakistanis and learn Pakistani customs, in Germany the Turkish community is influential. These transformations regularly create

problems with the family of origin; in the Dutch case, most problems pertain to food and alcohol consumption, religious celebrations, and funerals (van Nieuwkerk 2004).

Some converts change radically, others slowly transform aspects of their identity and religious practice. Roald (2006) describes a three-staged process for most European converts: “love,” “disappointment,” and “maturity.” In the initial phase many converts tend to be emotionally obsessed with the new religion and want to practice every detail of the Islamic precepts. The second stage is strongly linked to disillusionment with the behavior and ideas of individuals born and raised as Muslims, to the extent that some tend to turn away from Islam. During the third stage, many new Muslims search for new understandings of Islamic ideas and attitudes according to their own particular cultural context. For example, the “Scandinavian values” that resurface in Swedish converts’ discourse on Islam are those related to “equal gender opportunities” (Roald 2006).

#### ISLAM AS SPIRITUAL ALTERNATIVE

Sufism has a wide appeal among converts in Western Europe. Sufism can fill a spiritual vacuum created by such ideologies as secularism, socialism, and modernism. Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, some primarily young Europeans who were disillusioned with the Western material way of life and seeking satisfaction from non-Western spiritual traditions decided to convert. In Britain, for instance, women – particularly those from the upper classes – are drawn to the spiritual values of Islam that Sufism espouses. Whereas dogmatic theologians tend to emphasize the masculine dimension, the Sufis affirm the importance of the feminine dimension of Divine reality (Jawad 2006). Also, a significant number of Western intellectuals converted to Sufism, including the late French philosopher René Guénon. His teachings on Sufism have become a model for Europeans who are interested in the spiritual dimension of Islam (Köse 1996). Currently there are many Sufi groups in Europe and the United States that attract converts to Islam (Haddad and Lummis 1987).

Modernist interpretations of Islam also attract a large following among converts. The religious discourse of converts in the West shows recurrent patterns. First, Islam is perceived as the ideal social and moral religion, providing a stable family life and regulating the relationships between the sexes. Second, Islam is viewed as a pervasive, practical religion, which is embedded in daily life. Third, Islam is felt to be a rational, scientific, and logical religion. This last discourse contrasts Christianity with

Islam, using such examples as the concept of the Trinity versus the unity of God; Jesus as the son of God versus Jesus as a prophet; the Bible as written and changed by human hand versus the unchanged perfect state of the Qur’ān; and the presence versus the absence of the idea of Original Sin. The Bible is presented as contradictory of modern science whereas the Qur’ān is held to be in correspondence with science (van Nieuwkerk 2006, Haddad 2006, Köse 1996).

Which interpretations of Islam are most appealing is related to personal circumstances and the converts’ biographies. For some, conversion is a way to structure their life and functions as a “methodization of life conduct.” For others, the “otherness of Islam” provides them with a means to rebel against society. Islam also provides converts with a new way of belonging and identity. Research from Germany (and the United States), indicates that three spheres of problems in particular are articulated in the conversion process: first, problems related to sexuality and gender, second to social mobility, and third to nationality and ethnicity (Wohlrab-Sahr 1999). Allievi (1998) distinguishes different options for the various conversion itineraries. Whereas the “relational converts” are attracted to aspects such as belonging to a different culture, “rational converts” have a more specific Islamic discourse in which Islam is perceived as clear, simple, and rational. For the politically inclined converts, Islam provides a “spiritualization” of politics. For the spiritually oriented, Islam offers much as well. In Italy and France, for instance, the rational itinerary is more common among male converts and the relational route among females converts (*ibid.*). It is precisely Islam’s broad spectrum of options, religiously, ideologically, and in orthopraxis, that constitutes its appeal to many converts. Islam is also reformulated in the European context. In the development of a “European Islam” or a “Scandinavian Islam,” converts play a prominent role (Allievi 2002, Roald 2006).

#### GENDER

Islam appeals to many female converts because of its gender discourse, that is, Islamic ideas related to sexuality, the construction of gender, and motherhood. Many female converts feel that personal freedom in the West is exaggerated, particularly sexual freedom. Islamic rules, if applied properly, contribute to clarity and stability in familial and marital life. In addition, some women converts feel that in Islam they are perceived less as sex objects than in the West. With regard to the construction of gender, converts are convinced of the equality



of men and women in Islam. Whereas they hold that the sexes are of equal value, most converts do not consider them of equal nature. Converts in Scotland, Scandinavia, and the Netherlands adhere to the notion of “equal but different,” or “gender equity” (Sultán 1999, van Nieuwkerk 2004, Roald 2006, Bourque 2006). In Germany, the ideas of essential manhood and womanhood are not only Islamically defined but also plausible in light of a deeply anchored German “cultural knowledge” with which they resonate. Such essentialist notions are strongly contested in most European countries, which gives the Islamic discourse a critical and innovative content. These critical yet familiar views on gender and sexuality can make the Islamic discourse attractive and plausible to female (and male) converts (Hofmann 1997).

Yet recently the development of an Islamic feminist discourse that differs from the essentialist gender discourse has also been noted among converts. Some converts have moved over time from an equity approach to a feminist understanding and critical reading of the Qurʾān (Badran 2006).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Allievi, *Les convertis à l'islam. Les nouveaux musulmans d'Europe*, Paris 1998.
- , Converts and the making of European Islam, in *ISIM Newsletter* 11:1 (2002), 26.
- M. Badran, Feminism and conversion. Comparing British, Dutch and South African life stories, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 192–230.
- N. Bourque, How Deborah became Aisha. The conversion process and the creation of female Muslim identity, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 231–50.
- Y. Dutton, Conversion to Islam. Quranic paradigm, in C. Lamb and M. Bryant (eds.), *Religious conversion. Contemporary practices and controversies*, London and New York 1999, 151–66.
- Y. Y. Haddad, The quest for peace in submission. Reflections on the journey of American women converts to Islam, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 17–48.
- and A. T. Lummis, *Islamic values in the United States*, New York 1987.
- H. A. Haleem, Experiences, needs and potentials of new Muslim women in Britain, in H. Jawad and T. Benn (eds.), *Muslim women in the United Kingdom and beyond. Experiences and images*, Leiden 2003, 91–105.
- M. Hermansen, Keeping the faith. Convert Muslim mothers and the transmission of female Muslim identity in the West, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 250–76.
- G. Hofmann, *Muslimin werden. Frauen in Deutschland konvertieren zum Islam*, Frankfurt 1997.
- H. Jawad, Female conversion to Islam. The Sufi paradigm, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 151–72.
- A. Köse, *Conversion to Islam. A study of native British converts*, London and New York 1996.
- M. K. Masud, Introduction, in M. K. Masud (ed.), *Travelers in faith. Studies of the Tablighi Jamāʿat as a transnational Islamic movement for faith renewal*, Leiden 2000.
- K. van Nieuwkerk, Veils and wooden clogs do not go together, in *Ethnos* 69:2 (2004), 229–47.
- , “Islam is your birthright.” Conversion, reversion and alternation. The case of new Muslimas in the West, in J. N. Bremmer, W. J. van Bekkum, and A. L. Molendijk (eds.), *Cultures of conversions*, Leuven 2006, 151–65.
- , Gender, conversion and Islam. A comparison of online and off-line conversion narratives, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 93–120.
- L. Poston, *Islamic daʿwah in the West. Muslim missionary activity and the dynamics of conversion to Islam*, Oxford 1992.
- A. S. Roald, The shaping of a Scandinavian “Islam.” Converts and gender equal opportunity, in K. van Nieuwkerk (ed.), *Women embracing Islam. Gender and conversion in the West*, Austin, Tex. 2006, 48–71.
- M. Sultán, Choosing Islam. A study of Swedish converts, in *Social Compass* 46:3 (1999), 325–37.
- K. Wagtendonk, *Islam, godsdienstwetenschappen en de ideeën van al-Nisa*, Amsterdam 1994.
- M. Wohlrab-Sahr, *Konversion zum Islam in Deutschland und den USA*, Frankfurt 1999.
- J. D. Woodberry, Conversion in Islam, in H. Newton Malony and S. Southard (eds.), *Handbook of religious conversion* Birmingham, Ala. 1992, 22–41.

KARIN VAN NIEUWKERK

# Religious Practices: Obedience and Disobedience in Islamic Discourses

## Overview

According to traditional Islamic discourses, a wife is obliged to obey her husband and her failure to do so constitutes *nushūz*. *Nushūz* is treated in works of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and Qur'ānic exegesis (*tafsīr*) as a wife's disobedience, rebelliousness, or sexual refusal. Condemning *nushūz*, Muslim authorities stress wives' duties of obedience (*tā'at*) and sexual availability to their husbands, often quoting *ḥadīths* that emphasize these female obligations. Yet contrary to what is frequently asserted, the Qur'ān itself does not, when referring to women's *nushūz* (4:34), define it as wifely disobedience. Further, the Qur'ān also refers to the husband's *nushūz* (4:128). Despite the greater attention accorded to female *nushūz* by exegetes and jurists, male *nushūz* is discussed in a variety of contexts.

Lexically, *nushūz* means rising up or protruding, and is often glossed as *irtifā'*. By extension, it is understood as one spouse unjustifiably elevating him or herself above the other. The triliteral root *n-sh-z* appears elsewhere in the Qur'ān with the root meaning of rising (for example 2:259). A woman who commits *nushūz* is called *nāshiz* or, less often, *nāshiza*. Though *nāshiz* is grammatically masculine, the term refers exclusively to women. Though men can commit *nushūz*, they are not referred to as *nāshiz* if they do so.

## WOMEN'S *NUSHŪZ* IN THE QUR'ĀN, EXEGESIS, AND JURISPRUDENCE

Most discussions of *nushūz* concern themselves with the Qur'ānic use of the term in 4:34. Though this verse does not explicitly refer to husbands and wives, it is taken for granted by traditional interpreters that it applies to spouses:

Men are *qawwāmūn* of women, because of what God has given some more than others, and because of what they expend from their property. Righteous women are *qānitāt*, guarding the unseen according to what God has guarded.... Those [women] whose *nushūz* you fear, admonish them, and abandon them in bed, and strike them. If they obey you (*ata'nakum*), do not pursue a strategy against them.

This verse encompasses several difficult terms. In addition to *nushūz* and “obey,” two have particu-

lar importance: *qawwāmūn* and *qānitāt*. According to traditional understandings of the meaning of *qawwāmūn* (sing. *qawwām*), the husband is “in charge of” his wife. This degree of authority as well as responsibility results from divine favor of males over females in general, as well as a husband's material support of his wife. It is his role as *qawwām* that entitles a husband to his wife's obedience and, according to traditional exegetes, gives him the right of correction (*ta'dīb*) in case of her *nushūz*.

Words related to *qānitāt*, the term the Qur'ān uses to describe righteous women, are used elsewhere in the Qur'ān exclusively for a believer's “devout obedience” (*qunūt*) to God. Both Mary (3:43) and Abraham (16:120) are praised as “devoutly obedient.” Another verse (33:35) refers to “devoutly obedient men and devoutly obedient women.” (See also 2:116, 238; 3:17; 30:26; 33:31; 39:9; 66:5, 12.) In contrast, the verb *ata'a* (Form IV of the root *ṭ-w-ʿ*), “to obey,” is used in the Qur'ān both for obedience to God and/or the Messenger and for one human being's obedience to another. While devout obedience is always treated positively, obedience can be viewed positively, as when it is to God and/or the Messenger (see, for example, 4:13; 9:71), or negatively, when it is given to human beings in preference to Divine commands (for example 3:100; 6:116; 18:38; 25:52; 26:151).

In the context of verse 4:34, however, traditional exegetes overwhelmingly understand *qānitāt* to refer to women who are obedient to their husbands. In his massive commentary on the Qur'ān, al-Ṭabarī records the opinions of ten earlier authorities on the meaning of *qānitāt*, “devoutly obedient women.” Two gloss it as “obedient (*muṭī'āt*) to God and their husbands”; seven simply as “obedient”; and one as “obedient to their husbands” (al-Ṭabarī 1954, 8:294). Indeed, a number of commentators explicitly declare in their discussions of this verse that “*qunūt* is *tā'at*.”

Exegetes often support their view that women owe their husbands obedience by quoting *ḥadīths* that praise women's obedience to their husbands and castigate disobedient women. Several sayings attributed to the Prophet are frequently cited, including one stating: “The best of women is the one who if you look at her, she pleases you, and

if you command her, she obeys you, and in your absence she guards herself and your property.” Another suggests that “If a woman prays the five [daily prayers] and fasts the month [of Ramaḍān] and guards her chastity and obeys her husband, it will be said to her: Enter Paradise by any gate you wish.”

Other *ḥadīths* also link a husband’s pleasure or displeasure with his wife to heavenly sanctions or rewards. It is said that a woman who refuses her husband’s call to his bed will be cursed by angels until morning; in contrast, a woman who dies while her husband is pleased with her will have her entry into paradise assured. Another states that a wife will get a reward for obeying her husband equivalent to a man’s reward for *jihād*. These *ḥadīths* link together a woman’s religious obligations to pray, to fast, and to guard her chastity (all of which are required of men as well; see, for example, 24:30, 33:35) with her duty to obey her husband. In this way, a wife’s obedience to her husband takes on importance as a major religious obligation, her performance of which can affect her entry into paradise.

Though traditional religious authorities affirm without fail that women, like men, have a primary duty of obedience to God, they repeatedly state that once a married woman’s obligations to God are fulfilled, her next duty is to her husband whom she must obey in all lawful matters. Thus, a woman may fulfill her required religious devotions even over her husband’s objections; however, she may not perform voluntary prayers or fasts against his wishes. If she does so, God will not accept her supererogatory acts of worship since she is disobeying her husband in order to perform them. According to al-Qurṭubī, “She must obey him and accept his commands so long as they do not involve sinful disobedience (*ma’siyya*) [to God].” Only if what her husband asks is *ma’siyya* may she refuse him. Otherwise, her failure to obey itself becomes *ma’siyya*, sinful disobedience. While *ma’siyya* typically refers to sinful disobedience to God, through an interpretive maneuver it is made to come full circle: God has ordained that women must obey husbands, thus disobedience (*nushūz*) to one’s husband is sinful disobedience (*ma’siyya*) to God. A wife’s *nushūz*, then, is straying from “what Exalted God made obligatory for them regarding obedience (*tā’a*) to their husbands” (Al-Qurṭubī 1997).

Because of their explicit focus on the Qur’ānic text, the exegetes devote significant attention to the scripturally-sanctioned measures that a husband may take in case of his wife’s *nushūz*. They agree that striking a *nāshiz* wife is permissible in

cases where admonition and abandonment in bed have not resulted in her obedience. Most, however, specify that any corrective blows must be non-violent (*ghayr mubarrih*); cannot break bones, leave bruises, or cause blood to flow; and must not be on the face. Some, though by no means all, state that the striking must be done with a *miswak* (a twig used for a toothbrush), a folded cloth, or even a blade of grass, rendering it more symbolic than physically painful.

While exegetes discuss a wife’s duty of obedience extensively, jurisprudential texts devote little attention to obedience per se, though some do cite the same *ḥadīth* given earlier. Rather, the jurists focus on specific actions by the wife that contravene her husband’s rights over her. Generally, they define female *nushūz* in one or more of four ways: sexual refusal; departure from the conjugal home without permission; disobedience or disrespectfulness more generally; and, in a minority view, a wife’s non-performance of her religious duties. While the jurists occasionally mention the measures discussed in 4:34, they pay more attention to another non-Qur’ānic penalty for a wife’s *nushūz*: her loss of her maintenance rights (*nafaqa*).

The legal schools differ as to which specific actions by the wife constitute *nushūz* and what its legal consequences should be. According to the Ḥanafī jurists, only the wife’s unauthorized departure from the conjugal domicile is *nushūz*, which leads to the forfeiture of her right to maintenance. Sexual refusal by itself is not *nushūz*, since her husband may have sex with her forcibly if she remains at home. This view is attributed to the school eponym, Abū Ḥanīfa and his two major disciples at least as early as al-Khaṣṣāf’s third/ninth century treatise on maintenance rights, and it has been repeatedly expressed as the authoritative school doctrine (al-Khaṣṣāf 1984, 35–6, Qāḍī Khān 1994, 270). It continues to be held and defended, though now somewhat euphemistically, as in this recent English-language text: “She shall not be deemed to be *nashiza* if she does not allow him to be intimate with her while she is living with him at his house. It is taken that she shall be in his power and [he] can be intimate with her by applying some pressure (Wani 1987, 23–4).

In contrast to this view, the Shāfi’ī jurists unambiguously equate sexual refusal to *nushūz* (*al-’imtinā’a nushūz*), considering it equivalent to unauthorized absence from the marital home (al-Shāfi’ī 1993, 5:285). One definition ties these specific offenses to the broader issue of obedience, declaring that a wife’s *nushūz* is “having departed from obedience to him by going out without his permission or refus-

ing to let him take pleasure in her” (*Hawāshī al-Shirwānī*, 480). Both types of *nushūz* are grounds for the wife’s loss of maintenance as well as her turn with her husband, if he has more than one wife. This broad formulation is shared by most Mālikī and Ḥanbalī jurists as well. However, the literalist Zāhirī school, which did not survive the classical period, held that a husband had to continue to maintain his wife despite her *nushūz*, reasoning that neither the Qur’ān nor the Prophet made an exception to the husband’s duty of support for this case (Ibn Ḥazm 1998, 7:88–9).

Shī’ī jurisprudence formulates the nexus of *nushūz*, obedience, and sexual availability a bit differently. A wife’s *tamkīn* (making herself [sexually] available; submitting herself to him) is the grounds for her maintenance. A *nāshiz* wife does not make herself available and therefore forfeits her right to maintenance. For Shī’ī jurists, then, the opposite of *nushūz* is not obedience, but rather *tamkīn*. Broadly, however, the same logic applies.

#### MEN’S *NUSHŪZ* IN THE QUR’ĀN, EXEGESIS, AND JURISPRUDENCE

Appearing, like 4:34, adjacent to other verses discussing marital discord, the Qur’ānic passage on men’s *nushūz* states:

If a woman fears *nushūz* or *i’rād* from her husband, there is no blame on them if they come to a settlement, and settlement is better, even though people’s souls are stingy (4:128).

This verse couples the husband’s *nushūz* with his *i’rād*, rejection or desertion, of his wife. The husband’s *nushūz* is generally understood as his aversion toward, or dislike of, his wife. One exegete defines it simply as “repulsion” (*bughd*) (al-Baghawī 1988, 1:486). Most accounts of the occasion of revelation of this verse link it to a husband who turns away from his wife because of her advancing age. Some hold that Rafī b. Khadīj married a young bride and favored her over his wife of many years while other accounts suggest that it was revealed about the Prophet and his wife Sawda.

In their discussions of a husband’s *nushūz*, the exegetes and jurists largely concur on both definition and solution. The remedy, they agree, is for the wife to surrender some of her rights in order to remain married to a man who is no longer attracted to her: “The husband’s *nushūz* toward her is his dislike (*karāhiyya*) of her. God has permitted him to retain her while disliking her and they may reach a settlement. And that is an indication that her settlement with him is by forgoing part of her rights to him” (al-Shāfi’ī 1993, 5:279). In particular, she

can give up her right to a turn among his wives or agree that he will spend more time with his other wife or wives than with her. Alternatively, or additionally, she can agree to forgo some or all of her maintenance.

While most defined the husband’s *nushūz* as disinclination toward a wife, which did not specifically contravene any of her rights – and in fact served as a reason for her to give up more of her rights in order to not be divorced – a smaller number of authorities held that the husband’s *nushūz* was his maltreatment of his wife. In particular, frequent or excessive violence toward his wife, including striking her in the face, was considered *nushūz*. In this case, the husband’s *nushūz* could serve as motive for a different type of settlement: a negotiated divorce.

#### *NUSHŪZ* AS ANTIPATHY: TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY DISCOURSES

In addition to the treatment of a wife’s *nushūz* and a husband’s *nushūz*, jurists (more often than exegetes, who were focused on the specific Qur’ānic passages) discuss *nushūz* in a gender-neutral fashion as “the dislike of each spouse for the other.” This definition of *nushūz* comes to the fore most frequently in discussions of financial settlements related to divorce. The jurists disagree over whether the amount of compensation paid in cases of divorce is to be based on who is at fault. Ibn Ḥanbal, for example, states that: “If he is the one who feels *nushūz* toward her, then it is not lawful for him to take back anything at all of what he has given her [as dower]. If she is the one who feels *nushūz* toward him, then he can” (Spectorsky 1993, 252). This is not the universal view; other groups of jurists hold that while it is reprehensible for a man to take excessive compensation in order grant a divorce if the *nushūz* is on his part, it is not legally invalid. The key feature of all these discussions is that they assume a basic parallel between the spouses. They acknowledge that antipathy or dislike is possible on the part of either spouse; a wife’s *nushūz* may thus be aversion, leading to divorce, not merely punishable disobedience.

This parallel treatment of the spouses is the key feature of most contemporary efforts to re-evaluate *nushūz* and obedience and their place in modern Muslim marriages. Even those texts that seek to argue for *nushūz* as “marital disharmony,” though, sometimes do not even mention the Qur’ānic verse dealing with the husband’s *nushūz* – in this way, replicating the emphasis of earlier sources on women’s *nushūz* even as they dispute the traditional understanding of female *nushūz* as wifely disobedience.

Some have sought to define women's *nushūz* as sexual misconduct that, while falling short of actual adultery, nonetheless threatens the marriage; the Prophet reportedly stated that the consequences outlined in 4:34 were to be applied in cases of "clear lewdness" (Abou El Fadl 2001, 172). It has also been argued that *nushūz* is not necessarily a wife's behavior in relation to her husband, but rather women's in general. In this way, *nushūz* is a social issue, not a marital one. With regard to the measures discussed in 4:34, the state, not the husband should be the implementing agency.

Though this suggestion is aimed at reducing violence toward women, the idea that the state could be involved in the regulation of *nushūz* is not new. Institutions for the incarceration of *nāshiz* wives existed in both Algeria and Tunisia. In Egypt, a law governing "the house of obedience" (*bayt al-tā'a*), allowed the police to forcibly return a woman to her husband's home if she was deemed *nāshiz* because of having left without permission. This law, which was not based in any provision of traditional jurisprudence, has now been changed after having been in force for most of the twentieth century. While an Egyptian husband may still obtain a judgment against the wife, it serves as grounds for divorce, not for forcible return. Yet many contemporary Muslims, both scholars and laypersons, still subscribe to the basic outlines of traditional views of female obedience and *nushūz*. While few explicitly defend the view that women can only leave their homes with permission, women's sexual refusal or other recalcitrant behavior is still deemed sufficient justification for punitive action. One recent study of married Egyptian women found that 86.4 percent of them felt that a husband was justified in striking his wife for disobedience (Ammar 2000).

A few modern authors have suggested that a wife's *nushūz* lies in failing to perform her prayers or fast during Ramaḍān, a view also linked to a small number of classical jurists, including Ibn Rushd, a prominent sixth/twelfth century Mālikī. These commentators present an inversion of traditional views. While previously a woman's disobedience to her husband constituted an offense to God, here failure to observe her obligations to God becomes an offense to be punished by the husband.

#### CONCLUSION

*Nushūz*, though referred to only twice in the Qur'an and seldom in the *ḥadīth* literature, nonetheless occupies a central role in both classical and contemporary attempts to define marital roles and understand male–female relationships in household and society. While much more attention has been

focused on female obedience and *nushūz* – both by premodern and contemporary scholars, as well as the authors of modern laws in the Muslim world – any attempt to rethink *nushūz* must acknowledge and grapple with the scriptural, exegetical, and legal understanding of men's *nushūz* as well. In fact, it is in the tension between these two norms, with their idealized views of male and female duties, and the acknowledgment that *nushūz* on the part of either spouse can lead to marital dissolution, that one must understand recent attempts to redefine *nushūz*.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- al-Baghawī, *Tafsīr al-Baghawī. Mā'ālim al-tanzīl*, Riyadh 1997<sup>4</sup>.  
*Ḥawāshī al-Shirwānī wa-Ibn Qāsim al-'Abbādī 'alā Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj bi-sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Beirut 1996.  
 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Kāfī fī fiqh abl al-Madīna*, Beirut 1987.  
 Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā bi-al-āthār*, ed. A. M. Shākīr, Beirut 1988.  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Aḥkām al-nisā'*, Jeddah and Beirut 1981.  
 Ibn al-Taymiyya, *Fiqh al-Muzānī. Fī al-zawāj wa-al-'asbra wa-al-ṭalāq*, Beirut 1989.  
 Ibn al-Naqīb al-Miṣrī, *Reliance of the traveller. The classic manual of Islamic sacred law 'Umdat al-salik*, ed. and trans. N. H. M. Keller, Beltsville, Md. 1991, 1994 (rev. ed.).  
 al-Khaṣṣāf, *Kitāb al-nafaqāt*, Beirut 1984.  
 Mālik b. Anas, *al-Mudawwana al-Kubrā*, Beirut 1323 H.  
 al-Muzānī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Muzānī*, published as vol. 9 of al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Umm*, Beirut 1993.  
 Qāḍī Khān, *Fatawa-i-Kazee Khan. Relating to Mahomedan law of marriage, dower, divorce, legitimacy, and guardianship of minors, according to the Soonnees*, Lahore 1977. [Contains Arabic text in appendix.]  
 al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān. Tafsīr al-Qurtubī*, Beirut 1997.  
 al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, Beirut 2001.  
 al-Shāfi'ī, *al-Umm*, Beirut 1993.  
 S. Spector (ed. and trans.), *Chapters on marriage and divorce. Responses of Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Rāḥwayh*, Austin, Tex. 1993.  
 al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī. Jāmi' al-bayān 'an tāwīl al-Qur'ān*, Cairo 1954.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- K. M. Abou El Fadl, *Conference of the books. The search for beauty in Islam*, Lanham, Md. 2001.  
 N. H. Ammar, In the shadow of the Pyramids. Domestic violence in Egypt, in *International Review of Victimology* 7:1/3 (2000), 29–46.  
 A. Barlas, "Believing women" in Islam. *Unreading patriarchal interpretations of the Qur'an*, Austin, Tex. 2002.  
 A. R. Doi, *Woman in Shari'ah (Islamic law)*, London 1989.  
 H. E. Kassis, *A concordance of the Qur'an*, Berkeley 1983.  
 F. Mernissi, Femininity as subversion. Reflections on the Muslim concept of *nushūz*, in D. L. Eck and D. Jain (eds.), *Speaking of faith. Women, religion, and social change*, Philadelphia 1986, 464–76; repr. in F. Mernissi,

- Women's rebellion and Islamic memory*, London and New York 1996, 109–20.
- , Morocco. The merchant's daughter and the son of the sultan, in R. Morgan (ed.), *Sisterhood is global. The international women's movement anthology*, Garden City, N.Y. 1984; repr. in F. Mernissi, *Women's rebellion and Islamic memory*, London and New York 1996, 13–20.
- C. Noble, Hermeneutics and the Qur'an. A case study of sura 4, verse 34, Honors Program thesis, College of Arts and Sciences, Georgia State University 1995.
- V. Rispler-Chaim, Nušuz between medieval and contemporary Islamic law. The human rights aspect, in *Arabica* 39 (1992), 315–27.
- A. Wadud, *Qur'an and woman*, Kuala Lumpur 1992.
- M. A. Wani, *Maintenance rights of Muslim women. Principles, precedents, and trends*, New Delhi 1987.

KECIA ALI

# Religious Practices: Piety

## Overview

*Taqwā* (from the Arabic root *w-q-y*) is an important and complex concept in Islam. The term and its derivatives occur in the Qurʾān 251 times. Generally, *taqwā* means the kind of piety that originates in the awe of God. In the religious context, the radical meaning includes both the idea of fear of God and the self-protective action or behavior designed to prevent God’s wrath and punishment. *Taqwā* is to be distinguished from *birr*, another Qurʾānic term often translated as “piety,” which implies righteousness, genuine belief, and righteous behavior, in the sense of faithfully carrying out the commandments of religion (2:44). The distinction is articulated in 2:189, where some *hajj* regulations are set out: “It is not piety [*al-birr*] to come to the houses from the backs of them; but piety is to be godfearing; so come to the houses by their doors, and fear God; haply so you will prosper” (*wa-lākin al-birr man ittaqā wa-atū al-buyūta min abwābihā wa-attaqū al-llāha lʾallakum tufliḥūna*). In addition to piety, English translations for *taqwā* include fear, fear of God, God-fearingness, wariness, God-wariness, God-mindedness, God-consciousness, conscience, virtue, right conduct, righteousness, restraint, warding off evil, and defense (against evil). The verb *waqā* literally means “to defend, protect, preserve” and is used in the Qurʾān in this sense as well (40:9, 40:45, 52:27, 76:11). The *muttaqūn* are those who “fear God” or “are godfearing.” To be godfearing is a virtue that is rewarded by the promise of Paradise: “But those who fear their Lord [*ittaḥaw rabbahum*] – for them shall be gardens underneath which rivers flow, therein dwelling forever – a hospitality God Himself offers” (3:198).

*Taqwā* is one of the spiritual aspects of Islam that are considered duties of worship (*ibādāt*); therefore it is one of the foundations (*uṣūl*) of the faith. The Muslim is accountable for carrying out the duties commanded by an ever-present, all-powerful God. These duties and obligations, as well as rewards and punishments, fall equally on men and women. The Qurʾān makes distinctions between people, genders, social groups, and so on. However, the chief criterion of distinction among humankind is not gender, or race, or tribe. The measure of qual-

ity between men and women, or men and men and women and women in the eyes of God is *taqwā*: “O mankind, We have created you male and female, and appointed you races and tribes, that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you in the sight of God is the most godfearing of you” (49:13). Living in pious fear of God and behaving in such a way as not to incur His wrath is the guarantee of Paradise in the Hereafter: “And whosoever does deeds of righteousness, be it male or female, believing – they shall enter Paradise, and not be wronged a single date-spot” (4:124). This egalitarian principle, so strongly articulated in the Qurʾān, implies only an equality of moral responsibility and divine judgment, and does not imply social equality. The Qurʾān explicitly links faith and good deeds: “Give thou good tidings to those who believe and do deeds of righteousness, that for them await gardens underneath which rivers flow” (2:23).

The mainstays of piety are belief in one true God and observation of the Shariʿa precepts. The basic rules are simple: “The believers, the men and the women, are friends one of the other; they perform the prayer, and pay the alms, and they obey God and His Messenger” (9:71). Muslim identifies righteousness with good character (XLV, 14, 15). For women, the requisites of piety are the injunctions of modesty (for example 24:31), observation of *ḥijāb* and seclusion, special regulations of personal hygiene and bodily functions, controlling anger and bad feelings, refraining from gossip, and the like. In the post-Qurʾānic period, women of the Prophet’s family (for example his wives Khadija and ʿĀ’isha, daughter Fāṭima, and granddaughter Zaynab) provided highly idealized examples of female piety, wisdom, and learning. The androcentric bias (to borrow Leila Ahmed’s phrase) of the legal perception of a pious wife is expressed by this passage by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1327), the author of *Sharāʿiʿ al-Islām*, a textbook on Islamic law: “Except for Islam, there is no greater benefit that a man can have than a Muslim wife who gives him joy when she cares for him, who is obedient to his command, who protects his reputation in his absence, both by her behavior and by taking care of his possessions” (Cragg and Speight 1980, 112). Collections of the *ḥadīth* by Muslim, al-Bukhārī, Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Tirmidhī, and others illustrate how Islamic law controlled woman’s social behavior in

minute detail and most intimate matters. However, the same control does not extend to the sphere of spiritual piety. Abdulaziz Sachedina notes: “It is mainly in the sphere of interpersonal relationships, the *mu‘āmalāt* area of jurisprudence, that woman’s input on clarification of her *mawdū‘* (her substantive social context) was kept in check. In the sphere of the God-human relationship, the *‘ibādāt* (worship) section of law, her equality with man before God was never questioned” (Sachedina 2000, 169).

*Taqwā* is the foundation of good character; it means keeping from bad deeds, refraining from evil actions (40:9), and curbing one’s greed (59:9, 64:16). In this respect, it may be regarded as a negative or passive virtue. However, it also has a positive, active aspect as discernment and righteous living. In its comprehensive meaning, fear of God remains the sole requisite of salvation (6:32), without regard to gender (4:123, 9:71–2, 24:12, 33:35–6, 40:40, 48:5, 57:12). Importantly, Qur’ānic verses are explicitly inclusive of both the genders in this regard, specifying “male or female” (*min dhakarīn aw unthā*), “believing man or woman” (*mu‘min wa-mu‘mina*), “believers, men and women” (*al-mu‘minīn wa-al-mu‘mināt*), “Muslim men and women” (*al-Muslimūn wa-al-Muslimāt*). The specific gender inclusiveness in matters of faith extends also to those who disbelieve: “the hypocrites” are referred to as *al-munāfiqūn wa-al-munāfiqāt* and “the polytheists” as *al-mushrikūn wa-al-mushrikāt* (for example 48:6).

*Taqwā* originates in pure faith (*īmān*) in God and is expressed by acting in obedience to God. The God of the Qur’ān is awe-inspiring, and the proper posture of man toward God is one of fear. *Taqwā* is the fear or love and awe of God that a Muslim feels, and a person with *taqwā* strives to obey God, observe the bounds and limits set by God, and stay away from what may displease God. The opposite of *taqwā* is sin. Sincerity of belief and the choice of right actions in obedience and gratitude to God must be constantly maintained and internalized. Though God is merciful and forgiving, late repentance will not bring God’s forgiveness: “Hold not yourselves purified; God knows very well him who is godfearing (*ittaqā*)” (53:32). The Qur’ān rejects late repentance motivated by fear of the Last Judgment (for example 4:17–18, 10:51, 10:90–1).

As a guiding principle of action, *taqwā* bridges the individual and social spheres. *Taqwā* is the keen moral perception that both compels a Muslim to follow the righteous code of behavior and protects the believer from making the wrong choice. A glossary of terms excerpted from Ibn Juzayy’s *Tafsīr*

contains a commentary on *taqwā* that lists the fifteen benefits of *taqwā* derived from the Qur’ānic verses (such as God’s guidance and help); ten things that awaken *taqwā* in humans (fear of punishment and hope of reward); and the five degrees of *taqwā*: *Islām* (not *kufr*), repentance (*tawba*), caution or wariness (*wara‘*), abstemiousness (*zuhd*), and the state of witnessing (*mushāhada*). ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib reportedly included *taqwā* among the ten components of noble character, along with reason, religion, knowledge, patience. Al-Mawardī (d. 450/1058) wrote that reason “is always attended by piety and the fear of God, and cannot therefore be an instrument of evil.”

*Taqwā* is not simply awe of God, it requires a conscious performance of good and avoidance of evil and thereby fulfils its basic function of protection from sin. Malise Ruthven points out that the original “fear” in *taqwā* “referred to the instinctive reflexes with which animals protect themselves. Applied to humans, it could mean the protection of oneself against social criticism.” In the Islamic context, *taqwā* acquired the meaning of spiritual self-protection against God’s disapproval and judgment, with the consequence of pious discernment and attendant dutiful and humble behavior (Ruthven 1984, 127). The social well aspect of *taqwā* is illustrated in the tradition transmitted from Ṭālib ibn Ḥabīb (d. 100/718–19): “When *fitna* (social unrest) appears, extinguish it with *taqwā* (behavior in obedience with God’s commands).” Pious behavior means also avoidance of socially disruptive and hurtful acts inappropriate among believers, such as mockery, name-calling, suspicion, and backbiting (49:11–12). Punishment and reward will be bestowed on women and men without regard to gender: “Whosoever does an evil deed shall be recompensed only with the like of it, but whosoever does a righteous deed, be it male or female (*min dhakarīn aw unthā*), believing – those shall enter Paradise, therein provided without reckoning” (40:39–40).

While some authorities characterize *taqwā* as an ideal ethical value, others address the behavioral aspects of this pious condition. The Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1392) wrote: The essence of *taqwā* is to make a shield (which guards) against Allah’s anger and punishment. “That shield is to obey His commandments and abstain from His prohibitions.” The acts and behavior of individuals are conditioned by pious fear of God but also assisted by a light of faith that enables the believer to discern right from wrong and consequently to refrain from acting wrongly or in disobedience to God. The motif of light or torch is elaborated for



the modern audience in the writings of the liberal Islamic philosopher and educator Fazlur Rahman (1919–88). Rahman emphasizes that the inner torch that *taqwā* is and by which man “can discern between right and wrong,” is to be used “primarily against his own self-deception in assessing and judging his actions.” Rahman calls *taqwā* “perhaps the most important single term in the Qur’ān” (Rahman 1980, 28). Its significance is that, “at its highest, it denotes the fully integrated and whole personality of man, the kind of ‘stability’ which is formed after all the positive elements are drawn in.” Rahman equates the condition of *taqwā* with being “squarely anchored within the moral tensions, the ‘limits of God,’” without transgressing or violating the balance of those tensions or limits. Rahman also points out that, “whereas action belongs to man, real and effective judgment upon that action, as well as the standard whereby that action is to be judged, lie outside of him.” Finally, Rahman proposes the term “conscience” to convey the meaning of *taqwā*, “provided that the object of conscience transcends it.” This leads him to conclude “that ‘conscience’ is truly as central to Islam as love is to Christianity when one speaks of the human response to the ultimate reality” (ibid., 29). A practical consequence is that the person must develop *taqwā*, the antithesis of moral apathy. The recognition of this moral obligation as well as the recognition of the fact that both judgment of man’s conduct and the criteria of judgment transcend man, constitute a spark, a spiritual light that is “the key to man’s defence (against evil).”

The motif of *taqwā* as a torch lighting man’s consciousness recalls the motifs of God-consciousness and illumination in Sufi spiritual thought and practice. Sufism has been one arena where women found opportunities for devotion and self-expression denied them by the more legalistic and scholastic dimensions of Islam. Some women found pious fulfillment in devoting themselves to charitable works. Others found in abstention from food and sex, common among Sufis, a relief from childbearing and associated pollution. *Taqwā* is considered one of the states attracting masses to *tasawwuf*. The Sufi teachings include God-wariness (*taqwā*) among the perfect attributes (*al-ṣifāt al-kāmila*), along with repentance (*tauba*), keeping to the straight way (*istiḳāma*), truthfulness (*sidq*), sincerity (*ikhhlās*), abstention (*zuhd*), great piety (*waraʿ*), reliance on Allah (*tawakkul*), contentment with the Decree (*riḍā*), surrender to Allah (*taslīm*), good manners (*adab*), love (*maḥabba*), remembrance (*dhikr*), and more. Sufis define *taqwā* as self-defense and avoidance. The defense consists of protecting

oneself from God’s punishment by performing His commands and observing His prohibitions. This applies to individuals, families, and communities. Both God-wariness (*taqwā*) and abstention, or austerity (*zuhd*) are mentioned among the states practiced by the Companions of the Prophet and are seen as resulting directly from their association with Muḥammad. The early Sufi al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) found “that the way of salvation is in holding to Godwariness (*taqwā*), in performing obligations, in fearing Allah . . . , in sincerity to Allah through obedience and following the example of His Messenger.” However, Fazlur Rahman sees tension between Sufi and orthodox perspectives on *taqwā*: “On the whole, despite the sad accounts of the human record in the Qur’ān, its attitude is quite optimistic with regard to the sequel of human endeavor. It also advocates a healthy moral sense rather than the attitude of self-torment and moral frenzy represented, for example, by the teachings of Paul and many Sufis, which require some *savior ex machina*” (Rahman 1980, 30).

The ground-laying treatise of Islamic mysticism, *Ihyāʾ ulūm al-dīn* by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) has been characterized by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) as “a classic among the books of Muslims about internalizing Godfearingness (*taqwā*) in one’s dealings with Allah, illuminating the soul through obedience to Him, and the levels of believers’ attainment therein.” However, despite well-attested and continuing participation of women in ascetic practices, mystic orders, and pious activities, the literature on *taqwā* rarely refers to gender. Al-Ghazālī wrote little about women’s spirituality and participation in mysticism, except as they relate to men’s spiritual life. Many educated, pious women of the early centuries of Islam were listed in biographical dictionaries analyzed by Ruth Roded (1994). The celebrated mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) had two women teachers among his Sufi masters. Even the conservative Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), who resented women’s political influence, studied with female teachers and particularly praised one learned woman preacher.

In the twentieth century, the concept became an important theme in Islamic political discourse. Abu al-ʿAla Maududī (Mawḍūdī, 1903–79), Sayyid Quṭb (1906–66), and Fazlur Rahman have all addressed the subject of women and *taqwā* and analyzed the Qur’ānic verse 49:13 cited earlier. However, only Sayyid Quṭb acknowledged that gender is a false aspect of superiority, which should be measured by the scale of piety and uprightness. Amina Wadud-Muhsin, in *Qur’an and Woman* (1992), addresses *taqwā* in its two dimensions of action and attitude

and focuses on what constitute true criteria for judgment in the Qur'an versus the worldly society. Contemporary Arabic-language writing on *taqwā* is largely inspirational and didactic; it generally places female piety in the traditional social-legal context. Traditionalist writings on *taqwā* designed for the Islamic diaspora and the international reader are becoming more accessible in English and other Western languages. "Al-taqwā" (Al-Takwa, Attaqwa) has become a popular name for mosques and religious periodicals, and numerous websites dedicated to the subject have appeared.

- L. Lewisohn, Takwā, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., *Supplement* Leiden 2004, 781–5.  
 M. Tolmacheva, Female piety and patronage in the medieval hajj, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, New York 1998, 161–80.  
 A. Wadud-Muhsin, *Qur'an and woman*, Kuala Lumpur 1992.

MARINA A. TOLMACHEVA

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Ahmad, Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia. The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat, in M. E. Marty and R. S. Appleby (eds.), *Fundamentalisms observed*, Chicago 1991, 457–530.  
 L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam. Historical roots of a modern debate*, New Haven, Conn. and London 1992.  
 K. Cragg and M. Speight, *Islam from within. Anthology of a religion*, Belmont, Calif. 1980.  
 H. El Kassiss, *A concordance of the Qur'an*, Berkeley 1983. [Provides the context for each occurrence of *taqwā* in the Qur'an (under WQY).]  
 M. Fakhry, *Ethical theories in Islam*, Leiden 1994.  
 V. J. Hoffman-Ladd, Polemics on the modesty and segregation of women in contemporary Egypt, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987), 23–50.  
 T. Izutsu, *Ethico-religious concepts in the Qur'an*, rev. ed., Montreal 1966.  
 M. H. Kabbani, *Encyclopedia of Islamic doctrine*, 7 vols., Mountainview, Calif. 1998, esp. vol. 5.  
 I. A. Kubaysi, *Libās al-taqwā wa-al-tahaddiyāt al-mu'āsira li-al-mar'a al-Muslima*, Dubai 2000.  
 S. D. Mārdini, *al-Taqwā*, Damascus 1980.  
 A. A. Mawdudi, *Purdah and the status of women in Islam*, trans. and ed. al-Ashari, Lahore 1972.  
 B. D. Metcalf (ed.), *Moral conduct and authority. The place of adab in South Asian Islam*, Berkeley 1984.  
 A. Nanji, The ethical tradition in Islam, in A. A. Nanji (ed.), *The Muslim almanac*, New York 1996, ch. 16.  
 S. Quṭb, *Fī zilāl al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1977<sup>s</sup>; part appears in M. A. Salahi and A. A. Shamis (trans.), *In the shade of the Qur'an*, xxx, London 1979.  
 F. Rahman, *Major themes of the Qur'an*, Minneapolis 1980, esp. ch. 2 and 3.  
 —, *Islam and modernity. Transformation of the intellectual tradition*, Chicago 1982, esp. ch. 4.  
 R. Roded, *Women in Islamic biographical collections. From Ibn Sa'd to Who's Who*, Boulder, Colo. and London 1994.  
 M. Ruthven, *Islam in the world*, New York and Oxford 1984.  
 A. Sachedina, Woman, half-the-man? The crisis of male epistemology in Islamic jurisprudence, in F. Daftary (ed.), *Intellectual traditions in Islam*, London and New York 2000, 160–78.  
 A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975, Appendix 2.  
 A. Shboul, Taqwā, in J. L. Esposito (ed.), *The Oxford encyclopedia of the modern Islamic world*, New York and Oxford 1995, iv, 189.  
 B. F. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, traditions, and interpretation*, New York 1994.

# Religious Practices: Pilgrimage

## Overview

### INTRODUCTION

Pilgrimage is travel to places with a particular religious value. Pilgrimages are known in many religions and interaction in this field between Islam and other religions has been studied by a number of authors. Recently, D. F. Eickelman, J. P. Piscatori, and other scholars have tried to bring together the traditions of the history of religions, text-based Islamic studies, and the social sciences in the study of this complex subject.

In Muslim societies, various types of visits to places considered sacred are known. The most general term for these visits is *ziyāra*. Their destinations often are dwellings of living or shrines of deceased persons of holy status. Many pilgrimages are performed during particular days of the – Islamic or non-Islamic – year. This fact is expressed by the term *mausim/mūsim*, known from Morocco among other countries. *Ziyārāt* have religious, cultural, social, and economic functions and aspects. Various authors have indicated the important role of pilgrimages in identity construction and reconstruction, including El Moudden, who has drawn attention to the ambiguity of pilgrimages from this point of view: pilgrimage enhances the awareness both of belonging to a larger community and of local or regional differences. A related characteristic of many pilgrimages is their temporarily changing of the established social order. Important aspects of this phenomenon are the reduction of social distinctions, including those based on gender, and of gender segregation. This is one of the reasons why some pilgrimages are particularly popular with women, whose presence and role are more reduced in comparison to men in day-to-day religious activities, such as collective prayers and religious instruction, and public life. Some *ziyārāt* are even exclusively performed by women. Generally, however, this reversal of order remains temporary and is considered as exceptional and, for this reason, finally tends to confirm the established order. The analyses of this mechanism include studies by Tapper on Turkey, Clancy-Smith on Algeria, and Reysoo on Morocco.

Mainstream religious authorities of Islam generally reject the various local pilgrimages and distinguish them radically from the most important

pilgrimage known in the Muslim world, the *ḥajj*. Nevertheless, the *ḥajj*, to which the rest of this entry is devoted, shares many of the features mentioned here.

### THE ḤAJJ

The *ḥajj* (or greater) pilgrimage to Mecca and its immediate neighborhood is the fifth of the so-called “pillars of Islam”: each adult Muslim is obliged to perform this pilgrimage at least once in his or her lifetime, if certain conditions are fulfilled. The ritual is a source of unity and dynamism within the Muslim world. This entry discusses its important religious, social, intellectual, technical, commercial, and other dimensions.

### HISTORY

The *ḥajj*, institutionalized during the life of the Prophet Muḥammad as one of the pillars of Islam, has a long pre-Islamic history. Both the Qurʾān and research by independent scholars, such as Snouck Hurgronje, Dozy, Wellhausen, Houtsma, and more recent authors, confirm this.

The element of the *ḥajj* for which most pre-Islamic evidence exists is the *wuqūf ʿArafāt* (halting in ʿArafāt) (Figures 8, 9). ʿArafāt (also spelt ʿArafa) is the name of a plain of about 6 by 12 kilometers, situated approximately 20 kilometers east of Mecca. The same name is applied to the mountain ridge bounding the plain from the north as well as to a hill in the plain, which is better known by the name of Jabal Raḥma. Members of various tribes would spend part of 9 Dhū al-ḥijja (the month of pilgrimage) in this plain. During the three consecutive months of Dhū al-qaʿda, Dhū al-ḥijja, and Muḥarram, tribal feuds would be suspended. Earlier during this three-month period, commercial fairs were held in the region. In the Meccan period of Muḥammad’s teaching, he focused on this ʿArafāt ritual in the *ḥajj*. The central place of *wuqūf ʿArafāt* in the *ḥajj* has been emphasized up to the present day through the *ḥadīth* “The *ḥajj* is ʿArafāt” (reported by al-Ḥākim and, in a slightly different wording, by various other prominent *ḥadīth* scholars). From the Medinan period of his teaching, the Prophet emphasized the link of the Islamic *ḥajj* with an earlier tradition established by the Prophet Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and the importance of the *kaʿba* in the ritual. The *kaʿba* – a word desig-

nating a cube-like building – is a small pre-Islamic sanctuary of about 13 by 11 meters. The Qurʾān (2:124–7) mentions that the *kaʿba* was originally constructed by Ibrāhīm and his son Ismāʿīl. Little information about the *kaʿba* in pre-Islamic times is available from other sources.

The institution of the *hajj* is a significant instance of the way Islam is connected with earlier belief systems and customs, but has infused some of them with new meanings and rejected others. The halting in ʿArafāt and rites around the *kaʿba* were taken over from earlier customs and rites. Islamic tradition connects the *kaʿba*-related rituals as well as the *sāʿī* ritual (see later) to the Jewish tradition and earlier messengers of monotheism. Other rites adopted from previous times are the libation with water from the *zamzam* source and the throwing of pebbles at pillars, known as *jamarāt* or *jimār* (sing. *jamra*), representing the Devil in the plain of Mina (Minā, also spelt Munā). Islamic tradition relates the former ritual also to Ismāʿīl and the latter one to Ibrāhīm. Moreover, the proscription of violence toward humans and other living creatures during the *hajj*, in particular in the state of *ihram* (see later) goes back to similar principles applicable during the pre-Islamic pilgrimage season. The book of Exodus informs us about similar and much older customs of the Jews: during their stay on Mount Sinai, they would refrain from sexual intercourse and wear clean clothes. On the other hand, Islam has abolished certain elements of earlier rituals that conveyed ideas of sun worshipping: the moments the pilgrims leave ʿArafāt from the mountain pass of al-Muzdalifa, and then al-Muzdalifa for the plain of Mina were disconnected from sunset and sunrise, respectively.

In pre-Islamic times, much prestige was attached to giving the pilgrims drink (*siqāya*) and food (*rifāda*) and the main factions of the prominent Quraysh tribe of Mecca competed for this service, which was a sign of predominance and wealth. This predominance and wealth were closely related to supremacy in the caravan trade between regions such as Syria in the north and Yemen in the south. The rivalry between the Umayyad clan (Banū Umayya) and the Hashimite clan (Banū Hāshim), more particularly the ʿAbbāsīd clan (Banū ʿAbbās), which played an important role in early Muslim history, partly goes back to this competition.

In later history, the development of the *hajj* has depended greatly on political and economic circumstances. The Crusades and, in more recent times, the two world wars and the economic crisis during the first half of the 1930s, reduced the annual numbers of pilgrims. A combination of political and

economic factors, the establishment of the Saudi regime, which brought safety and stability to the Arabian Peninsula, and the economic boom among Netherlands Indies rubber cultivators, among other Muslim entrepreneurs, led to a record number in 1927 (Vredembregt 1962, 148, who erroneously refers to 1926). Progress in transport technology and sanitation has contributed much to the increase of the number of pilgrims. Of special importance were the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and – to a smaller extent – the short-lived Hejaz Railway, which functioned from 1908 until the First World War. Motorized transport, in particular buses, replaced traditional caravans and partly replaced shipping. Today, most pilgrims arrive by airplane through the *hajj* terminal of Jeddah international airport. The development of international air traffic in combination with a rise in the wealth of parts of the Muslim populations in Asia, Africa, and other continents has led to unprecedented figures.

Historical data on the number of pilgrims are deficient, especially relating to those originating from the Arabian Peninsula itself. Until recently, when the Saudi authorities started to collect relatively reliable data, Ottoman reports and statistics from the Jeddah consulates of Great Britain and the Netherlands, which ruled overseas territories with vast Muslim populations, were among the most prominent sources. Wensinck et al. (2004) estimate the annual number of pilgrims, not including those from the peninsula, at about 50,000 in the less and 160,000 in the most crowded years of the nineteenth century, about 250,000 in the exceptional year of 1927 (1345 A.H., erroneously converted to 1926), and about 140,000–180,000 between 1957 and 1962. Vredembregt proposes much lower figures, including 123,000 for 1927. Contemporary figures approach 2,000,000, all pilgrims included. For 2004 (1425 A.H.), the Saudi authorities reported a total of 1,892,710, composed of 1,419,706 pilgrims originating from abroad and 473,004, non-Saudi residents of whom most were from within the Saudi kingdom.

#### LEGAL DETAILS

The basic elements of the *hajj* are *wuqūf ʿArafāt*, the *ṭawāf* (circumambulation of the *kaʿba* seven times counterclockwise), and the *sāʿī* (going forth four times and back three times between the small hills of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, 200 meters south-east and 250 meters northeast of the *kaʿba*, respectively); these elements have in modern times become integrated within the extended construction of the *masjid al-haram*, the grand mosque of Mecca, built around the *kaʿba*. The *hajj* is held every year in the

Islamic lunar month bearing its name, Dhū al-ḥijja. It is organized around the ninth day of this month, which is the fixed date for *wuqūf* ‘Arafāt. Generally, three forms of *ḥajj* are distinguished: *ifrād* (*ḥajj* alone, not combined with the ‘*umra* or “lesser” pilgrimage, which is limited to *tawāf* and *sā’ī*, excluding rituals in ‘Arafāt, Muzdalifa, and Mina); *qīrān* (combining *ḥajj* and ‘*umra* in one single series of ritual acts); and *tamattu’* (performing the *ḥajj* after the ‘*umra* and discontinuing the state of *ihrām* [see later] in between).

As is the case with other rituals, Islamic jurisprudence has elaborated details on the *shurūt* (or *sharā’it*, sing. *shart*, condition); *arkān* (sing. *rukn*, pillar, meaning compulsory element the non-compliance with which renders the whole ritual invalid); *wājibāt* (sing. *wājib*, obligation, the non-compliance with which does not make the ritual invalid, but necessitates a compensating act, such as the payment of a certain amount of money or the sacrifice of an animal, known as *dam*); as well as additional, non-compulsory elements. The *shurūt* of the *ḥajj* are five: being a Muslim; being adult (*bāligh*); being mentally sound, being free (not a slave); and being capable – from physical, material, and other points of view – of accomplishing the pilgrimage. There are four *arkān*: *ihrām* (wearing particular clothes, symbolizing simplicity and purity, and abstaining from sexual intercourse, hunting, cutting hair or nails, using perfume, and the like); *wuqūf* ‘Arafāt; *tawāf*; and *sā’ī*. The *wājibāt* are six: entering the state of *ihrām* from particular places and at particular times; *taḥallul* (ending the state of *ihrām* by cutting of – all or some – hair); *mabīt* (passing part of the night) in Muzdalifa; *mabīt* in the plain of Mina (Figures 10, 11); throwing pebbles at the *jamarāt*; and *ṭawāf al-wadā’* (the “farewell” *ṭawāf*, when taking leave of the city of Mecca). Religious scholars have also issued opinions on various acts that, without being part of the *ḥajj* ritual, have become part of the customs of larger or smaller categories of pilgrims. Some of them, including visits to historical places in Mecca and the performance of the *ṣalawāt arba’ūn* (40 ritual prayers during eight consecutive days) in al-Masjid al-Nabawī (the Prophet’s mosque) in Medina, roughly 450 kilometers north of Mecca, are considered commendable. Others, such as clinging to the wall of the *ka’ba* or seeking the intercession from Prophet Muḥammad or other historical figures through prayers at their tombs, are rejected.

Schools of jurisprudence and individual scholars differ on various points, including the distinction between *shurūt*, *arkān*, and *wājibāt*, the exact definitions of the three forms of *ḥajj*, and their order

of preference. Details may be found in manuals of jurisprudence, including the numerous *manāsik al-ḥajj* (*ḥajj* guidebooks) published in print, in instruction films, on CD-ROM, or on the Internet by government agencies, travel agencies, Muslim organizations, and individual specialists all over the world. Awareness of the divergence of opinions greatly contributes to the pilgrims’ ease. For example, the Ḥanafī school of law maintains that a pilgrim who is wounded and bleeds should make ritual ablution again and if this happens during the first four circumambulations of the *ṭawāf*, he or she should start the *ṭawāf* again, whereas the other schools require neither. Understanding of the difference between essentials and traditional preferences, such as throwing the pebbles at the *jamarāt* immediately after noon, may preserve lives and is therefore emphasized by contemporary government authorities and religious scholars.

One of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence is *taysīr*, making things easy. It is of particular importance for the *ḥajj*. Because of the huge crowds of people participating in the same rituals at the same moments, social and ritual permissibility go beyond what is usual in other places. Pilgrims are allowed to bring – not wear – their sandals inside the *masjid al-ḥaram* and lay them down on the mosque floor at times of prayers. Many religious authorities are flexible about the times considered acceptable for rituals which lead to particular congestion, such as the *ifāda* – the “pouring forth” away from ‘Arafāt to Muzdalifa, then Mina (Figure 12), then Mecca – or the casting of pebbles at the *jamarāt*.

Some of these rules that are meant to alleviate the pilgrims’ situation have a specific connection with gender relations or with women. For clear practical reasons, during collective ritual prayers in the *masjid al-ḥaram*, women are allowed to be beside or in front of men. Tents or hotel rooms are shared among various married couples or families. In these cases, the pilgrimage not only leads to the obliteration of social but also of gender distinctions. When the safety or health of women, or of particular male pilgrims for that matter, is considered to be at risk, other persons may throw pebbles at the overcrowded *jamarāt* in their place, after having performed this ritual for themselves. Much discussion has been devoted to the *ṭawāf* of menstruating women. According to a widespread, if not unanimous, opinion among Islamic legal scholars, women who are menstruating are not allowed to enter mosques. In any case, they are not allowed to perform the *ṣalāh* or ritual prayer, with which the *ṭawāf* is associated. On the other hand, most legal specialists consider the *ṭawāf* one of the *arkān* of

the *hajj*. In order to make it possible for women to perform their religious obligation, legal scholars permit female pilgrims to take medication that postpones their menses. In addition, they permit them to postpone the *ṭawāf al-ifāda*, the *ṭawāf* performed after *wuqūf ʿArafāt*, until after the end of menstruation. Finally, a number of religious specialists even exempt them from this ritual altogether when their travel schedule makes it impossible to wait until the end of the menses. Reference is made to the opinion of Ibn Taymiyya and the tightness of contemporary travel arrangements. As for the *ṭawāf al-wadāʿ*, not considered a *rukʿn* of the *hajj*, in case of necessity menstruating women may replace it by a simple prayer at a door of the *masjid al-ḥaram*.

#### TECHNICAL ASPECTS

The organization of the *hajj* requires huge efforts in the field of construction and logistics. The repeated enlargement of the *masjid al-ḥaram*, the organization of air transport for more than one million foreign pilgrims, and the rationing of authorizations to participate in each year's *hajj* among countries and individuals are among the most important technical challenges faced by the authorities receiving and dispatching the pilgrims.

In the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, the *masjid al-ḥaram* measured around 2,000 square meters. The successive rulers of Mecca and its surroundings considered receiving the pilgrims from all over the world a religious duty and honor as well as a source of authority and income. Many of them extended and improved the mosque and surrounding facilities, including ʿUmar al-Khaṭṭāb, who in 638 C.E. added about 500 square meters; ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, who in 646 added 1,700 square meters; and Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who in the course of his caliphate (775–85) added another 15,000 square meters. With the extension by Abū al-Faḍl Jaʿfar al-Muqtadir bi-Allāh in 918, the mosque measured 30,200 square meters. The contemporary Saudi dynasty has added a series of further extensions and since 1992 the mosque accommodates 1,000,000 worshippers, who may accomplish the *ṭawāf* and *ṣalāt* at three levels and the *ṣāʿī* at two.

Another measure taken by the Saudi government to cope with the increasing number of pilgrims was the introduction of quotas for each of the member countries of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), after the OIC itself had suggested it. These annual quotas, fixed roughly at one per thousand of the national populations, have been applied since 1988. Saudi residents are allowed to participate in the *hajj* only once every

five years. The more direct reason for the measure was the death of 402 pilgrims in clashes between Saudi security forces and Iranian pilgrims staging an anti-United States protest in 1987. In addition, Saudi authorities banned political demonstrations during the *hajj* and only allowed Iranian pilgrims back from 1991.

In spite of these and other improvements in construction, logistics, sanitation, and guidance, recently the *hajj* has been regularly struck by major accidents. In 1990, 1,426 pilgrims were stampeded to death in pedestrian tunnels between Mina and Mecca. In 1994, 270 were stampeded during the *jamarāt* ritual. In 1997, 340 were killed when tents in the Mina plain caught fire. In 1998, the *jamarāt* ritual cost the lives of 180 pilgrims and in 2004, 244 more. Different, often higher, estimates exist for most incidents. In the near future, Saudi authorities are considering having the *masjid al-ḥaram* extended once more and its surroundings arranged with the help of the Paris-based Architecture-Studio and developing the *jamarāt* facilities, which, in order to distribute the crowd, have already been provided with a second level, into a nine-layer construction.

#### THE VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF THE HAJJ

##### *Symbolic dimensions*

Although some Muslim religious scholars and ordinary believers put more emphasis on the symbolic dimensions of the *hajj* than others, they cannot be ignored by any. First, the ritual stresses the connection of Islam with earlier prophets and religious communities throughout human history. As mentioned before, the commemoration of the prophet and patriarch Ibrāhīm occupies a central place in the ritual. In addition to various other prophets and historical figures, the *hajj* also refers to the example of the Prophet Muḥammad, in particular the model he set during his final “farewell pilgrimage” (*hajj al-wadāʿ*). Next, the idea of purification and absolution of sins, combined with a new departure in life, is central to the *hajj*. It is symbolized in the rules pertaining to the state of *iḥrām*, including the wearing of two pieces of white seamless cloth by male pilgrims. The authors who highlighted the symbolic dimensions of the pilgrimage in recent times include the Iranian ʿAlī Sharīʿatī. His book on the *hajj* has been translated into many languages.

##### *Social dimensions*

The symbolic dimensions of the *hajj* are closely related to the social ones. The ritual expresses and enhances the unity and equality of Muslims of all

origins, social classes, and religious traditions, who come together with the same objective, in the same place and time, and wearing the same type of simple clothes.

This process of unification and obliteration of differences also applies to gender. Basically, the ritual is the same for men and women; the two genders mix unrestrictedly during performance of the *hajj*. Within the framework of *taysīr*, special provisions are made for women in conformity with their particular physical condition: they are not requested, as men are, to walk faster at particular moments during the *sāī* and special provisions exist in relation to menstruation. Although a Muslim woman should normally make the pilgrimage accompanied by a *mahram* (her husband or another close male relative), most religious scholars allow women who cannot satisfy this condition to join parties of trustworthy pilgrims, if safety is guaranteed. Some unaccompanied women join special groups of female pilgrims, led by a *muṭawwifa*, or female guide. Therefore, although, contrary to what happens in some local *ziyārāt*, the *hajj* is not characterized by a complete reversal of established social order, female domination, or female exclusivity, as in many *ziyārāt*, it does lead to a reduction of gender segregation and of gender and other social distinctions.

No overall data on the relative number of female *hajj* pilgrims are available. However, evidence exists that the improvement of security and of transport as well as the growth of the urban middle class in most Muslim countries led to a considerable increase of this number in the course of the twentieth century. McDonnell presents details for Malaysia showing that from about 1960 the number of female pilgrims from this country has even exceeded the male contingent.

Another social aspect of the *hajj* is that its performance adds to the social status of a Muslim once back at home, especially in traditional societies. This status is enhanced by the information and ideas he or she brings home and the extensive religious knowledge acquired by those pilgrims who remain in the holy cities of the Hijaz for longer periods in order to study various branches of religious sciences. It was the combination of this enhanced social status and of ideas of a political dimension – such as anticolonialism and Pan-Islamism – brought home that made European colonial powers particularly suspicious of pilgrims and made them introduce various measures of regulation and surveillance in the course of the nineteenth century.

### *Cultural and scholarly dimensions*

The *hajj* is not only an established religious tradition. Because it has annually brought together Muslims from all over the world, of whom a relatively large part originate from the economic and scholarly elites, it has also played a fundamental role in the cultural and scholarly interaction and dynamism of the Muslim world. This mechanism was strengthened by the habit of many students and advanced scholars of staying in Mecca or Medina after the pilgrimage season, some for long periods or a whole lifetime. Especially from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, the Hijaz was the center from or via which new ideas in the various Islamic religious sciences, many mystical orders, as well as ideals for social and political life spread all over the African and Asian continents. In the twentieth century, this function was partly replaced by al-Azhar in Cairo, considered more in conformity with the needs of modern, urban life. The contemporary Saudi Arabian ministry of pilgrimage tries to maintain and strengthen this tradition by organizing seminars in Mecca each *hajj* season, to which it invites intellectuals and students from all over the Muslim world. Although, up to the present, the role of women in these gatherings has basically remained limited to that of observers from the tribune a long way back in the large conference room, suggestions have been made to increase their participation on future occasions.

### *Economic dimensions*

The *hajj* has important economic dimensions too. Until the period after the Second World War, when petrol took over this position, the annual pilgrimage was the principal source of income for the local rulers and their states. In addition to spending directly related to the transport and sojourn of the pilgrims, the *hajj* has always been the occasion for considerable commercial exchanges. In former times, rich pilgrims offered many gifts to the rulers and tribes on the way to Mecca and Muslim history is replete with stories about pilgrim caravans being robbed by Beduin in times of diminished stability and security. In addition, the *hajj* is an important source of income for the many *muṭawwif* or *hajj* guides residing in Mecca as well as for intermediaries all over the Muslim world. In Southeast Asia, for example, before the individual countries developed their own public and private agencies, Singapore agents played a lucrative role as intermediaries. On the other hand, many Muslims spend the savings of years on the pilgrimage and, in defiance of the rules of Islamic jurisprudence, some even sacrifice the economic basis of their family subsistence. The

readiness of many Muslims of relatively deprived conditions to spend for the *hajj* has been exploited in an original way by the successful Malaysian institution of *Tabung Haji* (*Hajj* savings), introduced in 1969: Muslims of often modest conditions are encouraged to put away part of their income to save for the pilgrimage and the deposited capital is invested in the interest of the economic development of these same social groups, who for reasons of Islamic law are often reluctant to be involved in ordinary banking practices.

#### TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

In addition to various manuals, guides, and administrative reports referred to earlier, travel accounts are a rich source of information on the *hajj*. They have been written in various periods and languages and use diverse approaches and styles. They include a number of accounts by non-Muslim travelers who, in defiance of official rules, managed to mix with the pilgrims. Instances are the writings of Ludovico di Varthema (1503), John Pitts (ca. 1680), John Lewis Burckhardt (1814), and Richard Burton (1853). Of particular interest are travel accounts by female pilgrims, such as Sikandar, the Begum of Bhopal (1864), the Australian Winifred Stegar (1927), the British Lady Evelyn Cobbold (1933), another British citizen, Saida, born Sonya, Miller, spouse of Khalifa (1970), and more recent travel stories, including the one by Zainab Kakakhail (1976). Their development and different styles reflect social and spiritual variations and transformations. The very fact that women wrote such accounts and their particular styles are an important case in point. In considering them, however, one should not overlook the fact that these writings remain exceptional, both because very few female pilgrims have produced such works and because the large majority of *hajj* accounts were written by men.

A general observation is that these accounts reflect the independent views and behavior of their female authors. In addition, they reveal the particular situation of their respective countries of origin and social classes. Sikandar's report, on the one hand, reveals the wealth of India and its growing importance in her days. On the other hand, it shows the royal dignity of a lady who was leading her caravan, attached high value to protocol and standards, and paid formal visits as well as wrote letters of complaint about abuses to local leaders. Winifred Stegar's account presents a woman who had shared with her husband a lifetime of hard work, saving part of their modest income. Lady Evelyn was a high-class widow, full of admiration

for King Ibn Sa'ūd's reform programs. The information contained in her book reflects the privilege she had, as a visiting woman of high class, to meet both Meccan women and men. Saida Miller's work contains interesting descriptions of the way the *hajj* is lived by female pilgrims like her, whose number was becoming increasingly important. Former school principal Zainab Kakakhail represents the modern, educated, Indian woman.

#### CONCLUSION

Pilgrimages exist all over the Muslim world. The largest one, the *hajj*, is one of the pillars of Islam and since its birth has been a fundamental source of international contact. Therefore, pilgrimages, and the *hajj* in particular, are prominent instances of the interaction between a common doctrine and tradition and various cultural conditions and transformations, including those relating to the position of women.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

In this bibliography, no particular references are given to the numerous scholarly and popular treatises on the legal and practical aspects of the Islamic *hajj* that have been published from its origin until the present day in Arabic and many other languages.

- Recent studies on Muslim pilgrimages in general include: D. F. Eickelman and J. P. Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers. Pilgrimage, migration, and the religious imagination*, London 1990, including the following contributions: J. A. Clancy-Smith, *Between Cairo and the Algerian Kabylia. The Rahmaniyya tariqa, 1715–1800, 200–16*; A. El Mouddeh, *The ambivalence of ribla. Community integration and self-definition in Moroccan travel accounts, 1300–1800, 69–84*; M. B. McDonnell, *Patterns of Muslim pilgrimage from Malaysia, 1885–1985, 111–30*; B. D. Metcalf, *The pilgrimage remembered. South Asian accounts of the hajj, 85–107*; N. Tapper, *Ziyaret. Gender, movement, and exchange in a Turkish community, 236–55*; F. Reysoo, *Pèlerinages au Maroc. Fête, politique et échange dans l'islam populaire*, Neuchâtel and Paris 1991; A. J. Wensinck, J. J. Jomier, and B. Lewis, *Hadjdj*, in *EP*, iii, Leiden 2004, 31–8. [A general survey of the *hajj*, mainly from a historical perspective.]

Classical Western studies on the origin and development of the *hajj* include:

- R. P. A. Dozy, *De Israëlieten te Mekka van Davids tijd tot in de vijfde eeuw onzer jaarrekening*, Haarlem 1864; German translation, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka von Davids Zeit bis in's fünfte Jahrhundert unsrer Zeitrechnung: ein Beitrag zur alttestamentlichen Kritik und Erforschung des Ursprungs des Islams*, Leipzig and Haarlem 1864. M. Th. Houtsma, *Het skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina*, in *Verslagen en mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afd. Letterkunde, series 4, part 6, 185–217.



- C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, Leiden 1880.
- J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabisches Heidentums*, Berlin 1897<sup>2</sup>.
- Other
- A. B. A. Bāqādir (ed.), *Makka al-mukarrama. ‘Āšima al-thaqafa al islāmiyya*, Riyadh 1424/2003. [The proceedings of the first of the contemporary seminars organized by the Saudi ministry of pilgrimage in Mecca. The papers of the second annual conference in this series (held in 1424/2004) have provisionally been collected by the same editor, who is expected to edit its final proceedings as well.]
- A. de Lacy Rush (comp. and intro.), *Records of the ḥajj. A documentary history of the pilgrimage to Mecca*, 10 vols., London 1993. [Various administrative messages and reports as well as other types of documents relating to the ḥajj throughout its history, ordered chronologically and for the more recent periods based mainly on British sources, reproduced in facsimile.]
- ‘A. Shari‘atī, *Tablīlī az manāsik-i ḥajj*, various editions, ca. 1950 onwards. [Stresses the symbolic dimensions of the ḥajj; the book has been translated into many languages.]
- J. Vredenburg, The haddj. Some of its features and functions in Indonesia, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 118 (1962), 1, 91–154. [Analysis of numerous aspects of the ḥajj.]
- M. Wolfe (ed. and intro.), *One thousand roads to Mecca. Ten centuries of travelers writing about the Muslim pilgrimage*, New York 1990. [English language excerpts of travel accounts from various periods, including writings by a number of non-Muslim travelers and of female pilgrims.]

JOHAN HENDRIK MEULEMAN

## The Caucasus

In anthropology, pilgrimage is analyzed as a rite of passage, as a liminal phase of life that removes the pilgrim from the hierarchical structures of everyday life and gives him a sense of *communitas*, the experience of community without sociological structure. This theory of structure and anti-structure excludes questions which concentrate on the social context of the pilgrimage, the motives and the identity of the pilgrims, and hence the relevance of gender.

In the context of Islamic societies the pilgrimage to Mecca was considered predominantly a male activity establishing the *umma* or the vision of a male community of believers. There are only a few general suggestions to account for the fact that in contrast to the ḥajj the pilgrimage to local shrines shows itself to be a predominantly female phenomenon in the Muslim world. Female pilgrimage passes as a means of compensation, as a therapeutic action which – in face of gender segregation and Islamic purity rules – relieves women of the many restraints of their gender role. In visiting a local shrine women are allowed to leave the bounded-

ness of their homes, to meet people beyond kinship, to get an impression of power and influence through the manipulation of the supernatural, and so on – but only during (anti-structural) pilgrimage, without real consequences for the structures of daily life.

In rural Azerbaijan, pilgrimage to local shrines (*ziyarat*) is the decisive aspect for a person’s identity as a believer in the faith of Islam. It is predominantly a female activity, highly reflective and pursuing political interests, even when the motives given are illness of a family member, a vow to the shrine’s saint, or a family dispute. Women visit local shrines regularly in the company of invited patrilineal (*sümüük qohumluq*), matrilineal (*süd qohumluq*), and/or affinal (*quda*) female relatives. Depending on the constitution of the pilgrimage group women strengthen their relations to these diverse kinship groups and finally improve the influence of their own agnatic solidarity group (*nāsil*). Besides these social functions women conceptualize pilgrimage together with the visit of a fortune-teller (*falçı*) and the seeing of (religious) dreams, all of them phenomena through which they can have a glimpse of a world that cannot be experienced by the human senses. Through pilgrimage, dreams, and fortune-telling women treat problems which can be associated with the general theme of “continuity of life,” a central aspect embodied by women through *süd qohumluq* (milk kinship) in the domain of kinship and equally expressed in conceptions of the female body with fertility. Female pilgrimage should therefore be seen beyond the theses mentioned here in relation to structure and anti-structure and analyzed in the context of the cosmological conceptions of women to disclose the relations between pilgrimage to local shrines, social activities of women, gender, kinship, and the female body.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Beck, The religious lives of Muslim women, in J. I. Smith (ed.), *Women in contemporary Muslim societies*, Lewisburg 1980, 27–60.
- A. van Gennep, *Übergangsriten (Les rites de passage)*, tran. K. Schomberg and S. M. Schomberg-Scherff, Frankfurt 1986. [First published 1909.]
- J. Marcus, *A world of difference. Islam and gender hierarchy in Turkey*, London 1992.
- A. Morinis (ed.), *Sacred journeys. The anthropology of pilgrimage*, Westport, Conn. 1992.
- I. Pfluger-Schindlbeck, *Verwandtschaft, Religion und Geschlecht in Aserbajdschan*, Wiesbaden 2005.
- N. Tapper, Ziyaret. Gender, movement and exchange in Turkish community, in D. Eickelman and J. Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travellers. Pilgrimage, migration and the religious imagination*, London 1990, 236–42.
- V. Turner, *The ritual process. Structure and anti-structure*, London 1969.

INGRID PFLUGER-SCHINDLBECK

## Central Asia

The worship of tombs and relics and pilgrimage in Central Asia is closely associated with the cult of saints. Pilgrimage to saints' tombs is usually referred to as *ziyara*. Pilgrimage to the tombs of particularly worshiped imams, sheikhs, and other saints (for instance to the tomb of Bakhauddin Nakshband) is considered to be the "Little Pilgrimage" to Mecca.

The main attribute of a sanctuary is a tomb (one or several). In the front wall of the tomb there is a small bay with a lamp of traditional shape to light ritual fire. The room itself or its surroundings features flags – *tugs* – a distinctive feature of a saint's tomb. The *tug* is composed of a high wooden pole mounted on a saint's grave. The upper part of the pole is crowned with a knob shaped as an open palm or a medallion representing a semi-blossomed bud. Under the knob, a crossbar is mounted, featuring a piece of white cloth. *Tugs* are placed so that those who pass near the cemetery notice the saint's burial place and visit it or say the necessary prayers for the dead. There are cases when groups of women have set up *tugs* in gratitude to the saint for healing.

A standard ritual of pilgrimage to sacred places has been developed over many years. Knowledge of the ritual actions is passed from one generation to the next. A pilgrim first walks round the saint's grave or the entire building. Then there is a prayer at the threshold of the sanctuary specifying appeals to the saint, and touching of the grave, the threshold, flags, lamps, and trees. After that the pilgrim passes a hand over face and eyes. A widespread action is to tie pieces of rag or headscarves to flags, trees, and bushes. And finally there is the sacrifice of a lamb or kid, which is mandatory after the desired result is obtained (for example a sick person recovers or a child is born).

The ritual of pilgrimage to the *mazar* (sanctuary, place of pilgrimage in Central Asia) of Sultan-Bobo (Sultan Vais) located on the bank of the Amu Darya River in Khorezm includes, apart from the standard actions, worship at a small pond containing old sacred carp; they have to be fed and may even be stroked when they swim to the shore. The pilgrims make ablutions with the pond water, which is considered sacred, and take it away with them. Childless women visit other remarkable places guided by sheikhs. Coming along a rocky shore of a small river, they stop in certain places where they push themselves into cracks between large stones and squeeze on all fours through holes in the ground; these symbolic magic actions are alleged to make

them fertile. One kilometer from the *mazar*, in the mountains, pilgrims visit a small rocky hill where there are rocks and a striped pole; according to legend, this place was also linked to Sultan Vais, and was one of the three places of worship with strangely shaped rocks, boulders, and stones that were borrowed by Muslim hagiology from the pre-Islamic cult of nature.

In Khorezm, childless women make the pilgrimage to Arandzha-Bobo *mazar* on an island located on the Amu Darya River. They tie pieces of cloth to the flag of the tomb and vow to sacrifice a lamb if they have a baby. At the *mazars* of Nadzhmeddin Kubra (Kunya-Urgench) and Shamun-nabi (Khodzheili) female pilgrims fill stone vessels with water for ritual purposes: they are said to be feeding packs of legendary dogs that served these saints. In this case, the cult of saints is mixed with elements of zoolatry, in special forms that correspond to the role that the dog plays in Zoroastrian beliefs. Another widespread tradition was for childless women to make minute models of cradles near *mazars*: a piece of cloth was tied to four small sticks put into the ground or tied to a bush. For full effect, they sometimes placed a sort of a tiny puppet in the cradle – a twig wrapped with a piece of cloth. Near the *mazar* of Ismamut-ata (Takhta area) female pilgrims used to pile children's skull caps near the tomb's wall: it was believed that a magical connection was established through this object between the *mazar* and a sick child.

Traditions of childless women embracing sacred trees that grow near *mazars*, cuddling up to them with their whole body, and applying tree sap, go back to the pre-Islamic cult of vegetation, in particular trees, to the idea of magic "entrapment of souls" that live there.

Another form of "treatment" near saints' graves is to rub soil taken from near the tomb on the face and body. Some women take such soil away with them and use it when they are ill, sometimes mixing it with water and drinking it. Even soot that is accumulated on a *mazar's* lamps is thought to be healing: women rub it on their eyelids. Sometimes, in the cave *mazars* on the ledges of Ust-Urt, walls near tombs have pictures of human hands and legs: these are special pictures made by pilgrims who had damaged hands or legs with a view to validating a magic connection with the object of pilgrimage.

Some places in Central Asia have become sacred for people from different religions. The mausoleum of Khodja Daniyar is one of the unique sacred places in Samarkand. According to legends, Khodja Daniyar represents the prophet Daniel, and this

place is recognized as sacred by Islam, Christianity, and Judaism.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Arapov, *Masterpieces of Central Asia. Samarkand*, Tashkent 2004.  
 B. B. Babadjanov and E. N. Nekrasova, Tug. Islam in Russian imperial territory, in *Encyclopedic dictionary* [in Russian], ii, Moscow 1999.  
 I. P. Petrushevskiy, *Islam in Iran* [in Russian], Leningrad 1966, 7–15.  
 G. P. Snesarev, *Muslim religious relics and rituals among Uzbek of Khorezm* [in Russian], Moscow 1969.  
 —, *Under the sky of Khorezm* [in Russian], Moscow 1973.

AZIM MALIKOV

### North Africa

#### GREATER AND LESSER HAJJ

Every Muslim, regardless of gender, strives to adhere to the five pillars of Islam, including the attempt to make the *hajj* (the Greater during the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja, and the Lesser at any other time of the year). The journey to Mecca and Medina, where followers of Islam may circumambulate the holy Ka'ba is essential to the precepts of the spiritual life of a Muslim. The expense of both time and money made this practice particularly onerous in the past on Maghribi Muslims, as they came from the far western reaches of the primary Islamic lands. Before the days of air travel making the *hajj* overland could take well over a year. The roads were often rife with perils, the journey was costly, and certainly difficult for women. Regardless of this fact, women have always made up a portion of the pilgrims able to make the trip, and that number grows each year. In North Africa organizations now exist for single women; community or national groups provide escort services so women with the means to travel, but no male companion, may go *en masse* in a safe environment to fulfill their duties as good Muslims at least once in their lifetime.

It is customary for women to act a certain way after completing the *hajj* and returning home. If the pre-*hajj* woman only wore *ḥijāb*, or a head covering, strictly during prayer before she made the pilgrimage to Mecca, she will most likely take to wearing the *ḥijāb* as a permanent form of dress in public afterwards. Women tend to refrain from dancing in mixed company at celebrations in general, but certainly after making the *hajj*. Taking on a more modest presence in the public domain tends to be a common phenomenon once a female becomes *hajja*, although this in no way limits her abilities to

function as a productive member of society, and she may maintain any working position she had prior to her spiritual journey.

The trip to the Hijaz is obviously much easier to make for males, as they can either choose to take their wife/wives, or leave them in the care of family and friends. In Morocco, under the reign of Hassan II a program was instituted for certain civil servants who had shown great loyalty and pride in their work during their lifetime. The king would pay all expenses for more impoverished employees as a means of thanking the individuals for a job well done (Belemlih 2000). Such positions did not exist for women in the past and, therefore, neither did the rewards. The expense involved in making the trip is such that aside from those members of the community lucky enough to receive royal sponsorship, the option of making the *hajj* was, and most often still is, a luxury limited to those members of the society positioned in the middle to upper classes.

In addition to the financial and temporal expense of making the trip to Mecca, geopolitics often played a role in the ability for the Maghribi population to complete the *hajj*. During both world wars the Hijaz was under either Ottoman or Turkish rule. In either case, to enter the Hijaz meant that one had to also be allied with the Ottoman or Turkish government. Moroccans, Algerians, and Tunisians sided with the European colonizing powers during that period. Whether by choice or by force, Maghribi citizens sided with the French in times of war. The Archives diplomatiques in Nantes, France contain numerous documents regarding small groups from Morocco who had made their way to Algeria attempting to cross overland for the *hajj*. In each case the groups would be arrested and deported back to their country of origin. After the First World War, geopolitics and internecine fighting in both the Hashemite Hijaz and Transjordan, along with considerable unrest in the northern Rifi region of Morocco, might all have been contributing factors to the complete lack of Maghribi pilgrims during the *hajj* period of 1921 (Archives diplomatiques, 20). This may be one of the central reasons (along with the pervasive Sufi component of the region) why the visitation of specific local saints became so popular. Often, those who visited a certain highly-revered saint numerous times, or made a pilgrimage to visit a potent group of saints under carefully planned parameters, would often return to their villages and towns taking on the honorific, *hajji* or *hajja*, terms generally reserved for those who had completed the sacred pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, and other acts obligations under Islamic law. The nature of this aspect of sacred substitution via visitation of local sacred

spaces as a means of fulfilling the need to perform the *hajj* during times when travel to the Hijaz was neither financially nor politically possible is taken up in Rein (forthcoming).

#### ZIYĀRA: VISITATION TO SACRED SPACES

From urban centers to the rural hinterland, the proliferation of marabout tombs and shrines marks the North African landscape. Although construction of marabout shrines reached an apogee in the sixteenth century, the building of shrines and the proliferation of holy sites continue without interruption to the present day. Monuments to the dead and the prayers offered to the deceased have recently been considered unacceptable activities within normative orthodox Islam; however, the construction and frequenting of shrines has been part of the social praxis of Muslim societies in North Africa since the introduction of Islam to the continent. Shrine visitation, in Arabic *ziyāra*, consists of seeking the intercession of a marabout, or pious one, and has held a prominent position as a topic for discussion throughout North Africa's Islamic history. Using the example of the pious seventeenth-century scholar al-Yūsī, Henry Munson Jr. argues that although the *'ulamā'* strongly chastised the general population against the veneration of sacred objects and false saints, the *'ulamā'* did in fact "stress that seeking to obtain *baraka* (or divine blessings) from the tombs of the true saints... was perfectly acceptable" (Munson 1993, 83). Although the increase of Salafī Islam has led to a stigmatized, and therefore waning shrine culture in North Africa, the countless holy sites and numerous practitioners who populate these places, illustrate continuity in a long tradition of popular piety in North Africa.

According to sociologist Fatima Mernissi, "visits to and involvement with saints and sanctuaries are two of the rare options left to women to *be*, to shape their world and their lives" (Mernissi 1989, 25). Although Mernissi eloquently argues for the sense of female *communitas* experienced in the sanctuary of a saint's shrine, her ideologically based analysis that leads her to proclaim "shrines do not, in fact function as a religious space" is problematic. Mernissi continues, "the institution of saints that is enacted in the sanctuary has an evident anti-orthodox, anti-establishment component which has been the object of a prolific literature" (ibid., 25–6). Indeed, the patron-saint relationship is one based on contractual rights. Expectations of wish fulfillment are placed on the saint in question. However, the suggestion that this practice falls outside the purview of religious activity is question-

able. According to UNESCO's 2000 publication on the 1997 illiteracy statistics in Morocco, the estimated adult female illiteracy rate was at 74 percent (as opposed to a rate of 58 percent for females under the age of 15).<sup>\*</sup> The predominant population visiting shrines seeking intercession in North Africa tend to be women over the age of 30, with the majority considerably older than 40.

For these middle-aged practitioners, using either a Berber dialect or Moroccan Colloquial Arabic as their only means of verbal expression, the shrine must be viewed as an activated place of ritual. In contrast to Mernissi's argument that women visit saints as an act of subverting the dominant patriarchal society, this author posits that the process of shrine visitation most definitely functions, for these women, as a proper form of piety, a means of prayer and devotion, and as a valid exchange with an intercessor able to understand their language, and hear their pleas. For pilgrims, the saint, and his or her shrine, offers a holy space, a place for ritual brokerage, a contractual exchange of prayer and offering with the expectations of requests fulfilled, resembling what Mercia Eliade would refer to as a "sacred precinct" (1961, 37).

#### THE PERFORMANCE OF ZIYĀRA

In accordance with Mālikī practice, rightly guided individuals should utter a specific maxim prior to any request made of a saint: *Ya, Rabbī, bi-bija barakatik wa-barakat Muḥammad wa-kul al-anbiyā'ik, wa barakat hādhā al-wālī aṣalih*... The phrase translates as "Oh Lord, with your *baraka*, and the *baraka* of Muḥammad, and all the prophets, and the *baraka* of this saint. I pray..." How and by whom these shrines are ritually enlivened depends heavily on the purpose of the clients. In contrast to mosques, which are primarily male space, shrines predominantly offer loci for Moroccan women's piety. Although men do visit these places, illiterate women constitute the majority of the population participating in Moroccan shrine practices today. Therefore, marabout shrines offer a unique opportunity within the contemporary Islamic world for the examination of both women's social and religious space outside a domestic context as well as class specific usage of an architectural type. Reasons for performing *ziyāra* may be classified into three categories: weekly gathering places for locals to meet, exchange ideas, and gossip; treatment centers for illnesses of the body and spirit; and stations or final goals along monthly or annual pilgrimage routes either on their way to Mecca or on a strictly Moroccan tour of holy sites.

## WEEKLY GATHERINGS

The first category, that of a weekly gathering, allows women to exchange pertinent local news, offer congratulations and condolences, and experience a sense of community (in the case of a hamlet like Figuig) in a village devoid of a proper *ḥammām* (bathhouse) where social exchange is the norm. The women retire to the welcoming atmosphere of the shrine, where they gather, share stories, and sing songs about the saint and the Prophet. At the shrine of Sidi Abdel Qader Sliman in Figuig, female members of the conservative Berber village do not attend mosque services, but walk for over an hour over difficult terrain (Figure 13) to spend Friday afternoons singing songs of praise for the Prophet Muḥammad and share a light meal of dates and flatbread. The women enter the shrine, pray according to the prescribed tenets of Islam, toward the *qibla* wall, then circumambulate the saint's bier, and eventually enter a large communal room devoid of all male presence.

## PILGRIMAGE FOR REQUESTS

The second category of *ziyāra* deals with the hope of healing either spiritual or physical ailments, and is illustrated by two stricken women undergoing spiritual healing at the shrine of Moulay Abdes-Salaam Ibn Mashish. A *faqīh*, or holy man, heals the women with the help of Allah and his saintly intercessor (Figure 14). A young child possessed by a troublesome spirit is brought to the shrine of Sidi Allal' *ḥajj*, near the city of Sidi Kacem, by her family to eat, sleep, and pray near the saint's tomb for one week.

Interested in direct experience, many women enter into what they consider a binding contract with the saint or spirit in question, either through a blood sacrifice (one that must be performed by a male according to proper tenets of Islam) or leaving coins, fabric, food, candles, or henna (Figure 15). By tearing a piece of cloth from her clothing, or knotting a piece of string to part of the shrine, the participant ritually "activates" a relationship with the saint. After asking for health, wealth, a good marriage for a daughter or better school grades for a son, the pilgrim punctuates the solicitation with a personal belonging, something that signifies her presence, a tangible reminder that she was physically present at the shrine. If the request is granted, the pilgrim will return to the shrine to fulfill her part of the bargain with a sacrificial animal, money, or candles.

Of all the markers left by pilgrims, it is the hennacaked handprints of the poorest women that most illustrate personal markers. A majority of rural

Moroccan women are considered to be illiterate. These pilgrims, unable to write more than their own names (and that of Allah) choose to leave behind a distinctive trace, an image that the saint can, in no way, confuse with any other pilgrim, a signature for the illiterate, a visage of the body itself – a plea that hopefully will not go ignored. As previously mentioned, such acts bind the woman to the saint, and if her prayers are answered, she will return with a significant offering for the marabout or whatever she has promised the saint in her silent prayers. This practice differs drastically from the profoundly vocal pilgrims' pleas often taking place in Shī'ī shrines such as those in Iran.

## WHEN PERFORMING PILGRIMAGE AT THE SHRINE OF A JINN

Specific saints offer cures for particular ailments, but on occasion individuals seek out assistance from supernatural beings or *jinn*, the most popular being Lalla A'icha Qandisha. Her grotto shrine, located near the shrines of Sidi Aḥmad Ḥamdūsh and Sidi 'Alī in the Moroccan plains, offers assistance to women with problems related to infertility or philandering husbands; in addition, the spirit often possesses men who must come to her grotto to ask to be released from her grasp. Known for her fondness of the color green, pilgrims make offerings of scarves to her, which can be purchased, along with goats, chickens and candles, only two meters up the road in permanent market stalls. Lalla A'icha Qandisha is also connected with the Ḥamadsha Sufi Brotherhood, many of whom consider themselves to be betrothed to the powerful, yet dangerous spirit. According to Eliade, "caves/ (and) grottos... [function as] secret retreats, dwellings... and places of initiation... they represent a paradisiac (or perhaps hellish) world and hence are difficult to enter" (Eliade 1961, 153). Therefore, such spaces – whether built shrines, enormous trees as with the marabout of Abdes-Salaam Ibn Mashish, or a grotto cave naturally occurring near a site of numerous springs – may all demonstrate sacred potency (Figure 16).

## ANNUAL PILGRIMAGE

Ironically, the one form of *ziyāra* that follows Mernissi's notion of visitation as political affect takes place during annual saints' festivals, or *moussems* (from Arabic *mawsim*) – the one scenario in which men dominate the activities taking place within the context of pilgrimage observations. Generally arranged around the agrarian calendar, such events primarily take place during the harvest months of July, August, and September.

These often nationally televised festivals operate in a system entirely different from the activities of private marabout patronage. The monarchy has links with specific saints, such as Moulay Abdes-Salam Ibn Mashish; the site has a massive tree-shrine and comes complete with helicopter landing pad for royal attendance, and although the true date for the *moussems* is set according to the Islamic calendar, when the date falls during seasons of inclement weather a second *moussems* (more popular than the official one) takes place on 15 June, when the mountain air and warm breezes are sure to provide excellent filming opportunities for the nationally televised production.

The *moussems* for Moulay Idriss II, founder of Fez and son of the man who brought Islam to the Maghrib, takes place during the autumn harvest, a week after the *moussems* of his father, with full regalia, parades of Sufi brotherhoods twirling down the narrow streets of the Fez medina, and Qur'ān school children displaying their knowledge. Along with spiritual and educational members of the procession, the event functions as a Rotary Club-like event, where each of the guilds in the city and throughout the country parade offerings into the shrine as a show of devotion and gratitude to the saint for the previous year's bounty. While all of the city watches from rooftops and shop fronts, members of the local leather guild guide bulls, sheep, and during particularly prosperous years, even camels, into the shrine for slaughter. Whereas the activities taking place by women in marabout locations tend to be relegated to the level of popular culture, the grand show of religiosity during the *moussems* on these special occasions are in fact a governmental manipulation of North Africa's basest forms of piety, and are inherently tied to dynastic authority and validation (Combs-Schilling 1989). The political role played by such events dictates the presence and therefore dominance of the male portion of the population. Unfortunately a discussion of the political ramifications of such performances goes beyond the scope of this entry.

#### NOTE

\* UNESCO, Moroccan Census, 2000. Algerian and Libyan records are considerably more difficult to access. The literacy rate in Tunisia is higher than that of Morocco, while the interest in saint visitation is considerably lower. The male illiteracy rate was much lower, 42.6 percent over the age of 15, and 27.2 percent for those aged 15–24. In addition, there was a markedly wide disparity between urban and rural literacy in Morocco until the late 1990s, with women's illiteracy in rural areas at 89 percent as opposed to 48.6 percent in urban areas. Statistics furnished by Jane Fatima Casewit, active member

of the Moroccan literacy program, Morocco Education for Girls.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Archives diplomatiques Nantes, France, Box 305, R2025.  
 L. Beck and N. Keddie (ed.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978.  
 Sidi Belemlih, interview with author, Fez, Morocco, 10 July 2000.  
 J. Clancy-Smith, *Rebel and saint. Muslim notables, populist protest, colonial encounters. Algeria and Tunisia, 1800–1904*, Berkeley 1994.  
 M. E. Combs-Schilling, *Sacred performances. Islam, sexuality, and sacrifice*, New York 1989.  
 V. Crapanzo, *The Hamadsha. A study in Moroccan ethnopsychiatry*, Berkeley 1973.  
 M. Eliade, *The sacred and the profane. The nature of religion*, trans. W. R. Trask, New York 1961.  
 F. Mernissi (ed.), *Doing daily battle. Interviews with Moroccan women*, trans. M. J. Lakeland, New Brunswick, N.J. 1989.  
 H. Munson, *Religion and power in Morocco*, New Haven, Conn. 1993.  
 M. A. Rein, Visual expressions of blessing. Saints' shrines and material culture in Morocco, Ph.D. diss., Department of the History of Art, University of Pennsylvania (forthcoming).

MICHELLE A. REIN

### South Asia

Pilgrimages may be seen, to an extent, as vantage points from which to look at more general issues of gendered modalities of existence in South Asia. Through an exploration of dynamic local traditions that are tied to particular shrines and other sacred places to which pilgrims are drawn, we can further understand the vibrant and fluid nature of religious identity in South Asia. We must also bear in mind that just as the nature of religious and gender identity cannot be essentialized, neither can the polyvalent pilgrimage traditions, many of which are constituted by their own distinctive etiquette and protocol. It is significant that the shrines draw people of diverse religious identities; people who identify with one religious tradition commonly make pilgrimages to shrines and temples associated with other religious traditions. Sufi shrines (*dargāh* or *mazār*) in South Asia are remarkable for the religiously diverse pilgrim constituency that they attract.

South Asian pilgrimages serve a variety of roles for women, those with traditional roles as well as those who live outside the boundaries of local tradition: the wealthy and the impoverished. While pilgrimages (referred to as *ziyārāt* in many parts of South Asia) offer both men and women the opportunity to receive spiritual blessings, including the

penance for sins, they can also be leisurely occasions that provide respite from the day-to-day toils of life. This is particularly significant for women; sometimes pilgrimages represent the only legitimate excuse women may have to leave their homes. The carnival-like atmosphere of these shrines, populated by food and flower vendors, provides an opportunity for entertainment for South Asian women.

At the end of the controversial film “Fire,” two Hindu women, in love with each other and shunned by the society around them, seek shelter in each other’s embrace at the most popular Sufi pilgrimage center of Delhi, the shrine of the fourteenth-century master, Nizamuddin Awliya. This scene poignantly marks the South Asian pilgrimage site not only as a devotional space that transcends rigid religious divides, but also as a refuge for those who spurn conventional modes of existence.

One of the most important functions of these shrines is to create a bond between saints or revered persons and their devotees. This bond is usually solidified through votive offerings (*nazr*), made either as gestures of generosity or as tokens of appreciation for the saint’s grace. At many shrines, women leave bangles or locks of hair in addition to money; they entrust their most personal possessions to the saint and, in return, they hope that their wish will be granted – success in an exam or an exorcism of evil spirits. Many women journey to these sites because holy men (*pirs*) live there and these men often offer amulets. Historically, royal women who desired children made pilgrimages to Sufi shrines to seek the blessings of the saint. These women (including Jodha Bai, the Hindu-Rajput wife of Mughal Emperor Akbar) might even stay at the shrine until after the child was born and then name the child after the saint. Many women also go to shrines on their birthdays because their parents had made vows. Pilgrimage centers, as popular Indian cinema attests, are also favorite rendezvous places for young lovers who do not wish to attract attention in public parks or markets. A few sites in South Asia are also notorious for harboring prostitutes.

There are numerous reasons for women to make pilgrimages. Many Muslim women journey to Hindu temples associated with specific goddesses, such as Sitla, who is often invoked to cure smallpox. The shrine of Vaishnu Devi, set against the mountainous background of the North Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, also attracts Muslim pilgrims, despite the difficulty of getting there. Other pilgrims travel hundreds of miles to experience the blessings of the shrines of Muinuddin Chishti in Ajmer (India) and Lal Shahbaz Qalandar

in Sewan (Pakistan). These saints’ death anniversaries, referred to as *‘urs* (wedding), are occasions that attract a great number of pilgrims.

Several important South Asian pilgrimage centers stand in honor of women: the Bibi ka Chashma in Hyderabad (India) and the Bibi Pak Daman shrine in Lahore (Pakistan) are good examples. The first shrine is revered as a site where witnesses saw an apparition of Fāṭima, the Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter, through whom his lineage continued. The shrine and the spring in it are reputed to miraculously heal women who suffer from various health problems, most importantly infertility. At this shrine, Fāṭima is frequently called upon to act as an intermediary (*wasīla*) between God and His creation. At the shrine of Bibi Pak Daman in Lahore, the legends of several women from the Prophet’s family – women who escaped Umayyad persecution after the battle of Karbala – are invoked as acts of devotion by South Asian women.

Many South Asian women who cannot afford to go on pilgrimages to holy places in the Middle East find substitutes in South Asia. Husain Tekri (Jaora) in the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh is one such shrine. According to a legend in this region, a maid of one of the rulers of this area had a vision in which she saw Ḥusayn and Ḥasan, the two grandsons of the Prophet Muḥammad. The ruler interpreted these apparitions as a command from the Prophet Muḥammad’s family to build a pilgrimage center in honor of the Prophet’s family members. The center was designed to provide a meditative space for those who cannot afford to travel to the shrine cities of Karbala and Najaf (both in Iraq).

At many of these shrines, *qawwāls* perform musical renditions of devotional poetry (*qawwālīs*) and add vibrancy to these traditions; upon hearing certain devotional songs and chants, many women enter trances. A number of these devotional traditions are inspired by the Hindu *bhakti* traditions wherein the devotees, regardless of their gender, speak in a female voice.

Pilgrim sites in South Asia can be permanent abodes for women who suffer economically and socially: regular meals for the less fortunate can always be found there. Thursday evenings mark the beginning of Islamic holy day of Friday; these two days are the most popular times for pilgrimages to many shrines because these are the days food is distributed to the pilgrims. The funding for this food is usually provided by people whose wishes have been granted at a particular shrine.

Although at many pilgrimage sites both men and women have equal access to spirituality, in certain shrines, such as that of Khwaja Bandenawaz

Gesudaraz in Gulbarga, women's access to the inner sanctuary (which holds the tomb of the saint) is restricted. Reasons cited for limiting women's access to the inner sanctuary range from a belief that their physical presence pollutes the shrine, to the idea that women are a distraction for men seeking spiritual experiences in the inner chambers.

While there are prescribed rituals and prayers at some shrines, at most shrines devotion is much less structured; these shrines are places where women can express themselves freely. Pilgrimage aesthetics have been enriched by songs in which the pilgrim speaks in a woman's voice. This voice, more than anything else, linguistically reflects intimacy and familiarity and counters the formal language that is heard in prescribed Arabic prayers. For example, an Urdu song addressed to the Sufi saint of Gulbarga, Khwaja Bandenawaz Gesudaraz (lovingly referred to as Khwaja), captures this intimacy:

Come on Khwaja, ask me what remains concealed in  
my heart  
Grant me my wish, one more time  
My courtyard barren, home desolated  
Shower me with your blessings  
How wonderful are the drums that play in your streets  
The petitioners petitioning, with loud prostrations  
How wonderful is this praise  
My Khwaja, cast your gracious glance on me  
And embrace me now in the cloak of your mercy

South Asian pilgrimage traditions have aroused opposition from certain Muslims, especially those with a penchant for Wahhabism, because these shrines are seen as impediments to spirituality, compromising Islam's monotheism, and offering opportunities to take undue advantage of gullible women. Opponents cite examples of women who sweep the floors of shrines with their hair or prostrate themselves in front of the saint's tomb. In response to the criticism of pilgrimage traditions, many women legitimize their practices by projecting these traditions onto prominent women of the Prophet's family and important Sufi saints.

For centuries, women of all social and economic backgrounds have made pilgrimages – impoverished women who depend on free meals and royalty with unanswered desires. In many cases, women find legitimacy in pilgrimages; they seek comfort and solace in sanctuaries where they can give voice to their inner yearnings. It is in these pilgrimage centers – in many ways more open than traditional mosques and certainly more diverse – that women can express themselves freely, form bonds with saints, or entreat Sufi *pirs* for guidance and wisdom.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Abbas, *The female voice in Sufi ritual. Devotional practices of Pakistan and India*, Austin, Tex. 2002.  
M. R. Khaki, *The virtuous women* [in Urdu], Lahore 1998.  
R. Lal, *Domesticity and power in the early Mughal world*, Cambridge 2005.  
F. P. Parlbly, *Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque*, Karachi 1975.  
A. Schimmel, *My soul is a woman. The feminine in Islam*, New York 1997.  
*Songs played on dholak* [in Urdu], Hyderabad 2003.

SYED AKBAR HYDER

### Turkey

All Muslims, male or female, who have the physical and financial ability are expected to perform the *hac*, the pilgrimage to the holy cities of Islam, Mecca and Medina, at least once in their lives. Undertaken during the first half of the last month of the Muslim year, Dhu al-Hijja, the pilgrims are required to be in a state of ritual purity and to put on *ihram* (the pilgrimage clothes) before entering the area of Mecca.

During their performance of rituals, women wear their normal clothes as *ihram*, obeying other rules, but without covering their faces. They usually prefer long light cotton clothes and headscarves, especially in white. According to a new order issued by the Directorate of Religious Affairs of the Turkish Republic in recent years, Turkish pilgrims, men and women, wear one color and the same type of clothes. Hence they are immediately distinguishable among other nations' pilgrims.

Before going on *hac* (Arabic *hajj*), candidates visit certain large historical mosques and tombs in their region. For instance, in Istanbul they visit the tomb of Eyyub al-Ansari; those in the region of Konya visit the tomb of Mawlana Jalaladdin al-Rumi; and those living in Adana, southern Anatolia, visit the cave of Ashab al-Kahf (known as the Seven Sleepers). Turkish candidates for the pilgrimage are also trained by experts in every city on how to perform certain rituals, such as *tawaf* (circumambulating the Ka'ba) and *sā'ī* (walking between two holy places, Safa and Marwa). Women candidates have to attend these courses. Close kin, friends, and neighbors who come to see pilgrims off give them gifts such as pajamas, towels, socks, and the like. On their return from *hac*, the women present gifts from Mecca and Medina, in addition to dates and the water of Zemzem, to those who saw them off and to visitors. They also organize, if they like, *hatim* (recitation of the Qur'an) and *mevlit* (Arabic *maulid*) celebrations immediately after fulfilling



their *hac* journey. For this, they sacrifice a sheep or a goat in order to offer thanks to Allah for having accomplished the pilgrimage. They also receive merit (*sevab*) from the feast, which is attended by all who welcome them home. The celebrations usually end with prayer and eating sweets.

Turkish pilgrims have been able to go to Saudi Arabia only by airline since the 1990s. Pilgrims no longer drive, because of lack of safe conditions. The cost of *hac* travel is therefore now very high. Despite that, the numbers of those who register have continuously increased. In 2005, 120,000 people registered to go on *hac*, 54,277 of whom were women. In recent years, the age of pilgrims has been dropping. In addition, the number of elite and upper-class women such as artists, models, singers, and the like who go on *hac* and *ʿumra* (the “Little Pilgrimage”) has been significantly increasing.

According to Islamic law, whereas men can travel alone, women should be accompanied by a male member of their family – ideally husbands and wives make the pilgrimage together. As a result of this rule, Turkish women in the past were not able to perform their pilgrimage alone. However, scholars of religion argue that this prohibition belongs to a certain period when traveling conditions were difficult. They suggest that women should be allowed to travel alone today since the situation has obviously changed and women can travel in safety. In accordance with this proposition, Turkish women can go on pilgrimage unaccompanied by a male relative provided they form a women’s group. Although it is difficult to establish the extent to which this changes the conjugal relationship, women *hajjis* care greatly about the close friendships generated by the pilgrimage, including friendships between women and men, and they hope to make the *ʿumra* perhaps several times again.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abū Dāʿūd, *al-Sunan*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1981.  
 al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 8 vols, Istanbul 1981.  
 C. Delaney, *The seed and the soil*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford 1991.  
 K. Güran, Cumhuriyet dönemi hac, in *DİB, İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1988–, xiv, 391.  
 H. Karaman, Kadının yalnız seyahati, hacçı, umresi, n.d., <<http://www.hayrettinkaraman.net/sc/00173.htm>>.  
 al-Muslim, *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 6 vols., Istanbul 1981.  
 A. Rippin, *Muslims. Their religious beliefs and practices*, ii, *The contemporary period*, London and New York 1993.  
 N. Tapper, Ziyaret. Gender, movement, and exchange, in D. F. Eickelman and J. Piscatori (eds.), *Muslim travelers. Pilgrimage, migration and the religious imagination*, London 1990, 236–42.

#### West Africa

This entry examines Muslim women, gender, and pilgrimage in West Africa with illustrating examples from Nigeria and Senegal. After a short overview of Islamic pilgrimage and gender, it describes Senegalese Murid women’s (the Muridiyya is a Sufi order) pilgrimage to Porokhane, Senegal, in memory of Mame Diarra Bousso, the mother of the founder of Muridism. This will offer an insight into gender relations with regard to female social status, piety, and Islamic pilgrimage.

#### BACKGROUND

The voluntary travel of West Africans to the north began with the adoption of the Islamic faith in the twelfth century C.E. As pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam and in principle an obligation for all Muslims, the first West African Muslims had already visited Mecca in the twelfth century. They were mainly notables, rulers, and a few traders who had the economic means to perform the long journey. The rulers of Mali became especially famous for their sumptuous pilgrimages.

During Ibn Baṭṭūṭa’s trip to West Africa (1351–53) he heard in Cairo about the visit of Mansa Musa (King of Mali 1307–53) who had passed through Cairo two years before, making his pilgrimage to Mecca with thousands of slaves and soldiers, wives, and officials. In Mali, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw different gender customs which he found not appropriate for good Muslims. He thought the sexes should be separated and this was not the case in Mali. When complaining about this, a Mali man answered him: “The association of women with men is agreeable to us and a part of good manners, to which no suspicion attaches. They are not like the women of your country [Morocco]” (cited in Naqar 1972).

#### PILGRIMAGE AND FEMALE SECLUSION

The comparatively strong position of Muslim West African women in society and their extensive economic activities in combination with their religious devotion, manifested at pilgrimage sites and through financial donations for religious purposes, have remained important characteristics of social life. A key issue in relation to pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) and to other places turns out to be female seclusion. How does one combine being a respectable Muslim woman within the domestic realm and a traveling female pilgrim, trading and praying at pilgrims’ sites far away from home? Most West African women’s inclination toward business activities at pilgrimage sites appears to be more or less taken for granted and mixed with an authentically female

Sufi tradition. Still, there is pressure on women to behave properly and that is why many solve the respectability problem by going in groups, accompanied by male family members or together with members of religious associations or with people from the same town's quarter or neighborhood.

#### CHANGING SOCIAL STATUS

Considering what Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote about Mali women as having more of an equal status with men than Arab women, one might have thought that female seclusion in contemporary West Africa was not a constraint for women's participation in the public sphere. Here one finds, however, several discourses about women's respectability and piety coexisting and a great variation according to different regional situations and contexts. In many places, not least in Nigeria, becoming a *hajja* (the female title received after having performed the pilgrimage to Mecca) offers women a higher social and religious status, even if it means having left home for quite a while and living among strangers who were pilgrims like oneself. With a reputation of being religious and respectable women, a reputation which increases each time that a person performs the pilgrimage to Mecca, *hajjas* will as a consequence be awarded more freedom of mobility by their husbands and other male family members and more independence in their professional activities.

Similar social advancements are dependent not only on religious adherence but also on class and caste. Poor women can rarely afford to go on *hajj* and if they do, it is taken for granted that they finance the journey by prostitution or begging, activities which award the subject little status and prestige. Upper-class and aristocrat women probably remain just as secluded as before upon their return from Mecca, even after having made the *hajj* (Great Pilgrimage to Mecca) and *ʿumra* (Little Pilgrimage) several times. The great winners in terms of social esteem and mobility are the middle-class and the educated upper middle-class women, who within the realm of religiosity and respectability take advantage of their increased status as *hajjas*.

Some Muslim Hausa-Fulani women of northern Nigeria offer their services as magicians and healers in Mecca. They constitute *bori* (spirit possession) specialists, *bori* being officially considered a non-Islamic cult and therefore forbidden for Muslims. However, the strict and structured forms of Islam exist side by side with more popular and informal expressions, performed mainly by West African women in the big Islamic pilgrimage sites inside and outside Africa. The international pilgrims are uni-

fied in their Islamic belief but they also contribute to the maintenance and extension of multicultural approaches to religious practice.

Sub-Saharan Africans in general – men and women alike – often adopt a role of poor and miserable pilgrim-beggars in Mecca, situating themselves at strategic points with their hands extended toward the Arab pilgrims. They may receive thick envelopes with money from anonymous Arab donors. Women pilgrims in particular appear to be successful beggars.

#### MURID WOMEN AND PILGRIMAGE IN SENEGAL

In Senegal, most Muslims are members of different Sufi orders or "paths" (Arabic *ṭarīqa*). In other West African countries one also finds Sufi orders, such as the Tijaniyya and Qadiriyya. But in Senegal they flourish more than in other parts of Islamic West Africa and one rapidly expanding *ṭarīqa* is the Muridiyya, or Muridism. Travel is a core issue in Muridism. Ever since Shaykh Amadou Bamba, the founder of Muridism, was expelled from Senegal by the French during the colonial period, coerced travel has been a popular theme in Murid cosmology. The annual pilgrimage to Touba, the pilgrimage center of the founder of Muridism, is done in remembrance of this event. Murid migrants to distant countries often draw parallels between their situation and the expulsion of "Serigne Touba" (Shaykh Amadou Bamba), when they leave their country to find work abroad to be able to provide for their families.

Mame Diarro Bousso, the mother of the founder of Muridism, is buried in Porokhane in Senegal. Going to Porokhane is not associated with expulsion in any form, but travel is still an important element of pilgrimage. Especially for women, long journeys are difficult to make for ideological as well as practical reasons, reflecting women's concern about traveling in a respectful and moral way even as successful women traders in a comparatively tolerant and gender relaxed society. The pilgrimage to Porokhane and the encounter with Mame Diarra Bousso in dreams, visions, talks, and songs keep this religious tradition alive today more strongly than ever.

In Porokhane the female pilgrims start with a visit to Mame Diarra's tomb, where they kneel and ask Mame Diarra for help and support. They then visit the mosque to pray and make a tour around the pilgrimage sites, performing the sacred walk among the holy places of Porokhane.

The *magal* (Wolof, religious celebrations) at the two key Muridiyya pilgrim sites, Touba and

Porokhane, have different and gendered characters. In Touba, hierarchy, segregation of the sexes, distance, and silent participation from the women's side are the dominating traits. In Porokhane, it is easy to be struck by the sensual and embodied rituals that are performed by the great majority of the people present. Men as well as women playfully enact the rituals, imitating drying laundry on the branches of the trees and pounding millet like Mame Diarra and crawling in the sand, like her son as a child. Imitation is more than just play, since it provides the pilgrims – men and women alike – with blessing, the mystical and the healing power of the great Murid “saints.” The typically female household chores of Mame Diarra achieve a holy dimension. The male pilgrims, who smilingly carry out such tasks in Porokhane, would never dream of doing them at home. Here they carry them out with a sacred motive. The ambition is to be “like her.” And she, a model for men and women, is a woman. In this sense, Porokhane is unique among the Murid pilgrimage settings.

#### FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

The annual pilgrimage to Porokhane makes women more visible in religious life than anywhere else in the Murids' Senegal. Men and women stand in long queues – even if the queues are sex segregated – to enter Mame Diarra's tomb. Both men and women visit the mosque for prayers. Men and women go together to the well, to the trees, to the place for the preparation of the millet, to the sandy spot where the pilgrims crawl around. Everywhere men and women mix, making the same physical and ritual movements. During the entire pilgrimage it is the mother image and Mame Diarra's personality that are the center of everybody's attention. The female pilgrims who participate in the *magal* in Porokhane in increasing numbers are convincing examples of Murid women's active participation in religious life in Senegal.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- B. Callaway, *Muslim Hausa women in Nigeria*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1987.
- B. Cooper, The strength in the song. Muslim personhood, audible capital and Hausa women's performance of the *hajj*, in *Social Text* 60 (1999), 1–23.
- E. Evers Rosander, Women and Muridism in Senegal. The case of the Mam Diarra Bousso *Daira* in Mbacké, in K. Ask and M. Tjomsland (eds.), *Women and Islamization. Contemporary dimensions of discourse on gender relations*, Oxford 1998, 147–76.
- , Mam Diarra Bousso. The Mourid mother of Porokhane, in *Jenda. A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies* 4 (2003), 296–317.

—, Going and not going to Porokhane. Mourid women and pilgrimage in Senegal and Spain, in S. Coleman and J. Eade (eds.), *Reframing pilgrimage. Cultures in motion*, London 2004, 103–32.

A. Imam, If you won't do these things for me, I won't do seclusion for you. Local and regional constructions of seclusion ideologies and practices in Kano, Nigeria, D Phil. thesis, University of Sussex 1994.

U. 'A. al-R. Naqar, *The pilgrimage tradition in West Africa*, Khartoum 1972.

S. M. O'Brien, Pilgrimage, power and identity. The role of the Hajj in the lives of Nigerian Hausa bori adepts, in *Africa Today* 46:3/4 (1999), 11–40.

EVA EVERS ROSANDER

# Religious Practices: Preaching and Women Preachers

## Arab States (excepting North Africa and the Gulf)

Women preachers have existed in Islam since its inception. Both Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, and ʿĀʾisha, one of his wives (reportedly his favorite) taught public lessons about Islam. ʿĀʾisha especially was and is acknowledged widely as an expert; she related 228 of the *ḥadīths* in Bukhārī's collection, and other sources attribute over 2,000 *ḥadīths* to her (Ahmed 1992). Thus, from its earliest days, a precedent was set within the Muslim community for women to play an important role in conveying religious knowledge, not only within the family, but also in the public arena.

During the medieval period, religious knowledge was orally transmitted, and women played a role in this process as students, scholars, and teachers. Usually of the *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) class of society, many women began their religious education through their families. They also had access to private lessons and informal instruction, by both male and female teachers. Some women were renowned for their knowledge of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, and were licensed to teach others, both men and women, as *wāʾizas* (the feminine form of *wāʾiz*, preacher). Ahmed (1992) refers to a number of prominent women preachers of the era who were included in the Cairene al-Sakhāwī's biographical volume of learned women of his age, for example, ʿĀʾisha daughter of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Hādī.

Egyptian Zaynab al-Ghazālī (1917–2005) was one of the first Muslim women preachers of the modern era. She was self-educated and later also received training from scholars at al-Azhar. After resigning from the Egyptian Feminist Union, she affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood and in 1937 founded the Association of Muslim Women (Jamiʿat al-sayyidāt al-Muslimīn). In addition to social welfare provision, the association was dedicated to women's Islamic education and involved with training numerous female preachers in Egypt.

In recent years, there has been an increase in both numbers and visibility of women preachers in many countries in the Middle East. This is related in part to the widespread rise in literacy rates among women, as well as to the emergence across the Muslim world, since the 1970s, of an educated and pious middle class. One aspect of this emergence

is the phenomenon of women who are demanding rights within an Islamic framework, often using Islamic textual argumentation and Qurʾānic interpretation in order to advocate for those rights. The increase in the visibility of women preachers can be understood as another aspect of this process.

Another factor in the increase in numbers and visibility of women preachers in the Middle East is the growing popularity and influence of various Islamic movements, from the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and elsewhere, to Shīʿī Islamic groups such as Hizballah in Lebanon. Such movements often prioritize religious education, and women of all social classes are playing a significant role in this education, again as teachers/preachers, scholars, and students.

In some cases, the work of women preachers is regulated by the state, along with the regulation of religion more generally. For example, in Turkey, over 400 women preachers work in state-run mosques, joining the women who monitor the "gender equity" of local mosques and women who serve as deputies to the imams of mosques. In Cairo, the renowned al-Azhar University began training women preachers in 1999, many of whom are then appointed as imams for women-only prayer meetings by the state ministry of religion.

As well as officially sanctioned examples of women preaching in Muslim communities there is a general informal proliferation of women's study and prayer groups, whether meeting in people's homes, *ḥusayniyyas* (Shīʿī ritual gathering houses), or mosques, and whether organized by individuals or institutions. Some of the preachers and prayer leaders at these sessions are self-trained while others have taken classes at a local mosque or *hawza* (theological school), or attended state-run training seminars.

For example, in Lebanon's Shīʿī community, many women attend classes at a *hawza*, and women can receive training to become *mujtahids* (interpreters) in their own right. Lebanese Shīʿī women preachers may give lessons or sermons to other women, or may be specialized in "reading" (really, reciting) during ʿAshūra, the annual commemoration of the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet. ʿAshūra gatherings include both a liturgical recounting of the martyrdom history and a lecture teaching lessons to be drawn from that

history, and in recent years many recitors (*qārīāt*) have begun to emphasize the lecture aspects (Deeb 2006). Additionally, women volunteers at many Lebanese Shīʿī charitable associations devote their time to religious education as well as social welfare assistance.

In Egypt, in addition to the state-appointed women preachers, there is a growing movement of women who are giving religious lessons in mosques for other women. Saba Mahmood (2004) has written extensively about this piety movement, and notes the variations in training, rhetorical style, pedagogical materials, and classes of these women preachers. This “mosque movement” has grown from the Muslim Brotherhood’s emphasis on *dāʿwa* activity (literally, call) and the mosque as a space of religious learning, and women preachers are called *dāʿiyāt*. Also inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood, and by the example set by women like Zaynab al-Ghazālī, a growing number of women’s organizations in Jordan are combining social service provision with religious education and outreach.

Syria is another country where numbers and visibility of women preachers are on the rise. Here women religious scholars give lessons in informal private gatherings as well as in girls’ *madrasas* (religious schools). In a context where Islamist activity by men is met with intense political suspicion and scrutiny, women have been able to develop religious networks with relatively greater ease in single-sex environments. One group of women scholars, called the Qubaysiyya, after its founder, the preacher Munīra al-Qubaysī, has taken the lead in establishing girls’ *madrasas*.

Whether in informal or official settings, women with acknowledged levels of knowledge are actively teaching other women about religious matters, and leading prayers and presenting sermons, across the Muslim world. However, one of the key operative points here is that in the contemporary era, women are mainly teaching and leading other women in prayer. There remains major resistance to the notion of women leading prayer or giving sermons for mixed-sex congregations. For some, this is related to a belief that a woman’s voice will provoke sexual desire in men and thereby nullify their worship. This was evidenced, for example, by the uproar that followed Dr. Amina Wadud’s leading of a public mixed-sex prayer group in the United States in 2005.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam. Historical roots of a modern debate*, New Haven, Conn. 1992.  
 A. Bottcher, Islamic teaching among Sunni women in Syria, in D. L. Bowen and E. A. Early (eds.), *Every-*

*day life in the Muslim Middle East*, Bloomington, Ind. 2002, 290–9.

- L. Deeb, *An enchanted modern. Gender and public piety in Shiʿi Lebanon*, Princeton, N. J. 2006.  
 S. Mahmood, *Politics of piety. The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton, N. J. 2005.  
 R. Roded, *Women in Islamic biographical collections. From Ibn Saʿd to Who’s Who*, Boulder, Colo. 1994.

LARA DEEB

## Central Asia

Central Asian women preachers are spiritual masters and exemplars of Islamic piety. They serve as respected teachers and guides in the same way as Muslim scholars. They often surpass them in their understanding of the Qurʾān, Islamic spirituality, and Sufi doctrine. Whether they are *otnae* (spiritual teachers), *otincha* (Qurʾān reciters), founders of Sufi women’s sects, or individual mystics and ascetics, they embody a wisdom that cannot be concealed. Central Asian women preachers kept the spirit of Islam intact in society during the Soviet era. Some male ulema (scholars) would consult with women preachers on complex issues such as how the head of a Central Asian Muslim family should respond to the demand of the Soviets that girls and boys study together and dress for school in a way contrary to Muslim custom. The female preacher Rabia persuaded the men to read the Qurʾān in a broader context. She argued that the Qurʾān allows for the progress of society and claims equality for girls and boys in acquiring knowledge, so that girls and boys should be allowed to learn together. As to the dress code, she argued that one may cover one’s body and face and still have bad thoughts. She suggested that the important thing is to be a true Muslim and pure in heart and thought. She was very influential, and revolutionized Central Asian society in terms of the role of women.

Until recently, women preachers of Islam never attended the mosque. They taught Islam at home or in private buildings. With the relaxation of the rule in 1992–2000, women preachers in some parts of Central Asia organized and taught classes in the mosque and some even attended the sermon behind the *parda* (curtain). Women preachers vary in their teaching and their role in the community.

In Central Asia, there are two broad categories of women preachers: regular *otnae* and *otincha* and Sufi preachers. Central Asia is rich in Sufi and mystical traditions, for example Naqshbandiyya, Suhrawardiyya, Yasaviyya, and others. It is important that these traditions continued even during the Soviet era. Even though they were underground,

they still functioned. They began to function openly as society allowed breathing space for religion until the events of 11 September 2001. The Central Asian states then turned to the suppression of all Muslim scholars, including Muslim women preachers. Until recently, women preachers recited in Arabic, but it has become more widespread among Sufi preachers to use their native language. Women preachers, *otnae* and *otincha*, recite in Arabic but when it comes to explaining the meaning of a sura they use native languages. Some of them tried to read the Qurʾān in translation, but this practice did not work very well.

An *otnae* is more than a spiritual teacher who shows young students how to pray and perform ablutions. She is a key person in propagating the word of God and his Prophet Muḥammad. Famous *otnae* in Central Asia were Nodira *otnae*, Zainab *otnae*, Araphat *otnae*, Munis *otnae*, and others. They spoke of the Qurʾān in ordinary conversations and in meetings in peoples' homes during Muslim celebrations. When a modern *otnae* explains the meaning of a sura, people say she is like an *otnae* of the past, such as Zainab *otnae*. The major duty of an *otincha* is to recite the Qurʾān to gatherings of women. Reciting the Qurʾān is very important in the family and society. An *otincha* with good diction will become popular and be invited to parties, especially during Ramadan and the Night of Power and Excellence, and to celebrations of major Islamic holidays such as the feasts at the end of Ramadan and the Qurban *haiti* (*ʿīd*). *Otnae* and other women discover that the *otincha* shows a great deal of knowledge in explaining Qurʾānic suras and *ḥadīth* narratives. At the celebration of a birth of a baby, *otnae* and *otincha* come to recite the Qurʾān and *duʿāʾ* for the newborn. And if a baby is born and no man is present, the *otnae* perform *adhān* – the prayer call and naming of the baby. When a family member dies, several *otnae* sit and recite the Qurʾān, and give advice from the *ḥadīth* and the *sunna*. Sometimes preachers are invited to express support to really sick women and lift their spirits. Especially when a woman loses a baby, the preachers will comfort her and tell stories from *ḥadīth* and *sunna*.

Sufi women preachers come to preach when they are called, as part of the study of the Qurʾān or in response to family tragedy – the death of babies or husbands, fire, drought, war, and sickness. Such preachers usually devote their time to spiritual growth. They perform the *zikr* magic dance typically with songs they compose themselves; the dance is a way to embrace God's beauty and strive to unite with God. They travel a great deal on foot either

alone or in groups of two or three, and usually live alone on the outskirts of villages and cities. One Sufi woman preacher, Mushuk ona (literally Cat Mother), lived in the hills of the Aflia at a place near Osh (Kyrgyzstan) and had 400 cats and 50 women *murīds* (followers) who helped her. Apparently she had a call when young that she would have cats and give them the names of saints; if she asked them to help a woman, they would pronounce a sura and recite a *duʿāʾ* thanksgiving to God. Many women went to see her and her *murīds* to ask for help, and reportedly her cats did astonishing things for them. Another dervish woman, Hamra buvi, lost her five children and was visited by the Sufi Naqshband in a vision. He told her things would be fine in the future. She had several visions before her death. Hamra buvi was a very pious woman. After she became a follower of Naqshband, many women wanted to become her *murīd* and preach. Until the end of her life, she was a strong voice among Muslim women.

Women preachers do at times slip into magic and superstition, and sometimes have withdrawn from the world. Today, women Sufi preachers of Central Asia have become members of the Sufi Women Organization. Sufi women's *zikr* was aired by the British Broadcasting Corporation from Kokand, showing the originality of Central Asian Sufi preachers.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- U. Faizullaeva, *Central Asian women propagators of Islam* [in Uzbek], Namangan 1995, 42.
- F. Kimsanova, Women's role in family and religion in Central Asia, in F. Kimsanova, *History and traditional culture of people of the East* [in Russian], part 2, Moscow 1989, 65–86.
- C. E. Nurmuratov, *Spiritual-ethical values of Sufism as reflection of Central Asian world* [in Russian], Kazakstan 1991.
- A. A. Sabirov, *The legend and folklore of the Central Asia* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1976, 203.

OIDINPOSHA IMAMKHODJAEVA

## Egypt

According to the primary and secondary sources, though outnumbered by men, women have served as preachers throughout Egyptian history. Since most historians have been male and their primary focus has been on recording men's activities and achievements, the actual number of women who served as preachers probably exceeded those recorded. In fact, existing documentation even on women who are known to have been prominent preachers, such as the Sufi woman scholar, poet, and jurist

of Syrian origin 'Ā'isha bint Yūsuf al-Bā'ūniyya (d. 1516), who wrote poetry, authored several books on Sufism and taught in Cairo in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, is limited (Roded 1994). The scattered details reveal that the nature of roles and messages of Egyptian women preachers have varied over time, as have the settings in which they preached and their audiences.

Some sources indicate that women in the period of Mamluk rule in Egypt (1250–1517) served as preachers in several contexts. Women very rarely taught in the male learning circles in the mosques of Cairo and only a few women, in particular those of high standing and training, served as hired popular preachers inside and outside these mosques. However, some older women, who had achieved fame as the oldest surviving students of famous deceased male scholars, were welcome as *ḥadīth* reciters in men's mosque circles. More common were women with varying levels of religious educational training who preached to the crowds gathered at celebrations of the Prophet's birthday and annual pilgrimage festivals of local holy figures at their sanctuaries. Cemeteries outside the city walls beyond the control of the religious and political authorities were also common venues for these popular women preachers.

Furthermore, prominent women of this period administered *ribāts*, or Sufi lodges, for widows, divorcees, and elderly women; they also preached to these women on the legal precepts of worship and practical procedures of daily life. They focused in particular on guidelines related to women's concerns such as menstruation and modesty, preparing them in some cases for remarriage. Some of these facilities were built within large Sufi complexes and these women preachers possibly led the women in ritual as well. Sometimes such sessions were held in the homes of prominent scholars by their female relatives. The parameters of their leadership, the content of their messages, and the size of their circles of followers are unknown, due to the dearth of details in the historical records. Nonetheless, each woman preacher contributed in her own immediate environment to broader ongoing efforts by male-dominated institutions to ensure that the common people received instruction in Islamic history, lore, doctrine, and practice (Berkey 1992, 2001).

While there were certainly women preachers between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, the next example of an Egyptian woman preacher to be documented in secondary sources is Zaynab al-Ghazālī (1917–2005). Her brief membership as a 16-year-old in the Egyptian Feminist Union taught her to view her environment critically. Rejecting

the union's perspective on religion, she withdrew, choosing to improve women's lives in a different way. She established the Muslim Women's Association in 1937, initially to provide charitable services to women and children. Influenced by the methodologies of two contemporary ideologically opposing movements, the feminist one of women preaching or publicly addressing other women and the Islamic revivalist one of instructing the general population about correct Islamic doctrine and practice, she altered the goals of the association. She preached to local women about the importance of living according to the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* and their right and responsibility to consult these sources themselves; and she trained the association's members in the art of preaching to assist her in her mission. Her preaching inspired women from a variety of backgrounds, in particular less well-off families, to join the association. Many of them became extremely devoted followers. Initially, she had referred to the members as missionaries, but later changed their title to preachers. Following in her footsteps, they preached to other women in their homes and mosques.

Zaynab was such a successful and influential leader that her actions were closely monitored by the Nasser regime. She was eventually arrested and imprisoned for six years. In prison, she wrote Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* commentaries, which were eventually published. Other publications include collections of correspondence with men and women throughout the Arab world who consulted her for practical advice. In her sermons, speeches, and personal advice, she emphasized the Islamic values of equality of men and women in religious practice and in access to religious knowledge, while simultaneously promoting women's mastery of their roles as wives and mothers (Mahmood 2005).

Reviving Zaynab al-Ghazālī's legacy and connecting with broader ongoing Islamic revivalist tendencies, individual women have increasingly undertaken to preach to other women in mosques throughout Cairo since the early 1990s. Like the women who gathered to listen to them, these women preachers vary widely in terms of their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. Like women preachers of the past, they teach their listeners to strictly apply Islamic belief, practice, and values in their daily lives. They emphasize veiling, modesty, and obedience to male relatives, practices that can be viewed as oppressive and restrictive of women's mobility and spheres of influence. On the other hand, they encourage women to seek knowledge and to make their own conscious choices. In fact, embodying this discourse can prove liberating as it

teaches women to make demands of their husbands and forces them to change their behavior, increasing their husbands' respect for them and improving their marital relationships. Poor and unemployed women attend sermons in the neighborhood mosque, whereas working women sometimes cross town to attend sermons given by preachers with more religious training and a reputation for their expertise and teaching skills. Concerned about their growing popularity and the content and consequences of these preaching sessions, the Egyptian government has begun to monitor women preachers. Today they are required to obtain official certification to preach by undergoing a two-year training program (Mahmood 2005).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J. B. Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo. A social history of Islamic education*, Princeton, N.J. 1994.
- , *Popular preaching and religious authority in the medieval Islamic Near East*, Seattle 2001.
- V. Hoffman, An Islamic activist. Zaynab al-Ghazali, in E. W. Fernea (ed.), *Women and the family in the Middle East*, Austin, Tex. 1985, 233–54.
- S. Mahmood, *Politics of piety. The Islamic revival and the feminist subject*, Princeton, N.J. 2005.
- R. Roded, *Women in Islamic biographical collections. From Ibn Sa'd to Who's Who*, Boulder, Colo. 1994.

MARGARET RAUSCH

#### Iran

In Iran, as in other Muslim countries, women are largely excluded from the formal clerical hierarchy. Though most Shī'i clerics agree that women can reach the rank of a *mujtahid*, a religious authority able to decide on religious matters, they cannot act as a "source of emulation" (*marja' al-taqlid*) for other believers. Women preachers also do not preach in front of men. Yet female preachers exercise great influence among their female followers. They lead rituals held by women at home, in a shrine, a mosque, or another religious building, which include sermons, Qur'an reading, invocations (*du'a*'), and recitations. Learned preachers also give religious lessons on a daily or weekly basis at homes or at religious seminaries and schools. The basis of their knowledge and prestige differs. Some have obtained their education informally from a religiously learned relative at home or as a disciple of another male or female religious authority. In the last decades an increasing number of women have studied at a religious seminary or school or at the theological faculty of a university.

Women who are able to deliver sermons and give an interpretation of the Qur'an (*tafsir-i Qur'an*) in general have a higher status than religious cantors (*maddad*) who only recite verses from the Qur'an, religious elegies, dirges, poems and make invocations (*du'a*'). Learned preachers are judged by their knowledge, their ability to give a topical interpretation of the Qur'an, and their pious lifestyle. A *maddad* should first of all have a beautiful voice. Both preachers and cantors should be able to touch their audience emotionally. Being a *seyyida*, a descendant of the Prophet and the Imams, further increases the prestige of a religious leader. Women whose help is regarded as effective in the fulfilment of vows and who are associated with miracles can also become influential ritual experts.

Women preachers frequently describe their mission in guiding other women to live a life in accordance with Islamic principles and so contribute to the building of a healthy society. Some emphasize that the discrimination against women has its roots not in Islam but in traditions and a misinterpretation of the religious sources; knowing Islam helps women to know and defend their rights. Many women religious leaders are widowed, divorced, or single and their profession offers them the possibility of earning money in a respectable way.

The rank of a female preacher depends on the number of her followers and participants at her rituals. A notable preacher disposes of great esteem, authority, an extensive network, income, and mobility. She mainly influences the religious convictions of her followers and their choice of a *marja' al-taqlid*. Women and sometimes also men contact her for advice and support concerning spiritual, moral, and practical problems. Women often visit the classes and rituals of different preachers before they decide to follow one. The political position of the preacher plays a crucial role here. Some are loyal to the Iranian government while others are quietist or take a clear oppositional stance. Followers of the same preacher often form a close friendship. Most female religious leaders also engage in charitable work and collect money during their gatherings to help the needy.

In former times, in the absence of formal training for women, most religious scholars were female relatives of male clerics. Women cantors often instructed their daughters. Since the Islamic Revolution of 1978/9, with increasing literacy and the propagation of religious learning, the number of female graduates of religious seminaries for women has grown tremendously. Concurrently the number of religious rituals and gatherings has increased and



women have more and more begun to challenge the male monopoly over the interpretation of religious sources.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Adelhah, *La révolution sous le voile. Femme islamiques d'Iran*, Paris 1991.
- M. E. Hegland, Gender and religion in the Middle East and South Asia. Women's voices rising, in M. L. Meriwether and J. E. Tucker (eds.), *Social history of women and gender in the Middle East*, Oxford 1999, 177–212.
- Z. Kamalkhani, Reconstruction of Islamic knowledge and knowing. A case of Islamic practices among women in Iran, in K. Ask and M. Tjomsland (eds.), *Women and Islamization*, Oxford 1998, 177–93.
- A. Torab, The politicization of women's religious circles in post-revolutionary Iran, in S. Ansari and V. Martin (eds.), *Women, religion and culture in Iran*, Richmond, Surrey 2002, 143–68.

SABINE KALINOCK

### North Africa

Historically, formal Islamic education was reserved for the elite men. These men often took responsibility for training their female relatives, who were assigned the task of preaching to women of less fortunate backgrounds. Illiteracy did not preclude religious training, which often entailed listening to sermons and learning didactic poetic texts by heart. Moreover, non-elite men were as likely as women to be illiterate. While both male and female children attended Qurʾān recitation schools for at least a couple of years, no efforts were made to teach literacy. Women of all backgrounds were encouraged to learn central religious sources and didactic poetry based on them by heart as these texts could be transmitted by them to their children, male and female.

Such was the case of the famous Libyan Sufi leader al-Sanūsī, who was raised by his aunt, renowned for preaching to local women (Knut 1995). Consequently, he incorporated women as ritual leaders and preachers into the activities of the Sufi order he later founded. The main sources on these women's participation viewed women's inclusion critically and therefore provided few details. There is no scholarship focusing specifically on Sufi or non-Sufi Libyan women preachers in any period.

The existing scholarship on women's religious participation in Tunisia and Algeria reveals that women's membership in Sufi orders was often very high in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and that some of these women had leadership roles. In several cases, this leadership role took the form of administering one of the order's

*zāwiyas*. In some cases, this administrative function entailed taking responsibility for the education and well being of the members, including direct personal involvement in preaching and initiating new female and even male members. A prominent Algerian example is Lalla Zainab (d. 1904), who fought a fierce legal battle against her male cousin in the French colonial courts to retain her position as head of her father's *zāwiya* in al-Hamil after his death. It was more common, however, for women to serve as *muqaddamāt*, or leaders of the women's group within a *zāwiya*, whose primary tasks included initiating new women members and leading the women's *dhikr*. They were also responsible for preaching to the women's group and authorizing new *muqaddamāt* (Clancy-Smith 1992, 1994). Women still have prominent leadership roles in the ʿIsāwī Sufi order in Algeria as well as in France (Andezian 2001) and serve as leaders of spirit possession ceremonies and other women's *dhikr*-like rituals not connected to Sufi orders in Tunisia and Algeria (Ferchiou 1991, Jansen 1987).

In Morocco, historical sources record examples of women who preached to other women in their own *zāwiyas*. Two documented examples are Zuhra bint ʿAbd Allāh bin Masʿud al-Kush (d. 1020) who, trained by her father, preached to women and led them in ritual in her own *zāwiya* in Marrakesh (Rausch 2006) and Amīna bint Khajjū, a trained legal scholar, who taught women Islamic and Sufi dogma and practice in her own *zāwiya* in Shafshawan (Cornell 1998). Although the location of women's preaching activities is not always mentioned in the sources, it was and is more common for them to take place within men's *zāwiyas* in separate spaces or at alternative times, in sanctuaries to local holy figures, or in private homes.

In the Souss region of southwestern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, Sufi scholars initiated a campaign in the sixteenth century to educate the general population. The initiators, and later male scholars who participated in it, composed three types of didactic poetry in Tashilhit Berber on Islamic and Sufi doctrine and practice. Poems of the first type served as training materials for men and women preachers. Poems of the second type were preaching texts to be memorized and recited by the preachers to their audiences. Those of the third type were to be memorized by the audiences. Some of these poems were written specifically for women. It was the women in scholarly families who were trained for this task. Most often they preached in their own homes or the mosque in their village. Sometimes they traveled to outlying villages to train women who then served as preachers in these

villages and sometimes women came from the surrounding area for training. According to historical sources, some of these women also preached before male and female audiences, while others preached to male family members (Rausch 2006).

These preaching practices are in recession today. Nonetheless, Ishelhin women still hold daily or weekly ritual gatherings, reminiscent of, but different from, the original preaching sessions. Usually headed by a ritual leader of varied religious educational training, these gatherings consist primarily of chanting the centuries-old didactic poetic texts. The ritual leader often gives a sermon on pertinent daily life issues resulting from ongoing societal transformations. The lack of formal initiation, official membership, or religious obligation means that the participants' attendance depends on the atmosphere of the gathering and personality of the leader. This is particularly the case in towns like Tiznit where they are held in three locations, and other religious ritual and educational options are held at the same time.

In Tiznit, one of these options is the bi-weekly *dhikr* of the women's circle of the local branch of the Budshishiyya-Qadiriyya Sufi order. While the *dhikr* itself is in Arabic, the sermons on *hadīth* and *fiqh* given by one of the younger literate members are in Tashilhit. In addition, at the end of the *dhikr*, the group chants one of the age-old Tashilhit didactic poems mentioned earlier.

Furthermore, the government is exerting efforts to bring religious education to local women. Besides sponsoring literacy classes and providing the instructional materials, which include Qur'ān and *hadīth* texts for reading practice, the state now permits women to receive degrees from institutions of higher education in the Islamic sciences. A recent female graduate of the Islamic sciences department at Agadir's Ibn Zuhr University has begun preaching weekly on the Prophet's life in the separate women's gallery of two mosques in Tiznit in Tashilhit to local illiterate women who appreciate the sermons and admire the young woman's knowledge.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Andezian, *Experience du divin dans l'Algérie contemporaine. Adeptes des saints dans la région de Tlemcen*, Paris 2001.
- J. A. Clancy-Smith, The house of Zainab. Female authority and saintly succession in colonial Algeria, 1850–1904, in N. R. Keddie and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history. Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven, Conn. 1992, 254–74.
- , *Rebel and saint. Muslim notables, populist protest, colonial encounters (Algeria and Tunisia, 1800–1904)*, Berkeley 1994.

- V. J. Cornell, *Realm of the saint. Power and authority in Moroccan Sufism*, Austin, Tex. 1998.
- S. Ferchiou, La possession. Forme de marginalité féminine, in *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord* 30 (1991), 191–200.
- W. Jansen, *Women without men. Gender and marginality in an Algerian town*, Leiden 1987.
- V. S. Knut, *Sufi and scholar on the desert edge. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Samūsī and his brotherhood*, Evanston, Ill. 1995.
- H. Qasim, *The mosque up above* [in Tashilit], Casablanca 1991.
- M. Rausch, Ishelhin women transmitters of Islamic knowledge and culture in southwestern Morocco, in *Journal of North African Studies* 11:2 (2006), 173–92.

MARGARET RAUSCH

### South Africa

Saartjie van de Kaap (1775–1847) provides an early and important example of a woman religious leader in South Africa. She is best remembered for giving the first *waqf* (religious endowment) in South Africa, a 1794 bequest of property for a *masjid* in Cape Town. Yet Saartjie van de Kaap was remarkable for other reasons: she was born to slave parents who prospered after gaining their freedom, she could read and write, she owned property, she was married to an imam and raised seven children, and she was active in the political and religious affairs of the Cape Colony's early Muslim community (Munshi 2006). Unfortunately, no information about other female contributions as teachers, scholars, or reciters appears in the historical record over the next one hundred years.

Women's religious leadership in the South African Muslim community came to the fore during the apartheid era (1948–94) and continues in the democratic period since 1994. Women made an indelible mark on religious education; a fair number who gained their religious knowledge from local *shaykhs* and *mawlanas* (both terms refer to learned religious leaders) conducted religious educational classes in their homes while others taught at communal *madrasas*. It is an undeniable fact that women teachers formed the backbone of the Muslim educational institutions and, by the turn of the twenty-first century, a few took charge of these institutions. The *khaliphas/apas* – as they were called – gradually replaced the male teachers and some developed and designed *madrasa* syllabi and texts. Mymoena Galant, a Durban-born housewife, became especially well known as a *madrasa* educator and a *madrasa* teacher-trainer in Cape Town.

Since the *madrasa* offered subjects such as the art of recitation, these teachers not only performed well in teaching content subjects but also in imparting

Qur'ānic literacy skills. Their methods successfully replaced the traditional teaching methods. Since the skill of memorization remained an integral part of the syllabi in these *madrasas*, Muslim girls were gradually inducted into the art of Qur'ānic recitation. Their exposure to the reciting principles of *tajwīd* (proper pronunciation) and *tartil* (rhythmic and measured delivery) spurred them on to memorize the entire Qur'ān, a practice that had not previously been widespread among Muslim women. With the emergence of special Muslim schools for girls such as Madrasat us-Salihah in different parts of South Africa from the 1980s onwards, a greater interest developed in not only reciting but also learning about the Qur'ān. This gave rise to a coterie of girls who desired to recite, memorize, and learn the sacred text. They were, however, preceded by women such as Fatima Geyer bint Abdul Malik Hamza and Maduniyah Ahmad from Bosmont, Johannesburg. In Cape Town, Rabi'ah Sayed is among the younger generation of reciters who excels in the art after having gone for special training to Egypt and Indonesia. She stands out as an excellent reciter and someone who has encouraged others – primarily through her CDs – to also pursue the art and engage in Islamic studies and related sciences in the Muslim heartlands. She was influential in the promotion of women's *qir'ā'a* (recitation) competitions such as the one held by Cape Town's Lentegeur Islamic Society during 2004/5.

In Durban, Rayhana Omar-Muhammad, a Channel Islam International radio presenter and *hāfiza*, was responsible for laying the foundations of the Darul Quran Academy to promote the learning of the Qur'ān among young women. Individuals such as Omar-Muhammad benefited from the Middle Eastern scholarships that became available in the 1990s; they belong to a small group of women who studied in countries such as Sudan, Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia where they received certificates, diplomas, and degrees. Cape Town's Shaykhah Mymoena is the first South African woman graduate from Al-Azhar University in Cairo, the center of Islamic learning built in the tenth century C.E.

These women who studied abroad were joined by others who undertook Islamic studies at South African universities, and from this group emerged a handful that went on to complete their postgraduate studies and enter academia. Two scholars who have become well known for their studies are Najma Moosa, who teaches Muslim Personal Law at the University of the Western Cape and who wrote *Unveiling the Mind: A Herstory of the Historical Evolution of the Legal Position of Women in Islam* (2004), and Sa'diyya Shaikh, who is a lecturer in

religious studies at the University of Cape Town, and who has written articles on Muslim feminism, such as "Transforming Feminisms: Islam, Women and Gender Justice" (2003). She is regarded as one of the foremost young progressive Muslim female scholars in (and outside) South Africa.

Women have also increased their participation in both the local and the international socioreligious and cultural arenas, joining missionary groups such as the Tablighi Jamaat as well as taking leadership roles in several Sufi orders. Some have played an active part in promoting Sufi religious practices by forming women's *dhikr* groups, which are also known in some parts of South Africa as "gajat circles." Quite a few women's circles have been established over the years drawing sizeable numbers of women who were interested in cultivating their spirituality. Since strong contacts have been made with Malaysians and Indonesians since South Africa's re-entry into the world community, women's circles have traveled to these nations to participate in specially organized religious and cultural activities. In addition, the leaders of these circles are themselves regarded as charismatic personalities. For example, Galiema Ajouhaar is one of the Cape's leading imams and has not only led her group, numbering more than 100 members, in *dhikrs* but also regularly delivers spiritually charged speeches and recitations that may be heard on local Muslim community radio stations. Yet despite the prominent role that she and other women in her position played in South African religious circles, they have never had the chance to deliver Friday pre-*khutba* (sermon) talks to a mosque congregation.

This tradition, however, was challenged by American Muslim feminist Amina Wadud amidst widespread condemnation and protests from the conservative theological organizations such as Cape Town's Muslim Judicial Council and the Jamiat ul-Ulama of Johannesburg. In Cape Town, the Claremont Main Road Mosque's board extended Wadud an invitation to deliver the pre-*khutba* lecture on 12 August 1994, an invitation that was to radically change the way Muslim women viewed and understood their position not only in the Cape but also in other parts of South Africa. Since Amina Wadud embraced this opportunity with open arms, she effectively demonstrated that certain traditional teachings and practices – as comprehended and interpreted within the house of Islam – may not only be challenged but also changed. The event ignited interesting and important public debates regarding the limits of sacred space to be occupied by women and stimulated an ongoing "gender jihad" (to use Wadud's phrase) in the area of Muslim per-

sonal law; these efforts were further buttressed by national constitutional changes that demanded the emancipation and the granting of women's rights in the new South African democracy. This historical religious event has subsequently inspired some women to continue with this innovative practice, albeit as one that has been observed at irregular intervals at Cape Town's Claremont Main Road Mosque and the 23rd Street Mosque in Fordsburg, Johannesburg. Lectures and preaching by women imams had been previously confined to women's gatherings outside the mosque as well as to particular occasions such as the *milād* (the Prophet's birthday celebrations). Another recent innovation was the first marriage ceremony conducted in South Africa by a female imam, Rayhana Ismail, who officiated at the 25 June 2005 marriage of Na'eem Jeenah and Melissa Hoole, in Johannesburg.

Muslim women's religious leadership has continued to expand during the post-1994 democratic era, especially by making inroads into broadcast and print media where they have made substantial contributions to the community's religious life. *Al-Qalam* (established 1970) and *Muslim Views* (established 1986) have brought female journalists on board to cover social, religious, and political issues, including Shamima Shaikh and Akeela Gabie-Dawood. South African women have also established magazines with the express purpose of educating Muslim women about their roles and rights in Islam, both inside and outside the home. These include *Al-Warda* in Cape Town, founded by Fatima Khan; *An-Nisaa* in Durban, started by Fatima Asmal; and *Muslim Woman* in Johannesburg, founded by Khadeja Puchee. Further support of their teaching efforts has been given by local Muslim radio stations such as Radio Islam, Al-Ansaar, and the Voice of the Cape, all established in the late 1990s.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. R. Bradlow and M. Cairns, *The early Cape Muslims*, Cape Town 1978.
- F. Bux, The changing roles of Muslim women in South Africa, M.A. thesis, University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban 2004.
- H. Deegan, *South Africa reborn. Building a new democracy*, London 1999.
- F. Esack, *Qur'an, liberation and pluralism. An Islamic perspective of interreligious solidarity against oppression*, Oxford 1997.
- F. Gamielien, *The history of the Claremont Main Road Mosque. Its people and their contribution to Islam in South Africa*, Cape Town 2004.
- U. Gunther and I. Niehaus, Islam, politics and gender during the struggle in South Africa, in D. Chidester, A. K. Tayob, and W. Wiese (eds.), *Religion, politics, and identity in a changing South Africa*, Munster 2004, 103–24.
- M. Haron, The South African Muslim making (air)waves during the period of transformation, in D. Chidester, A. K. Tayob, and W. Wiese (eds.), *Religion, politics, and identity in a changing South Africa*, Munster 2004, 125–60.
- S. Hassim, Gender politics in South Africa. Rights, needs, and democratic consolidation, in M. S. Smith (ed.), *Globalizing Africa*, Trenton, N.J. 2003, 89–110.
- N. Jeenah, The national liberation struggle and Islamic feminisms in South Africa, in *Women's Studies International Forum* 29:1 (2006), 27–41.
- N. Moosa, *Unveiling the mind. A herstory of the historical evolution of the legal position of women in Islam*, Cape Town 2004.
- R. Munshi, The First Lady of Islam in South Africa, written for the Bicentennial Commemoration of the Unbanning of Islam (1804–2004), in *AwqafSA Insights* 1 (2006), 24–5, <[http://www.awqafsa.org.za/research\\_articles.htm](http://www.awqafsa.org.za/research_articles.htm)>.
- S. Shaikh, Transforming feminisms. Islam, women and gender justice, in O. Safi (ed.), *Progressive Muslims. On justice, gender and pluralism*, Oxford 2003, 147–62.
- A. K. Tayob, *Islam in South Africa*, Gainesville, Fla. 1999.

MUHAMMED HARON

### South Asia

Much of the scholarship on women's lives and roles in South Asian cultures has been devoted to how women perform a variety of sociopolitical activities *despite* their religious contexts. Only lately have scholars begun to pay serious attention to women's religious lives, narratives, and motivations, and their diverse efforts to inhabit, in pious and sociopolitically meaningful ways, authoritative spaces in public religious spheres.

#### SHĪ'Ī WOMEN

Shī'ī women participate in *majālis*, rituals that commemorate the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn (the son of 'Alī and grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad), his family, and followers at the Battle of Karbala in the Muslim lunar month of Muḥarram 61 H./680 C.E. *Majālis* are especially widespread and conducted with particular intensity during this month that many Shī'īs devote to mourning Ḥusayn's martyrdom. *Majālis* for women are hosted, organized, conducted, and attended entirely by women. They occur in familial shrine rooms and courtyards or in public halls built exclusively for women. On these occasions, women often sing *marṣiyya* (devotional or commemorative verses) and deliver sermons and *rawzas* (recitations about Ḥusayn and his family). Small teams of young women vie to lead *nawḥa* (mourning chants), during which they beat their chests in rhythm or, in some cases, practice self-flagellation (Hegland 1998). *Tabarruk* (blessed offering, usually food) is distributed by the host (Howarth 2005).

Like their Sunnī counterparts, Shīʿī women were not until recently given formal religious training and could not become credentialed scholars. Today, some build up regional reputations as preachers, hosts, hymn singers, or chanters. Especially in communities where *purdah* (the practice of female modesty and seclusion) is strict, *majālis* enable women to travel, consolidate extrafamilial friendships, and pursue status, competence, and recognition through pious means (Hegland 1998, Howarth 2005).

In Pakistan, *majālis* – and with them the demand for women preachers and other performers – have increased significantly since the early 1990s, in tandem with Shīʿī ethnic unification around the transnational Shīʿī awareness catalyzed by the Iranian revolution and grievances against Sunnī governments. Wealthy women host lavish *majālis* in private structures built for such occasions, but women of any class can and do attend (Hegland 1998).

The state of women’s religious education is also changing in Pakistan (Abou Zahab 2005). Women’s *madrasas* are proliferating and since the mid 1980s increasing numbers of women have traveled to Iran to study in the Shīʿī *madrasas* of Qom. These train women *muballighas* (missionaries) and *zākiras* (ritual and *majālis* experts) who learn to preach partly from videocassettes of famous preachers. A generation of women scholar-preachers is thus being crafted that differs from traditional lay preachers, who often learnt their trade from their mothers (Howarth 2005). These “modern” preachers are taught to base their sermons on research and to denounce “deviant ideas” propagated by traditional women preachers.

Shīʿī women in South India practice *ʿamal*, a ritual that calls upon certain members of the Prophet Muḥammad’s family to bring the supplicant’s troubles before God (D’Souza 2004). *ʿAmal* is traditionally conducted at homes and private shrines by knowledgeable older women, but today is often held at public shrines under the supervision of female religious professionals. These experts often have some education but limited economic means, and *ʿamal* is a religiously and morally rewarding way for them to earn small amounts of money (D’Souza 2004).

#### SUNNĪ WOMEN

Not only have South Asian Sunnī women traditionally had little access to public religious knowledge or space, but until recent decades they have rarely hosted private religious gatherings. Key to recent transformation have been growing Islamic revivalist movements such as Tablighi Jamaat (a

transnational movement of spiritual renewal originating in the 1920s in North India; “Tabligh” for short) and the political party Jamaat-i Islami (“Jamaat” for short), founded by Abul Ala Mawdudi (1903–79) in the late 1930s in colonial India. There is also a growing number of independent women preachers, some of whom grew up with older family members, neighbors, and family friends as religious role models. Others, especially elite women, meet Muslim missionaries, often the wives of Muslim diplomats, and take up missionary work in turn.

Most Sunnī women preachers are lay preachers, but this will probably change as women’s *madrasas* increase. In Bangladesh alone, roughly 70,000 girls and women were enrolled in *madrasas* in 2000 (Hannan 2005). Some of these *madrasa* graduates go on to teach at women’s *madrasas*, thus expanding women’s conventional roles as religious educators in their own homes as mothers and in the homes of others as long-term female tutor retainees or *ustanis*, as Gail Minault (1998) has shown for colonial India. Unlike male *madrasa* graduates, however, current female graduates cannot be prayer leaders at mosques or conduct public rituals such as prayers, funeral and marital rites, or the like. Yet some preach among women in their families and neighborhoods, and Tabligh activists even travel to do so, though they must be accompanied by near male relatives. In this way, some women with little money or education can become religious leaders, partly usurping a role traditionally occupied by men. In addition to furthering aspirations to piety, which is the primary objective of many women preachers both within and outside Tabligh, it has been noted for Tabligh preachers that activism provides relief from housework and enables traveling and socializing (Metcalf 1998, Sikand 2001). This may be transposed to the world of Jamaat-i Islami women.

#### JAMAAT-I ISLAMI

Activist women affiliated with the Islamist party Jamaat-i Islami also spend time outside the home, forge extrafamilial relationships, and acquire intellectual religious skills. Moreover, they can travel together (locally) without male company and undergo more rigorous training in organizational conduct and leadership than do Tabligh women. Jamaat women and affiliated students oppose what they perceive as Indian and Western cultural-political hegemony and secularist Bengali nationalism in the name of an ideal Islamized polity. Female student affiliates of Jamaat recruit fellow students and train them in self-discipline, moral values,

and religious knowledge through a variety of text-centered knowledge practices that are construed as “scientific.” Each member records her daily activities in a “report book” that is evaluated by a supervisor monthly and must attend regular meetings. These are structured around scripture, lectures on religious principles, and Islamist-authored texts. Jamaat members and affiliates largely hail from the middle and lower middle classes (Huq 2006).

Adult Jamaat women, as opposed to student members, preach among urban women as well as rural women who are either unschooled or have finished with school. Jamaat activists, often based in urban areas, increasingly travel to rural areas to disseminate Islamist teachings among the rural poor (Shehabuddin 1999). Islamist students preach largely among urban student women. Further, while Jamaat women participate in electoral activities, most student affiliates do not.

#### WITNESS

In Bangladesh, the nascent women’s Islamic organization Witness, oriented around educational activities, exemplifies emergent gender-conscious liberal Islamism. Witness cultivates an upper middle-class image, both to include and attract women with certain skills, connections, and liberal cultural sensibilities as well as to create a sense of empowerment in members, a sense of being privileged and of being more competent than both conservative Islamists lacking sophistication in Islamic approach and Westernized women lacking Islamic knowledge. Witness activists disseminate Islamic knowledge through contributions to local newspapers and international magazines, organization of and participation in panels, symposiums, and conferences, and increasingly via the Internet.

#### AL-HUDA

In Pakistan, the group led by female religious leader Dr. Farhat Hashmi, Al-Huda, boasts a far larger following than Witness. Al-Huda’s structure is more formalized and its outreach projects are astutely tuned to contemporary marketplaces and media. Preachers such as Dr. Hashmi are very methodical, like Jamaat, but, like loosely organized Witness, are not explicitly partisan. Like Witness activists and the female student wing of Jamaat, preachers such as Hashmi primarily target educated urban women.

Hashmi urges women to study the Qur’ān for themselves (in translation); Tabligh differs on this point, maintaining that the Qur’ān can be studied and understood only by religious experts. Tab-

ligh therefore focuses on individual reform and on study of a few texts by traditional religious scholars (Ahmad 1991, Metcalf 1993). Hashmi, in contrast, departs from traditional religious scholarship in calling for the reinterpretation of certain Qur’ānic verses to effectively address new problems in the light of fundamental Qur’ānic teachings (Newsline 2001).

#### INDEPENDENT WOMEN PREACHERS WITHOUT ANY ORGANIZATIONAL APPARATUS

Until recently, preaching in large-group settings was a male prerogative in Bangladesh, where the majority of Muslims follow the Ḥanafī tradition, which discourages women from going to the mosque because of its public character. However, some Bangladeshi women preachers, mostly elderly, are now contesting, more in practice than in discourse, the locally dominant *fatwā* or religious legal opinion that women should not go to the mosque or lead women’s congregational prayers even in private spaces.

#### CONCLUSION

Many changes are underway in South Asia as women carve out authoritative spaces for themselves in religious space (though without erecting formal challenges to male authority). Scholars such as Mary Elaine Hegland (1998) argue that integration of women into the religio-political world may allow consolidation of new forms of male control, but one might also point to how many Jamaat-affiliated students, for instance, contest Islamist prescriptions in creative and non-confrontational ways even while striving to remake themselves into loyal Islamist subjects.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Abou Zahab, *Between Pakistan and Qom*. The new generation of Shi’a women, paper presented at research workshop on Islamic Reform Movements in South Asia, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 26–7 May 2005.
- M. Ahmad, *Islamic fundamentalism in South Asia*. The Jamaat-i Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat, in M. E. Marty and R. S. Appleby (eds.), *Fundamentalisms observed*, Chicago and London 1991, 457–530.
- D. D’Souza, *Devotional practices among Shi’a women in South India*, in I. Ahmad and H. Reifeld (eds.), *Lived Islam in South Asia. Adaptation, accommodation and conflict*, Delhi 2004, 187–206.
- M. E. Hegland, *The power paradox in Muslim women’s majalis*. North-West Pakistani mourning rituals as sites of contestation over religious politics, ethnicity, and gender, in *Signs* 23:2 (1998), 391–428.
- M. Huq, *The politics of belief*. Women’s Islamic activism in Bangladesh, Ph.D. diss., Department of Anthropology, Columbia University 2006.
- S. A. Hannan, *The religious education of Muslim women*

- in Bangladesh, in *New Nation*, Pt. 1, 22 August 2005, Pt. 2, 29 August 2005.
- T. M. Howarth, *The Twelver Shī'a as a Muslim minority in India. Pulpit of tears*, London and New York 2005.
- S. Ibrahim, interview with Dr. Farhat Hashmi, in *News-line*, Karachi, February 2001.
- B. D. Metcalf, Living Hadith in the Tablighi Jamaat, in *Journal of South Asian Studies* 52:3 (1993), 564–608.
- , Women and men in a contemporary pietist movement. The case of the Tablighi Jama'at, in P. Jeffery and A. Basu (eds.), *Appropriating gender. Women's activism and politicized religion in South Asia*, New York and London 1998, 107–22.
- G. Minault, *Secluded scholars. Women's education and Muslim social reform in colonial India*, New Delhi 1998.
- E. Shehabuddin, Beware the bed of fire. Gender, democracy, and the Jama'at-i Islami in Bangladesh, in N. R. Keddie and J. Rostam-Kolavi (eds.), *Journal of Women's History* 10:4 (1999), 148–71.
- Y. S. Sikand, *Women and the Tablighi Jama'at*, in A. A. Engineer (ed.), New Delhi 2001, 219–38.

MAIMUNA HUQ

## Sudan

The position of Sudanese women religious scholars and preachers is a part of an old tradition in Islamic history where women played a unique role in the transmission and dissemination of Islamic knowledge.

The Qur'ān makes no distinction between men and women in this regard, and in a famous *ḥadīth* the Prophet Muḥammad advised his companions to “learn half of your religion from that woman,” in reference to his wife 'Ā'isha, who transmitted “some 2,210 *ḥadīth*” narratives to the “foremost early Muslim traditionists” (Ahmed 1992, 73). Sudanese written sources such as *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt* by Muhammad al-Nūr Ibn Dayf Allāh briefly discussed some women preachers as prominent figures citing Fāṭima bint Jābir as one of the earliest women educators in Sudan (al-Nur Ibn Dayf Allāh 1985, 46). Today, at least four categories of female preachers can be cited in Sudan: Independent, Islamist, Ansār al-Sunna, and Republican Sisters. While the latter are relatively new to Sudanese society, independent women preachers have deeper roots in Sudanese life.

Historically, from the fifteenth century Sudanese women were active participants in *khalāwī* (sing. *khalwa*, religious seminary) as teachers of the Qur'ān and Islamic education. Women's *khalāwī* specialized in female education in order to eliminate their religious illiteracy and to teach them elementary religious sciences. Women used to memorize the Qur'ān and learned *tartīl* (the art of recitation) and *tajwīd* (perfection of recitation), in addition to some of the Sharī'a principles (Kāshif

Badrī 1984, 58). By the eighteenth century, many women preachers were as famous as their male counterparts. Among them were Shaykha bint 'Aṭā, Shaykha Rājiyya bint 'Abd al-Qādir, and Shaykha Khadīja al-Azhari. Khadīja was the sister of one of the highest ranking *fuqahā* (jurists) during the Turkiyya (1820–85) in the Sudan, Aḥmad al-Azhari. Khadīja and Aḥmad were the son and daughter of Shaykh Ismā'il al-Wālī, the founder of the Ismailiyya Sufi path in Kordofan. Khadīja directed her seminary and provided religious instruction for women in their homes (ibid., 7–8). In eastern Sudan in 1945, a group of women, including Zaynab Muḥammad Aḥmad and Khadīja 'Umar Kashūy, established women's *khalāwī* that are still in operation. Women's preaching continued throughout the centuries and today a good number of female preachers are active participants in daily preaching in Sudanese society. Layla Sayyid Khidr, known as Layla Jābir (b. 1938) is an independent preacher in Khartoum who began preaching in mosques in 1980. Khidr holds a bachelor's degree in psychology from Cairo University, Egypt. She preaches in four major mosques, seven times a week, in the affluent 'Amārat and Riyād neighborhoods of Khartoum. She began her preaching in discussion groups with only a few women in attendance. Over the years an increasing number of women began attending her preaching and she moved to bigger mosques to accommodate her larger audiences. Khidr related that her decision to become a preacher followed a severe illness that confined her to bed for over a year. It was during that time that she began reading religious texts and was deeply inspired by them. She is critical of “doom and gloom” preachers who tend to frighten women and claims that her intention is to make women more aware of their rights under Islam and to instruct them in their duties in a positive tone. These women's detractors often criticize them for being non-specialists in the religious sciences, and therefore not qualified to preach. Their defense is that they are only preachers and do not issue *fatāwā* (sing. *fatwa*, formal legal opinion) on matters of juristic *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence).

The second category of women preachers evolves around the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood movement. 'Ā'isha al-Ghabshāwī (b. 1947) is a well-known religious scholar/preacher in Sudan. She received a Ph.D. in 1986 in theology and Islamic philosophy from Omdurman Islamic University, Sudan, where she is currently professor of Islamic studies. Al-Ghabshāwī gives lessons to women's groups on subjects related to religion and life. Her lessons, which began in the 1970s, were initially

given in response to invitations she received from various women's groups. She began her public appearances on Sudan's national television when she interviewed the late Egyptian Islamist Zaynab al-Ghazālī, in 1978. Al-Ghabshāwī then began her own television show, "The Muslim Family," which aired for ten years. In 2000, she began anchoring her new television program, "Risāla khāsa" (A special message), which continued until 2004 when it was transformed into a television lecture entitled "Majālis al-Humayrā" (Councils of al-Humayrā). The new program included segments on advising women on social issues, such as marriage, raising children, and family life.

Other Islamist preachers/scholars include Su'ād al-Fātiḥ, member of the National Congress ruling party; Umm Kulthūm Ismā'īl, Dean, College of Family Studies and Society Development at the University of Sudan; Fāṭima 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Dean, Students Center of the Quran University in Omdurman; and Fathiyya Mīrghanī, professor at Omdurman Islamic University.

The third group of preachers is the Anṣār al-Sunna, to which Maryam 'Abbādī (b. 1954) belongs. 'Abbādī gives lessons on Islamic studies to women in homes in the Khartoum North neighborhoods. Having studied *tartīl* and *tajwīd* in Saudi Arabia, she focuses on teaching women how to correctly recite the Qur'ān and avoid making mistakes in pronunciation.

The fourth category of female preachers developed as part of the Republican Brotherhood movement. The Republican Brothers Party was established by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Ṭāhā in 1945. However, women did not become active preachers until the 1960s when al-Akhwāt al-Jumhūriyāt (Republican sisters) group was formed and "women members participated fully in all... activities" through their roles as leaders of activist groups on university campuses, in public parks, and even on street corners (Ṭāhā 1987, 6), preaching and distributing party booklets. However, the execution of Ṭāhā in 1985 by the military rule of Ja'far Nimayrī was a severe blow to the party and both its male and female activism.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Interview with 'Ā'isha al-Ghabshāwī, Khartoum 2006.  
Interview with Layla Sayyid Khidr, Khartoum 2006.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam. Historical roots of a modern debate*, New Haven, Conn. 1992.  
H. Kāshif Badrī, *al-Ḥaraka al-nisā'iyya fī al-Sūdān*, Khartoum 1984; *Women's movement in the Sudan*, New Delhi [1986?].

Sarah Elsheikh, interview on Maryam 'Abbādī, Khartoum North, 2006.

M. al-Nur Ibn Dayf Allāh, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt fī kḥuṣūs al-awliyā wa-al-sālibīn wa-al-'ulamā wa-al-shu'arā fī al-Sūdān*, intro. Y. F. Hasan, Khartoum 1985<sup>3</sup>.

M. M. Ṭāhā, *The second message of Islam*, trans and intro A. An-Na'im, Syracuse, N.Y. 1987.

Religious Affairs Department, *Report on khalāwī in eastern Sudan*, Khartoum 1975.

SOUAD T. ALI

## Turkey

As a state built upon the remains of the Ottoman Empire, Turkey has undergone sweeping social, political, and administrative reforms in a very short period of time. Consistent with their positivist view of social affairs, the founding fathers of the Turkish Republic believed that the centuries-long religious rule of the Ottomans clogged the channels between the modern way of life and the people. The widespread reforms that they led inclined the nation drastically toward the West and a broad social engineering process included the spheres of religion and women's issues. At the same time, dervish lodges and religious brotherhoods were banned and religious practices were controlled by the newly-founded (1924) Directorate of Religious Affairs. From this date, this agency started to administer religious affairs including employing imams and controlling the text of mosque sermons at the national level. Even though it was claimed that religion had been taken out of the political sphere, the state continued to dominate the religious scene.

Holding Islam and its institutions responsible for the backwardness of the nation, the founders of the Turkish Republic considered women's status as a sign of national progress. This process pushed religious women, who did not fit the Turkish national project, out of the public sphere until recent decades. On the other hand, the patriarchy that shaped social life in Islam was another influence on the position of women in Turkey: the structure of religious leadership was formed by a gender system dominated by males and elders, affecting the development of religious leadership of women. Even though it is popularly known that 'Ā'isha served as an imam for women and Muḥammad permitted Umm Waraka to lead prayers, women in general occupied secondary positions in the public sphere.

On the informal level, however, there is a different reality, which challenges the role of religious women. In a secular environment in which religious ceremonies are limited, women's *mevluds* represent



the unique flavor of Turkish Islam and occupy a multi-faceted position. As one of the major religious ceremonies in Turkey, *mevluds* are held on many occasions at various times of the year. Even though religious men and women participate in similar number of *mevluds* in a year, with their more complicated and longer formats, the women's *mevluds* stand as valued opportunities to expand the limited role of women for interaction with other women.

Even in the circles in which women remain dependent on male agency in their daily life, inhabiting the religious margins and addressing the distinctive concerns of the participants, these home-based gatherings play a vital role in responding to the rejection by the secular sphere and maintaining the elements of belief within communities. Patiently harnessing the means at their disposal, women became a constant part of efforts for the restoration of Islamic standards in Turkey. Carrying out the divine message via this "freelance" preaching, women not only renewed religious and moral strictness but also functioned as active agents of religious preservation. These gatherings also helped to create a common religious identity above the given subdivisions of Islam in Turkey.

Since the mid-1980s, many non-governmental Islamic agencies have been started in several major cities. Parallel to this, religious women have begun to create endowments to teach Qur'an courses and provide coaching and consulting to other women in needy neighborhoods. With this move, which has strong urban influence, these women not only contested the secular gender conventions and challenged the traditional religious knowledge channels reserved for men. The topics that these women taught, their educational and socioeconomic background, and their urban lifestyle clearly differentiates them from the Islamic circles that are mostly seen in the countryside. Through workshops and meetings in which ideas are conveyed in a sophisticated manner, the empowerment of the Muslim female participants are prioritized.

*Ziyaret* (pilgrimage) to *türbes* (shrines) by women is another different and popular way of displaying the religious leadership role of women. The *türbes*, as in the case of Eyüp Sultan in Istanbul, represent moral authority and provide access to the divine order via concrete manifestations. As the main participants and usually the decision-makers regarding a visit by a household, women claim their share of authority regenerated through repeated rituals in a *turbe*.

İmam Hatip Okulları (preacher schools), which started in 1951, deserve special attention among

other religion related schools and activities, such as informal neighborhood Qur'an classes and formal divinity schools, in order to see the evolution of women's leadership in Turkey. Seven of these schools were opened to train religious leaders in the first year, but by 1980 there were 200,300 students being educated in 374 schools. Even though the secondary level of these schools was closed in 1997 and no new ones have been opened since, by 2004 84,898 students were receiving education in 452 schools. These schools started to admit female students in 1976. While the portion of girls was 23.63 percent in 1990, it reached 50.25 percent in 1999. In a strict secular environment in which religious posts are limited and generally reserved for males, the high number of female graduates of these schools play active roles within the religious communities throughout Turkey.

In the Alevi communities, a branch of Islam that connects itself with the Shī'ī imams, the belief frameworks are based upon old local traditions as well as Islam; males and females participate equally in traditional *cem* gatherings. With the re-rendering of Alevi beliefs in the 1980s within urban communities through the newly founded *cemevis* (assembly halls) and associations, the equal position of women and men is publicly displayed and has affected the religious scene since then.

During recent decades, many religious Muslim women have begun to occupy influential positions in the media, and in human rights, intellectual, and political organizations. The Directorate of Religious Affairs has launched a "women preachers era" campaign and appointed 196 women preachers to all but 15 out of 81 provinces in Turkey. Some of these serve as deputies to *muftis* – officials who are in charge of local religious affairs. In addition, there are 400 women preachers, *vaizes*, who work for this agency to oversee the work of local imams throughout Turkey. In 2004, for the first time in the state's history, a woman led a group on pilgrimage to Mecca.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Z. F. Arat, Politics of representation and identity, in Z. F. Arat (ed.), *Deconstructing images of the Turkish woman*, New York 2000, 1–34.
- B. Bilgin, *İslam'da kadının rolü, Türkiye'de kadın*, Ankara 2005.
- M. van Bruinessen, Religious practices in the Turco-Iranian world. Continuity and change, <[http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/religious\\_practices\\_in\\_the\\_turco.htm](http://www.let.uu.nl/~martin.vanbruinessen/personal/publications/religious_practices_in_the_turco.htm)>.
- R. Çakır et al., *İmam Hatip liseleri. Efsaneler ve gerçekler*, İstanbul 2004.
- Diyanete vaize alınıyor, in *Sabah* (daily newspaper), 8 July 2004, <<http://www.sabah.com.tr/2004/07/08/gnd115.html>>.

- A. Durukan, Women preachers educate women, *BIA News Center*, 29 August 2005, <[http://www.bianet.org/2005/10/01\\_eng/news65951.htm](http://www.bianet.org/2005/10/01_eng/news65951.htm)>.
- P. Er, *Geleneksel Anadolu Aleviliği*, Ankara 1998.
- İlk kadın din adamı, in *Sabah* (daily newspaper), 2 February 2005.
- D. Jung and W. Piccoli, *Turkey at the crossroads*, London and New York 2001.
- C. Raudvere, Knowledge in trust. Sufi women in Istanbul, in *Social Compass* 50:1 (2003), 23–34.
- A. Saktanber, Kemalist kadın hakları söylemi, in *Kemalizm*, Istanbul 2002, 323–33.
- Y. Schleifer, In Turkey, Muslim women gain expanded religious authority, in *Christian Science Monitor*, 27 April 2005.
- N. Tapper and R. Tapper, The birth of the Prophet. Ritual and gender in Turkish Islam, in *Man* 22:1 (1987), 69–92.
- E. J. Zürcher and H. van der Linden, Searching for the fault-line. A survey of the role of Turkish Islam in the accession of Turkey to the European Union in the light of the “clash of civilisations,” in E. J. Zürcher and H. van der Linden, *The European Union and Islam*, Amsterdam 2004, 83–167.

YÜCEL DEMİRER

## Western Europe

Throughout history Islamic scholars have unanimously agreed that a woman cannot deliver the *jum'a khuṭba* (Friday sermon), and women are excluded as prayer leaders in mixed assemblies. In the past, women were also excluded from Islamic institutions where the formal training of teachers and preachers took place. However, traditional communities often provided women with a legitimate non-official arena of religious activity, which included non-ritual preaching. Thus, while the *khātib* (preacher of *khuṭba*) was – and still is – a man, a woman can be a *dā'iya* (missionary preacher) or a *wā'iza* (preacher), categories of female religious specialists that were developed separately from their male counterparts. It must be added that the variety of expressions of ritual activities has often been constricted by certain forms of orthodoxy or by local customs. Nevertheless, there are female *mullahs* (local religious leaders) and *shaykhas* (religious teachers), and in Sufi circles – also in the European diaspora – the *muqaddamāt* (female religious leaders) officiate at gender-segregated ceremonies (Fernea and Fernea 1972, Andezian 1983).

In premodern times, Sufi circles in particular seem to have encouraged women preachers, and their competency and popularity are frequently underlined in hagiographies, as in the *Dhikr al-niswa* from tenth-century Khorasan: “Sha'wana... preached to the people and recited the Qur'ān to them. Her sessions were attended by ascetics, worshippers, those who were close to God and masters of hearts and

self-denial” (al-Sulami 1999, 106). Turkish Islam during the Ottoman period is particularly rich in examples of women missionaries and preachers, as demonstrated by the influential Bajjiyan-i Rum (Sisters of Rum), the female counterpart of the Akhi (Brothers). The Sisters served as preachers and missionaries both in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Greece, and there are numerous examples of their activities as spiritual leaders, preachers, and educators.

In the contemporary period, since the 1970s, women have been admitted to several traditional Islamic institutions of learning, such as al-Azhar in Cairo. This trend is slowly producing women *'ulamā'* (Islamic scholars), and during the 1990s the participation of women in non-ritual preaching grew in several Muslim countries. A similar development appears to be taking place in Western Europe; however, women's preaching activities have not been well researched. In today's Europe, women preachers generally fit into one of two categories: either they belong to a larger network of Islamic organizations firmly rooted in their country of origin or they are individuals with the skills required to preach, teach, or perform rituals on a traditional basis in local mosques. A third category consists of women born and educated in the West, who often claim a more active part for women in non-segregated forms of Islamic teaching and preaching.

The Turkish Süleymanlis offer an interesting example of the first category. The Süleymanlis represent a traditional, hierarchical, and Sufi-oriented organization with an active female branch, led by a hierarchy of women linked to gender-segregated teaching and preaching. Their teaching program includes more advanced religious studies in Turkey for those who aspire to the title *hocca hanum* (Madam Imam, which parallels the male *hocca effendi*). At their headquarters in Cologne, Germany, the women's house receives girls from the Turkish community for religious instruction. These women's centers are now established in numerous cities and smaller towns throughout Western Europe. The female teachers also function as preachers; the most talented of them are sent on preaching tours during Ramadan. In 1999, a 24-year-old woman who was preaching in two of the Süleymanli women's mosques (mosques permanently reserved for women) in Norway had the previous year been on a preaching tour to Sydney and Melbourne. The problem of traveling alone without a *mahram* (related male) is solved by appointing groups of women to accompany the preacher to and from the airport.

Another example is offered by the Tablighi Jamaat organization, which recruits mainly among South Asian and Moroccan immigrants. Women have no access to the Tablighi dominated mosques, but the wives of active Tablighi members as well as other female members of the household are frequently encouraged to engage in *da'wa* (missionary) activities as long as they do not mix with unrelated men. In Norway, women's *jama'ats* gather in small preaching groups of two to four women, addressing themselves to Muslim women in their neighborhood. In general, one woman gives a small sermon, with an explanation or commentary on Qur'anic verses, for example on the verses on prayer, or on the *shahāda* (profession of faith). Wives of active Tablighi members may also travel with their husbands, organizing parallel gatherings for women. Thus the Tablighis remain open, at least to a certain degree, to organized women's *da'wa* activities, always centered on the importance of maintaining traditional lifestyle and morals.

The second category points to traditional practices transferred to new surroundings. Two examples: Eastern European communities developed the role of the *bola*, a female religious leader who is in charge of the women's *dhikr* (invocation of Allah) at *mawlid*s (feasts held on Muḥammad's birthday), of preaching and teaching, and of preparations for funerals. The *bola* (now called *mu'allima*) is often married to the imam, as is the case in several of the Scandinavian countries.

In the Shī'ī community, women's groups meet on a regular basis in private homes for *majlis-i aza* (mourning assemblies) during the month of Muḥarram or for celebrations of the Imams. Muḥarram activities in the women's section of the *ḥusayniyya* (mosque) are often extensive and include preaching. As has been pointed out (Fernea and Fernea 1972, 399), Iraqi women mullahs are trained by other mullahs and go regularly for lessons from the time of puberty. For example, in Oslo, preaching in the the women's part of the main Shī'ī center is performed by Iraqi women in their thirties and forties, conducting their gatherings on the basis of source books compiled in their home country.

All preaching activities discussed so far are performed in the language of the country of origin. However, there is a new trend linked to women's networks with roots in Western Europe. These networks, formal and informal, are encouraging women's religious studies and aiming at propagation and revitalization of the Islamic message in European languages. Women frequently give *durūs* (religious lectures, sing. *dars*) and preach, sometimes even to

a mixed gender audience. Women preachers are, however, still controversial among the majority of European Muslims. Yet some Muslim women are not only preaching to mixed audiences, but also challenging the idea that the role of delivering the Friday sermon must be limited to men.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Andezian, *Pratiques féminines de l'islam en France*, in *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 55:1 (1983), 53–66.
- N. van Doorn-Harder, Teaching and preaching the Qur'an, in J. D. McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, v, Leiden 2006, 205–31.
- R. Fernea and E. Fernea, Variation in religious observance among Islamic women, in N. R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints, and Sufis. Muslim religious institutions since 1500*, Berkeley 1972, 384–401.
- B. Maréchal (ed.), *Muslims in the enlarged Europe. Religion and society*, Leiden 2003.
- B. D. Metcalf, Tablighi Jama'at and women, in M. K. Masud (ed.), *Travellers in faith. Studies of the Tablighi Jama'at as a transnational Islamic movement for faith renewal*, Leiden 2000, 44–58.
- A. 'A. al-R. al-Sulamī, *Early Sufi women. Dhikr an-niswā al-mut'abbidāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyat*, ed. and trans. R. E. Cornell, Louisville, Ky. 1999.

KARI VOGT

# Religious Practices: Prophecy and Women Prophets

## Overview

There were active prophetesses in the Arabian Peninsula before and at the rise of Islam. The *kāhina* (diviner-prophetess) of pre-Islamic times functioned in ways similar to that of her male counterpart, the *kāhin*. She delivered the words of an oracle in a state of ecstasy, sometimes in bursts of rhymed prose, called *sajʿ*. She also practiced divination, including in matters important to the tribe as a whole such as war, and acted as a mediator. *Kāhināt* are sometimes said to consult with *aṣḥāb* (familiar spirits), and some may have belonged to priestly families (see, for example, Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh* vi, 216). Later Islamic sources preserve mention of some of these diviner-prophetesses (Fahd 1996, 98 ff. and passim.), and their numbers and fame are not less than those of the *kāhins*. We also hear of *kāhināt* who foresaw the mission of Muḥammad; for instance the “*kāhina* of Quraysh” who verified the dream of the Prophet’s grandfather, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that there would “emerge from his line a man who would rule East and West” (Ibn Kathīr 1388/1968 ii, 387; see also vii, 223; similar stories are told of *kāhins*). The new dispensation, however, brought with it a reaction against divination, including claims that all such communication had ended with the coming of Muḥammad. In one *ḥadīth* the Prophet is made to warn believers against associating with – specifying female as well as male in each group – “sorcerers and sorceresses, *kāhins* and *kāhināt*, astrologers male or female, poets and poetesses” (Mutaqqī al-Hindī 1413/1993 vii, 732).

In 11/632–3, during the caliphate of the first caliph, Abū Bakr, the tribe of Tamīm rallied around the prophetess Sajāḥ. Sajāḥ was the one female of four so-called “false prophets” of the time. She is reported to have had a Christian background, Christianity being widespread among the tribes, and she prophesied in *sajʿ*, though we know almost nothing of her doctrine. Sajāḥ joined forces for a time with the most famous of the false prophets, Musaylima of the tribe of Ḥanīfa. Musaylima was defeated, Sajāḥ returned to her people, and reportedly later converted to Islam.

The possibility of legitimate female prophecy in Islam is necessarily limited, like all prophecy, to the time before Muḥammad, since it is insisted

that Muḥammad was the last prophet with the last message for humankind. The sources do mention a few women who claimed to be prophetesses in the centuries thereafter (for example, Yāqūt n.d. v, 426, Ḥāʾirī 1385/1965 i, 5), but these are remarked only in passing, as amusing curiosities – as, indeed, are the appearances of some pretended prophets.

The controversy over prophetesses (*nabiyyāt*, fem. pl. of *nabī*) is expressed largely through commentary on passages of the Qurʾān that seem to suggest that Mary and the mother of Moses underwent prophetic experiences. Key verses are 3:42, “And when the angels said to Mary,” as well as other references to Mary in the Qurʾān, and 28:7, “And we inspired (*awḥaynā*) the mother of Moses” (similarly 20:38, “we inspired in your mother”). Among other potential prophetesses mentioned in the course of the debate are Sarah, by virtue of the announcement to her, referred to in 11:71, of the birth of Isaac and Jacob; and Āsiyya, the wife of Pharaoh, by virtue of her intuition concerning Moses mentioned in 66:11 as well as 28:10, but included more because of a *ḥadīth*, which is discussed later.

The position that predominates in both classical and modern times is that women have not been prophetesses. Some even claim for this position *ijmāʿ*, that is, agreement of scholars wide enough to rule out any contrary opinion (for example Bāqil-lānī cited in Ibn Taymiyya 1981 ix, 364). There are, however, a few dissenters, while others recount the various arguments without clearly giving their own opinion – a common feature of Islamic discourse.

The main force behind the negative opinion is a particular view of women; women, the scholars seem to think, may attain very high stations, but not quite the highest. This is not, however, the sole motif. Islam recognized – as suggested in the Qurʾān itself – that communication between God and humankind was of various qualities and kinds, and it soon began to rank and define these communications. The question of female prophets and the related Qurʾānic passages came to be considered in light of this endeavor. That females tended to be classed out was partly a result of gender bias, but was also due to a desire to elevate prophethood by restricting its fullest manifestation to a small number of elite figures. Thus the status of some males whose personalities are indistinct in the Qurʾān,

such as Luqmān and Dhū al-Qarnayn, was also thrown into doubt. A third, intersecting motif is the concern to establish the prior merit or “excellences” (*faḍā’il*) of certain women important in early Islam, such as the Prophet’s most prominent wife, ‘Ā’isha, or his best-known daughter, Fāṭima.

A widespread argument against prophetesses is that the words of the Qur’ān (21:7), “We [God] have not sent before you [Muḥammad] except men (*rijāl*) whom we have inspired” signify that God has sent only males, to the exclusion of females. The following pithy statement attributed to the universally revered seventh-/early eighth-century pious ascetic Ḥasan al-Baṣrī expresses the same view: “There are no prophets among women, nor among the *jinn*” (Ibn Ḥajar n.d. vi, 339). The scholars generally do not, however, explicitly employ gender reasoning. Rather than presenting reasons why women altogether cannot be prophets, they tend to examine particular figures to adduce a multitude of somewhat technical proofs as to why each of those was not a *nabiyya*. A sample of such proofs follows.

Some proofs have to do with the definition of revelation. It is argued, for example, that the revelation or *wahī* the Qur’ān says was sent to the mother of Moses was not the *wahī* usually associated with prophethood: that it came, for instance, merely in her sleep, or that it was only *ilhām* or “inspiration” (for example Ibn ‘Asākir 1415/1994 lxi, 18). Since miracles are an indication of prophethood, it is asserted that neither Mary’s being sustained in the solitude of her youth by a table sent from heaven (as related in Qur’ān 3:37) nor her giving birth to Jesus are really miracles, or at least not her own miracles. Some alternative suggestions are that they were in the lesser category of favors (*karāmāt*) allowed by God (for example Rāzī 1978/1398 xi, 198) or that the miracle of the table belonged to Mary’s guardian, Zakariyyā, rather than to herself (Rāzī, citing Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Jabbār, 1978/1398 xi, 198 and xii, 102). It is also argued that since Mary is honored in the Qur’ān (5:75) with the epithet *Ṣiddīqa* (Friend), this must be the highest one available to her; Ibn Kathīr believes it to be the position of “the orthodox community” (*ahl al-sunna wa-al-jamā’a*) that there are no women prophets but only Friends (1412/1991 ii, 514). On the basis of Muḥammad’s declaration that Fāṭima is “the mistress of the women of Paradise,” it is said that Mary cannot have been a prophet – or at least that it is more likely that she was not – since Fāṭima herself was not (for example Munāwī 1415/1994 i, 138). The controversy is complicated by a *ḥadīth* that names Fāṭima and others as “mistresses of Paradise” after

Mary; see for example Bā’ūnī 1415/1994–5 i, 154). The *ḥadīth*, “Many men have reached perfection, but no woman has done so except Mary, daughter of ‘Imrān, and Āsiyya, the wife of Pharaoh” seems to place these two above ‘Ā’isha and Khadija, the Prophet’s first wife, while, as one author puts it; “we consider that there is no community more excellent than this one” (namely the Muslims) (Shāmī 1993, xi, 162). Thus the excellence of Mary and Āsiyya is qualified in various ways, extending to denial of their prophethood. Some of the arguments made are similar to those aimed at Qur’ān 3:42, “We have chosen and purified you [Mary] above all women of creation.” For example, Mary, who most likely was not a prophet, was merely the best of the women of her time, or her community, or of those in Paradise at the time Muḥammad pronounced these words (Ibn Ḥajar n.d. vi, 339–40, vii, 101). If the formula *ṣalā’ alayhā* (God’s prayers be upon her) sometimes appears after the name of Mary, this is only meant to indicate that she is higher than a mere “Friend,” though not as high as the prophets themselves (Nawawī n.d., 119). Ibn Kathīr reaches back to the Children of Israel to conclude that Miriam, the sister of Moses, was not a prophetess since, although the Children of Israel did call some women prophetesses, this only alluded to their being related to prophets, in the same way one calls the wife of a king “queen” (1388/1968 ii, 93).

Ibn Taymiyya, the fourteenth-century Ḥanbalite revivalist and spiritual grandfather of the Wahhābī movement, states that the best of the Islamic community after the Prophet are “the righteous” (*ṣiddīq*), and the highest station possible for Mary is therefore that of a *ṣiddīqa*, as she is in fact called in Qur’ān 5:75. To call Mary a prophet would be, he implies, an instance of exaggeration (*ghuluw*) (1981 xxi, 364–5). Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhābīs after him often inveigh against veneration of human beings; the Wahhābī movement dominates in present-day Saudi Arabia and has considerable influence in the Muslim world.

The ninth-century theologian and heresiographer Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī is one noted scholar who holds the exceptional position that there have been prophetesses. He uses this position, in fact, to distinguish between the terms *nabī* and *rasūl* (messenger) mentioned in the Qur’ān, arguing that since – here citing a *ḥadīth* – there have been female *nabīs*, while the Qur’ān says clearly, “We have not sent [as messengers] (*mā arsalnā*) before you except men,” the *rasūl* must be something different from what those women were (Ibn Fūrak 1987, 174). The *rasūl* turns out to be a superior type (he is

sent with a message for a people), which a woman cannot be, since she is “deficient in reason” (ibid., 176). Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, the fifteenth-century scholar who produced the standard commentary on Bukhārī’s *Ṣaḥīḥ* collection of *ḥadīth*, the most revered collection of the Sunnīs, believes the position of Bukhārī himself to have been that Mary was a prophet, since he includes her in the section of his work dealing with the prophets (Ibn Ḥajar n.d., Introduction, 472). While Ibn Ḥajar mostly confines himself to citing the opinions of others, he shows an unusual attention to the question of prophetesses and seems also to lean toward a positive opinion (see especially vi, 320).

The best-known proponents of female prophethood, often cited and refuted by later scholars, are Ibn Ḥazm, the eleventh-century jurist and theologian, and Qurṭubī, the thirteenth-century exegete. Ibn Ḥazm devotes a whole segment of his history of religious ideas, the *Kitāb al-fiṣal*, to “the prophethood of women.” His approach is unusual. He attacks the problem from two perspectives: by defining prophethood (*mubuwwa*) in what he takes to be the plain sense, as God intended it, and then through psychology. Prophethood, Ibn Ḥazm says, simply signifies appraisal (*iʿlām*), so that anyone whom God apprises of a thing before it happens, or to whom is revealed news of anything whatsoever, is a prophet, “without doubt.” Such *iʿlām* may come through an angel, or through another kind of speech that reaches the subject. The Qurʾān itself says that God sent angels to women, and informed them through revelation of truth (*ḥaqq*) from God, as in the case of Sarah. This, Ibn Ḥazm says, is speech from the angels; it is not possible that it would come to other than a prophet. And so in the case of Mary, the phrase “I am a messenger from your Lord, I shall give you a child” is true prophecy through true revelation (*wahī*), involving a mission (*risāla*) to her; and the same with the mother of Moses, to whom it was revealed that she should cast her child into the sea. Only the true revelation associated with prophethood, says Ibn Ḥazm, could have produced in Moses’s mother the confidence to do such a thing, and her experience is comparable to that of Abraham when he was commanded to sacrifice his son. Ibn Ḥazm also points out that Mary is included in the mention of personalities in a lengthy Qurʾānic passage culminating in the phrase (19:59) “these are those to whom God showed favor among the prophets.” The fact that she is called *ṣiddīqa* does not, he says, prevent her from also being a prophet, since the prophet Joseph is called in the Qurʾān *ṣiddīq* (12:46). Ibn Ḥazm also believes that the *ḥadīth*

that says that no woman has reached perfection except Mary and ʿĀsiyya simply means that they are more excellent than other woman prophets (whom he does not name), just as there are many male prophets, but some better or more perfect than others (1406/1986 v, 17–18).

Qurṭubī, by contrast, argues that only Mary is a prophetess. Since, he says, the most perfect type of human being is a prophet, the excellence *ḥadīths*, if taken in conjunction with the Qurʾān, dictate her prophethood. That is to say (so his reasoning seems to go) the quality of the excellence of each of the women praised in these *ḥadīths* must be corroborated by outside evidence, with the ultimate potential excellence being that of prophethood. Now, since we are told in the Qurʾān that God chose Mary “over all the women of creation” (3:42) – which means, Qurṭubī strongly insists, all women of all times, including Khadija and the rest – and since God “delivered revelation (*awḥā*) to her through the angel,” with “command, information, and good tidings” just as He did for the rest of the Prophets (rather than simply good tidings, as others have argued) she is, consequently, a prophetess (1405/1985 iv, 824; also ix, 11). Qurṭubī does not, despite the *ḥadīth* phrase “no woman has reached perfection except Mary, daughter of ʿImrān, and ʿĀsiyya, the wife of Pharaoh,” think that ʿĀsiyya is also a prophetess, for there is “no clear proof” in her case (1405/1985 iv, 83; also vi, 251). Similarly, although the angel did speak to the mother of Moses, that was by one of the kinds of communication that do not involve prophethood, such as through a dream or “by inspiration” (*ilhām*), and thus she also is not a prophetess. Qurṭubī claims consensus for this position (1405/1985 xiii, 250).

Though Ibn Ḥazm’s definition of prophethood allows him to include women, he nevertheless thinks, like Ashʿarī, that Qurʾān 21:7 indicates that God has not sent (*mā arsalnā*) any woman with a mission (*risāla*), that is to say with a message for and authority over others. Had his opponents, he believes, realized this distinction, they would have agreed with him that there are women prophets (1406/1986 v, 17). This remark of Ibn Ḥazm exposes a hidden mechanism of the controversy over prophetesses. Though the tradition allows women to achieve spiritual distinction and learning for themselves, it is reluctant to grant them religious authority over others. It is for this reason that Ibn Kathīr states that the generality (*jumbūr*) of scholars hold that God has not given to “any woman of the daughters of Adam” a “revelation establishing a law” (*wahī tashrīʿ*) (1412/1991 ii, 514).

The Shī'īs venerate the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, since she is the wife of their founding hero, 'Alī, and ancestress of the central charismatic figures of Shī'ism, the Imāms. A *ḥadīth* found in at least one early source even relates that an angel was sent to speak (*yuhaddith*) to her, so that she dictated the words to 'Alī as she heard the voice (Ṣaffār 1380/1960, 157; also Kulaynī 1368/1968 i, 458). The version more acceptable, however, to the dominant sober stream of the tradition says that Fāṭima received her emerald-green "ablet" (*lawḥ*) which contained news of the future originally from the Prophet (for example Kulaynī 1288/1968 i, 527). It was not, in other words, a communication directly to her.

The Shī'īs are reluctant to allow Mary priority over Fāṭima, and treat the "excellence" *ḥadīths* accordingly (for example Munāwī 1415/1994 i, 138 and ii, 68). They are less concerned, however, with examining the prophethood of Mary and the others than with using the controversy to buttress their own doctrine. They classify Fāṭima as *muḥaddath*, that is "spoken to by the angels" – thus the *ḥadīth* phrase, "Fāṭima was *muḥaddath*, and not a *nabiyya*" – and then place the rest of the potential prophetesses in the same category (the version in K. Sulaym, 351 mentions Mary, the mother of Moses, and Sarah). Since it is insisted that the Imāms are *muḥaddath*, which has the effect of placing them in a high position involving divine communication but still one inferior to prophethood, the existence of just such a station for Mary and other women serves as evidence of the legitimacy of this claim. (The Lahore branch of the Aḥmadiyya, a heterodox movement of Indian Islam founded in the nineteenth century, also cites the experience of Mary and others as proof that God communicates with non-prophets, and thus that its own founder, Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Qādiyān [d. 1908], could have received such communication; see 'Alī 1992, 94–6.) The Shī'īs treat miracles of Mary and other potential prophetesses in the same way. Miracles, it is argued by Shaykh Mufid, were evident in the Imāms, but this does not mean that the Shī'īs claim for them prophethood, for miracles may also be granted to those who have been protected from sins (*ma'sūm*, it being a central dogma of the Shī'īs that their Imāms and the prophets are all *ma'sūm*), or simply as evidence of the veracity of pious persons. Mary, for instance, was miraculously sustained by food from heaven, and she had neither prophethood nor a message but was rather "a pious servant of God protected from error" – and so also the mother of Moses (Mufid 1414/1993, 124; similarly Ṭūsī 1409/1988 ii, 457).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## PRIMARY SOURCES

- Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī, *Prophethood in Islam*, ed. and trans. S. M. Tufail, London 1992.
- Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. 'A. Shīrī, 70 vols., Beirut 1415/1994.
- Ibn Fūrak, *Mujarrad maqālāt al-Shaykh Abī Hasan al-Ash'arī min imlā' Abī Bakr Muḥammad al-Ḥaṣan ibn Fūrak*, ed. D. Jimārya, Beirut 1987.
- Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī, *Fath al-bārī*, 13 vols., Beirut n.d.
- Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Bā'ūnī, *Jawābir al-maṭālib fī manāqib al-imām al-jalīl 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib*, ed. M. B. al-Maḥmūdī, 2 vols., Qum 1415/1994 or 1995.
- Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī al-Dimashqī, *al-Adhkār al-Nawawīya*, Beirut n.d.
- Muḥammad Mahdī al-Ḥā'irī, *Shajarat al-Ṭubā*, 2 vols., Najaf 1385/1965.
- al-Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'ummāl*, ed. B. Ḥusaynī and Ṣ. al-Saqqā, 16 vols., Beirut 1413/1993.
- Abū Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fī al-mīlāl wa-al-ahwā' wa-al-niḥāl*, 5 vols., Beirut 1406/1986.
- Ibn Hisham, *The life of Muḥammad*, trans. A. Guillaume, London 1955.
- Ibn Kathīr, *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, ed. M. 'Abd al-Wāhid, 2 vols., Cairo 1388/1968.
- , *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya*, ed. 'Alī Shīrī, 14 vols., Beirut 1408/1988.
- , *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*, 4 vols., Beirut 1412/1991.
- Ibn Taymiyya, *Majmū' fatāwā Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya*, ed. 'A. al-R. b. M. Ibn Qāsim, 37 vols., Ribat 1981.
- Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, ed. 'A. A. al-Ghifārī, 8 vols., Beirut 1388/1968.
- Shaykh Mufid, *al-Fuṣūl al-'asharab*, ed. F. al-Ḥassūn, Beirut 1414/1993.
- Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī, *Fayd al-qadīr fī sharḥ al-jāmi' al-ṣaghīr*, ed. A. 'Abd al-Salām, 6 vols., Beirut 1415/1994.
- Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurtubī, *al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān*, 20 vols., Beirut 1405/1985.
- Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 32 vols., Beirut 1978/1398.
- Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār, *Kitāb baṣā'ir al-darajāt al-kubrā fī faḍā'il Āl Muḥammad*, ed. Mīrzā Ḥasan Kūchah-bāghī, Tabriz 1380/1960.
- Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa-al-rashad fī sirat khayr al-'ibād*, ed. 'A. A. al-Mawjūd and A. M. Mu'awwad, 12 vols., Beirut 1993.
- Shaykh Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥabīb Qaṣīr al-'Amīlī, 10 vols., Najaf 1409/1988.
- Yāqūt ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 5 vols., Beirut n.d.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif de l'islam*, Leiden 1966.
- D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al-Ash'arī*, Paris 1990.
- J. D. McAuliffe, Chosen of all women. Mary and Fatima in Qur'anic exegesis, in *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981), 10–28.
- A. Schleifer, *Mary the blessed virgin of Islam*, 1988.
- J. I. Smith, The Virgin Mary in Islamic tradition and commentary, in *Muslim World* 79:3/4 (1989), 161–87.

# Religious Practices: Religious Commemorations

## Argentina

This entry examines the participation of women and the role of gender in religious commemorations in Argentina in the twentieth century. It is based on the findings from oral histories obtained through interviews, records, and minutes from Muslim associations, and published works by scholars and community leaders.

The first Muslim immigrants in Argentina arrived largely from Syria and Lebanon after 1890. Roughly 15 percent of the Middle Eastern immigrant community in Argentina was Muslim, while Christians and Jews respectively made up 80 and 5 percent. For that reason, and because Argentina was an officially Catholic nation, it took the Muslim community slightly longer than the Christian immigrant communities to establish formal religious associations and mutual aid societies. Muslim immigrants participated in pan-Syrian or pan-Arab associations in the first decades of the twentieth century, and after the 1920s, a number of Islamic centers and mutual aid societies were founded in the cities of Buenos Aires, Córdoba, Mendoza, Tucumán, and Rosario. Prayers and religious commemorations were conducted within private homes until organizations were able to build centers. Due to the added cost, and perhaps external discrimination, the first mosques in Argentina were not built until the 1980s. Still, Islamic religious life was maintained through the persistence and cooperative efforts of immigrants and their families. Men greatly outnumbered women in early twentieth-century formal associations, both because Muslim men were more likely to immigrate than women and they sometimes married non-Muslim women, and because women often participated in ways other than attending meetings. Interviews with second-generation women suggest that religious or ethnic associational activity was one way in which women could be active and empowered in a manner that was supported by conservative family members, though their activities were often different from those of their male counterparts.

When religious festivities were near, the responsibility for the feast rested on women. According to oral histories, women would gather in the communal kitchens of centers such as the Arab Muslim Society of Córdoba for days at a time in order to

offer their community a traditional bounty. Lest this contribution be considered minor, it is important to note that this cooperative effort by women helped them maintain homeland customs and flavors for their families and provided them with a space of sociability and support. Moreover, on these occasions, girls of younger generations listened to the stories and learned the recipes of their elders, an exchange that allowed for the continuity of their cultural traditions. Communal cooking also gave women a space in which to joke, discuss problems, and find support – essentially strengthening the ties among ethnic women. Lastly, the women's preparation of traditional and *halāl* meals for large community feasts gathered sometimes-scattered individuals and helped reinforce religious ties.

Such gatherings happened at least twice a year, for the Eid al-Adha (Arabic, *ʿĪd al-Adhā*, feast of sacrifice) and the Eid al-Fitr (Arabic, *ʿĪd al-Fitr*, feast of breaking the fast at the end of Ramadan), and sometimes for an additional celebration of the founding anniversary of the local Islamic organization. Though many Muslims settled near each other in the cities, a great number also tended to reside in more remote areas of the countryside where their work as merchants or in agriculture had a competitive advantage. The dispersal of the Muslim community gave the Eid commemorations an added importance since they tended to be the only times when the entire community, even those living far away, came together. Women played a fundamental role in these gatherings, as they organized their households either for an extended visit to the city or for the arrival of distant family members.

By the 1930s and 1940s, women began to organize semi-formal women's societies, called *Sociedades de Damas*, which were subgroups of their local Islamic centers. These women's societies helped plan for religious festivities and local celebrations, fundraised and volunteered for their respective centers, and coordinated charitable efforts. Charity and mutual aid were central to the activities of immigrant men and women of all backgrounds in Argentina in the early twentieth century, as these social networks offered assistance and support when mainstream or local government aid was lacking. In the Muslim community, however, the efforts of women in these formal and informal



groups also helped them fulfill the Islamic principle of *zakāt* (Arabic, almsgiving).

By the 1950s, most of the young women active in the Muslim community were second-generation women born and raised in Argentina. These young women lived with two cultures, and looked for ways to negotiate their dual Argentine and Islamic customs and norms. One of the most fascinating expressions of this hybrid sensibility was the emergence of beauty and character pageants. During this time period beauty pageants were extremely popular in Argentina. Reports of such pageants would often take up the first page of major local newspapers. Many Syrian and Lebanese organizations began holding their own association or ethnic pageants, and Islamic centers did the same. Oral histories and photographs document the pageants for the “Queen of the Muslim Youth Center” in Córdoba, and others also emerged across the country. The pageants would normally coincide with an Eid festivity, as a major event at a large reception or celebration. The “queen” would be crowned for the year and her runners-up became “princesses.” More than a beauty contest, the young women chosen as Miss Muslim Youth stood as examples of second-generation women who remained connected to their ethnic and religious identity just as they displayed that they were contemporary Argentine women. The pageants were also used to raise money for their center, either for improvements for the center or savings toward a mosque. Though an outside observer today might question whether such pageants were in conflict with Islamic values concerned with women’s modesty, witnesses and participants state that they were a source of pride for the community. At a minimum, the pageants allowed Muslims to take part in a popular Argentine trend and activity in a way that also expressed commitment to their religious community, and these activities occasionally take place to this day.

After the 1950s young women began to participate more in youth groups of their local Islamic centers. These youth groups tended to gather second-generation Argentine Muslims and also tended to be co-educational. Exclusively women’s groups still remained, but youth groups brought together both women and men in leadership and participation. The minutes and notes from one such youth group show that these groups organized additional receptions and meetings for the Islamic community, and therefore contributed to its overall cohesion. Further, these documents show how second-generation women worked side by side with their male peers to preserve their religious customs

through activities such as prayer groups and Arabic language lessons.

By the 1970s, youth groups organized gatherings that allowed interaction across provinces; for example, young Muslims in Tucumán or Mendoza would have a meeting with another youth group in Córdoba. The convergence of youth groups from across Argentina and the extensive participation of young women within these groups illuminate how women’s activity within Islamic centers in Argentina has continued and remained dynamic with time. These gatherings had multiple objectives: they fostered communication among youth across various regions, offered mutual understanding and support, reinforced religious beliefs, and simply provided a social network.

Since the 1990s, there has been a resurgence of activity within Islamic centers. Recent immigrants, funding from abroad, and an increase in religious conversions to Islam from the majority society have added a new vibrancy to the Muslim community. Women who are now third- or fourth-generation immigrants work, plan, and pray alongside new additions to their associations, including young adults whose families have lost touch with Islam over the generations and new converts. New members are often welcomed through informational meetings, Arabic language classes, and within religious commemorations.

Gender roles have shifted slightly across generations in Argentina to allow for more active roles in leadership for women in the Muslim community. Women’s formal participation and cooperation with male peers is more visible in today’s religious commemorations. Yet, women in the past played an integral, if perhaps more subtle, role in the organization of religious gatherings and in the continuity of ties within the home and across the community.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

Interviews: Jorge Abugauch, Mustafa Adris, Halime Chajjale, Neif Chajjale, Sofer El-Sukaria, Mohamed Fanuz, Yamila Hitt, Mora Hitt, among others.  
Minutes and records: Club Sirio de Buenos Aires, Sociedad Sirio-Libanesa (Córdoba), Sociedad Arabe Musulmana de Socorros Mutuos de Córdoba, Centro de la Juventud Arabe Musulmana de Córdoba, among others.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

Y. Abboud, *Los Árabes Musulmanes*, in H. M. Haddad (ed.), *Sirios, libaneses y sus descendientes argentinos. Fragmentos para una historia de la diversidad cultural Argentina*, Buenos Aires 2004.  
S. Bianchi, *Historia de las religiones en la Argentina. Las minorías religiosas*, Buenos Aires 2004.

- F. Devoto, *Historia de la inmigración en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires 2003, 2004<sup>2</sup>.
- G. Jozami, *Identidad religiosa e integración cultural en cristianos sirios y libaneses en Argentina, 1890–1990*, in *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos* 9:26 (1994), 95–114.
- I. Klich, Criollos and Arabic speakers in Argentina. An uneasy pas de deux, 1888–1914, in N. Shehadi and A. Hourani (eds.), *The Lebanese in the world. A century of emigration*, London 1992, 243–84.
- , and J. Lesser, *Arab and Jewish immigrants in Latin America. Images and realities*, London and Portland, Ore. 1998.

SOFÍA MARTOS

### China: Fāṭīma Day

All Muslims in the world venerate Fāṭīma, the favorite daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad, ‘Alī’s wife, but she is generally celebrated in the Shī‘ī world. People celebrate her birthday, her wedding, and episodes of her life and death. The Chinese speaking Muslims – called Dungan in Central Asia and Hui in China – who are Sunnīs and follow Ḥanafī law, commemorate the day of her death. For Dungan and Hui women, Fāṭīma is the symbol of the faith’s purity and Fāṭīma Day gives the opportunity to organize important meetings among women. This feast shows, certainly, the influence of the Persian world in the diffusion of Islam in China, but it represents for female Muslims a moment of strong cohesion and constitutes an internal marker of differentiation between religious trends.

#### AN ASSEMBLY OF FEMALE MUSLIMS

Fāṭīma Day, called in Chinese *gutaijie* (the day of Madam Aunt) or *Fatuma taitaijie* (the day of Madam Fāṭīma), is an expression of feminine popular devotion. Chinese Muslim religious texts published in the last 20 years do not refer to this celebration; only dictionaries dealing with Hui nationality or the *Chinese Encyclopaedia of Islam* provide some data. The Fāṭīma Day celebration is a religious day on which many local women gather together in a women’s mosque if it exists, or in the house of one of them. They consider this feast “our day, because Fāṭīma is our ancestor (*zuxian*)”, or Fāṭīma is presented as the leader of women in the world (*ta shi shijie funü de lingxiu*) (Khadidja Ma Xiulan 1999, 116). In fact, if women take part in main Muslim religious celebrations, Fāṭīma Day is the day on which they are directly involved. The celebration is a way for them to express their faith and to assert themselves as women believers.

For many believers this feast has been observed since the day of Fāṭīma’s death. In Yunnan Prov-

ince, there is an inscription on a stele to commemorate Fāṭīma Day in 1797. In this province there is also an inscription on the wall of the mosque in Jijie indicating that Fāṭīma Day was celebrated each year until the Hui slaughter in 1855 (Wang 1996, 113).

Chinese-speaking women Muslims of Central Asia and China organize activities, generally the same day, the 14th day of the ninth month (agrarian calendar, *nongli* in Chinese), which is the 14th day of Ramadan. However, the date can be different because the date of Fāṭīma’s death is unknown. According to tradition, she died of a broken heart in 632 C.E., a few months after the death of the Prophet, her father. Others maintain that the date is the 15th day of the sixth month, Jumāda al-akhīra. In Yunnan, some communities celebrate Fāṭīma Day on the day after the Prophet’s birthday (*mawlid*) (Wang 1996, 114).

The organization of activities on this day depends on local habits. Where there is no women’s mosque, as is the case in some provinces of China and Central Asia, each year women who live in the same street in a village or the same district in a town, decide who will organize the celebration. The day of the feast, an *abong* (imam) and some members of the mosque management committee and its leader (*shetou*) – no more than five or six men – come to recite the Qur’ān and sing the *zansheng* (ode to the Prophet). After the religious celebration, women share the meal at the end of fasting and special oil-fried doughnuts called *youxiang*, which are made for every Muslim celebration.

In the central plain of China, the celebration takes place in women’s mosques. Before the morning or afternoon prayers, the male *abong*, with members of the management committee, comes to the women’s mosque. He tells of the life of Fāṭīma, her piety, her love for her father, and then goes back to his mosque. At the end of fasting, women of all generations, sometimes around one hundred of them, come to the women’s mosque. They pray and then share a meal and *youxiang*.

#### AN INTERNAL MARKER OF DIFFERENTIATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS TRENDS

In the Chinese speaking Muslim world, the adherents of traditional Islam (*laojiao*, old teaching), and of Sufism (the two branches of the Naqshbandiyya order, the Khufiyya and the Jahriyya), celebrate Fāṭīma Day. But since the beginning of the twentieth century, the fundamentalists and reformists, the Yihewani (*ikhwān* in Arabic) and Salafis, have criticized this practice, which they consider

unorthodox. An *abong* said, “When one celebrates this day, one is outside of Islam. It is not correct to celebrate a person, as for the *mawlid*, birthday of Prophet Muḥammad, one should not pay any attention. In Islam there are only two main celebrations, Guerbanjie (Īd al-aḏḥā, the Feast of the Sacrifice) and Kaizhaijie (Īd al-fiṭr, the feast held at the end of Ramadan).” Today, with the development of relations with the Muslim Sunnī world, this mark of differentiation is reinforced and is effective between members of different trends. Women of the Ikhwān and Salafī trends do not celebrate this day, but the oldest women, whose parents followed traditional Islam, keep the custom in memory of them and participate in their own way by praying alone at home.

#### WOMEN AND FĀṬĪMA DAY IN MUSLIM CHINESE RELIGIOUS TEXTS

If the discourse on the need for Muslim women’s education is a fact in the Chinese religious world, from the beginning of the twentieth century books for women and about them have been uncommon. During the 1980s, when religious liberty was recognized, mosque libraries contained only two thin paper-covered booklets. One explains Islamic principals. Its title is *ta, weishenme xinyang yisilanjiao?* (Why does she believe in Islam?) (Ma Mingyue 1986). The second one, published in 1989, is a reprint of a text edited in Arabic in 1956 by Ma Tianmin, which treats Muslim women’s menstruation questions. Generally, writings concerning women are integrated into religious books. They concern women only in the frame of married couples or women’s specific positions during prayer, but nothing about Fāṭīma Day. During the 1990s, the Chinese Muslim media presented articles about women’s education or women who convert to Islam, but again nothing about Fāṭīma Day.

It was only at the beginning of the twenty-first century that three small books, translated from English, were published for internal use (*neibu*). The first book concerns the life of Fāṭīma, her piety, her courage, and her affection for her father. The second is about the first generation of Muslim women and their engagement with Islam. Fāṭīma is presented with three other daughters of the Prophet Muḥammad and the book stresses her position as mother of five children. It describes her disagreement with Abū Bakr regarding her inheritance and their reconciliation; most importantly it notes that descendants of Muḥammad can only be via Fāṭīma. The third book, published in 2003, called *Muslim funü* (Muslim women) is a translation of short articles concerning current women’s affairs, fam-

ily, and the situation of Muslim women in Western countries. The articles are taken from journals or websites such as Islam Online and others based in the United States, England, and Muslim countries. Again, there is no mention of Fāṭīma Day. But, in 2005, a well-known Muslim journal, *Muslim tongxun* (Muslim news), published an article on the feast of Fāṭīma. This article emphasizes the Shīʿī tradition of this feast that celebrates Fāṭīma’s birthday (*Fatuma taitai jieri*) on 15 June, which is called “Mother Day.” In fact, Khomeini institutionalized this day just after the Islamic Revolution in Iran. On that day, plays and music are performed and poetry recited.

#### HOW TO UNDERSTAND THE ABSENCE OF FĀṬĪMA DAY IN CHINESE MUSLIM RELIGIOUS TEXTS?

While fundamentalists disagree with the celebration of Fāṭīma Day, they do not condemn it explicitly. Certainly, they do not want to alienate the majority of women believers. Presenting Fāṭīma Day as a Shīʿī tradition is a way of discouraging this practice for Sunnī believers. For other Chinese Muslims, the importance of this celebration that is not part of strict orthodoxy is justified within a conception of orthopraxy which has been recognized by scholars as essential in China (Rawski and Watson 1988).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- PRIMARY SOURCES (all items are in Chinese)  
 Ali-Jiang Jing (trans.), *Muslim women*, Congtan 2003.  
*Chinese Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Chengdu 1994.  
*Dictionary of Hui in China*, Nanjing 1992.  
 Jiang Jing (trans.), *Fāṭīma, Muslim saint*, n.p. 1999.  
 Khadidja Ma Xiulan (trans.), *The first generation of Islamic women heroes*, n.p. 1999.  
 Ma Mingyue Muhammad Habib, *Why does she believe in Islam?*, Xining 1986.  
 Ma Tianmin, *Islam. Questions and answers on religious rules about women’s menstruation*, n.p. 1989 [first published 1956].  
*Muslim news* (Lanzhou), 30 August 2005.
- SECONDARY SOURCES  
 E. S. Rawski and J. L. Watson (eds.), *Death ritual in late imperial and modern China*, Berkeley 1988.  
 L. Veccia Vaglieri, Fāṭīma, in *Encyclopédie de l’Islam*, Leiden and Paris, 1965, ii, 861–70.  
 Wang Jianping, *Concord and conflict. The Hui communities of Yunnan society in a historical perspective*, xi, Lund 1996.

ELISABETH ALLÈS

## The Gulf and Yemen

Throughout the Gulf and Yemen, religious commemorations are marked by gender segregation and largely take place in homes or in the mosque. The two most important religious events celebrated throughout the Gulf are the two feasts: ʿĪd al-Aḏḩā, which follows the yearly pilgrimage and celebrates Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac to God, and ʿĪd al-Fiṭr, which follows the month of Ramadan. Other religious events commemorated include the night the Qurʾān was revealed to Muḩammad and the night of Muḩammad's miraculous journey to Jerusalem and subsequent ascension to heaven. But there are substantial variations in practice which vary by region and religious sect. Some groups, especially Shīʿīs, commemorate other religious events, such as the martyrdom of ḩusayn b. ʿAlī, the birthday of the Prophet Muḩammad, or saints' days, but these religious observances are discouraged by state-controlled religious education in schools and, in Saudi Arabia, proscribed by the regime. Thus contemporary practices of commemorating religious events in the Gulf cannot be understood without appreciating local and transnational debates over religious orthodoxy and Sunnī dominance over Shīʿī minorities. Further, cultural norms of female seclusion profoundly shape women's participation in religious commemorations in the Arabian Peninsula.

At the end of Ramadan, Gulf families celebrate ʿĪd al-Fiṭr by giving gifts of clothing and money. Children and women in particular are given and wear new clothes. For ʿĪd al-Aḏḩā, men buy and slaughter an animal and the meat is distributed to the poor. For both feasts, women in the family are responsible for preparing special dishes for family meals, but men have traditionally dressed and cooked the meat (typically an entire sheep served on rice) for the feast. With the influx of oil wealth, the role of many upper- and middle-class women in preparing the ʿĪd feasts has become one of delegating and supervising the labor of domestic servants rather than cooking and baking themselves.

The celebration of both feasts begins with a morning sermon (*kbuṭba*). This is held not at small local mosques but at large regional mosques or even stadiums, thus organizing a different kind of community from the gatherings for regular weekly sermons that follow Friday prayer. In the Gulf, mostly men attend this communal event, and it is much less common for women to do so, though not forbidden. Whether at home or in the mosque, men and women celebrate the first day of the feast by reciting the names of God and calling God's bless-

ings upon themselves and their families. Then men and women begin working intensively to cook and prepare the home for receiving relatives and guests in the evening.

The first night of the ʿĪd feasts is usually devoted to a large meal for the entire extended family, held at the home of a senior family member. These meals are often sex-segregated because of the presence of men and women who are related by marriage but not by blood, but this also allows women to socialize freely out of the presence of men. The first two or three days of ʿĪd are spent visiting family. Brothers travel together from house to house of female relatives: aunts, sisters, and nieces. Women stay at home to receive their relatives and serve them coffee and delicacies. On these visits, men give money to the women and children. Young adult men who are not financially independent are often given money by their fathers to give, to teach them the principle of a man's financial responsibility toward female relatives.

Such patterns of mosque attendance and visiting kin reflect the dominant religious and cultural construction of gendered communities, whereby men's social networks are constituted through participation in communal, non-kin religious life outside the home and obligations of responsibility to female relatives, while women's social networks are constructed through extended kin relations and confined to the home. Yet the way the remainder of the week of the ʿĪd holidays is spent partially deconstructs such traditions of female seclusion and gender segregation. By the turn of the twenty-first century, many Gulf families spend the latter half of the feast week with friends at parties, taking children to amusement parks, having picnics in the desert, or taking beach vacations. During these days, many people, especially of the younger generations, meet in mixed-gender groups and celebrate with singing and dancing, parties and laughter (though such mixed parties are forbidden in Saudi Arabia, so they take place in private).

Other religious occasions that are commemorated in the Gulf and Yemen include the Prophet Muḩammad's birthday and the first day of the Islamic calendar year, which marks the Prophet's migration from Mecca to Medina and symbolizes the beginning of the spread of Islam from its natal city. The events are commemorated in mosques, where special sermons address the life of the Prophet and the implications of such historical events in the history of Islam, and in homes, where both men and women recite verses from the Qurʾān and chant religious hymns. As well as these annual holidays, families may convene Qurʾān recitations

at their homes at any time of the year, to mark an important lifecycle event, to welcome returning loved ones from their travels, or to give thanks for escaping harm. Attended by both men and women, these are almost always sex segregated.

The Salafī view of Islamic religious commemorations that is promulgated in much of the Arabian Peninsula and politically enforced in Saudi Arabia holds that the only religious events that should be celebrated throughout the year are the two feasts. (Indeed, Salafīs hold that these two feasts are the only events that should be celebrated, religious or otherwise, and forbid other celebrations from birthday parties to national holidays.) In this view, the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday and Islamic New Year may be remembered with prayers and sermons, but not with any other celebration, in contrast with the lively *mawlid* celebrations found in other Arab countries. Similarly, celebrating saint days, visiting saint shrines, and mourning Shī'ī martyrs are all condemned as *bid'a*, heretical innovations. In contrast, other Gulf states tolerate or even explicitly approve of such commemorations.

Religious practices such as celebrating saint days and making pilgrimages to saint shrines are often dismissed under the term "popular Islam," but this is simplistic and effaces the process by which hierarchies of power shape the definition of Islamic practices as "orthodox" or "popular" (Meneley 1996, 161). The past three hundred years of history in the Arabian Peninsula have seen repeated attempts by religious conservatives to deface and destroy saint shrines and cemeteries which were venerated by local Shī'ī minorities and pilgrims to Mecca and Medina (al-Rasheed 2000). The combination of regime prohibitions on these religious observations, political suppression of Shī'ī religious identity (al-Rasheed 1998, Ende 1997), and a generally limited Western scholarship on the lives of women in the Arabian Peninsula have all contributed to a virtual dearth of academic knowledge about women's religious commemorations outside the dominant Sunnī traditions in the Gulf. Nevertheless, a small body of scholarship has addressed such practices and attests to the particular relevance of such religious observations in women's lives (Doumato 2000, Meneley 1996).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- E. A. Doumato, Gender, monarchy, and national identity in Saudi Arabia, in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (1992), 31–47.  
 —, *Getting God's ear. Women, Islam and healing in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf*, New York 2000.  
 C. Eickelman, *Women and community in Oman*, New York 1984.  
 W. Ende, The Nakhawila, a Shiite community in Madina

past and present, in *Die Welt des Islams* 37 (1997), 263–348.

- A. S. Kanafani, *Aesthetics and ritual in the United Arab Emirates. The anthropology of food and personal adornment among Arabian women*, Beirut 1983.  
 A. Meneley, *Tournaments of value. Sociability and hierarchy in a Yemeni town*, Toronto 1996.  
 M. al-Rasheed, The Shia of Saudi Arabia. A minority in search of cultural authenticity, in *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 25 (1998), 121–38.  
 —, *A history of Saudi Arabia*, Cambridge 2002.  
 U. Wikan, *Behind the veil in Arabia. Women in Oman*, Baltimore, 1982.

LISA WYNN

#### Iran

The Twelver Shī'ī ritual cycle is rich in celebrations. Throughout the year women gather for *rawzas*, commemorating the martyrdom of the Imāms and their relatives. These are female-only gatherings led by a male or female preacher or cantor or mixed gatherings led by a man, where women sit in a separate room. The rituals include sermons, Qur'ān reading, invocations (*du'ā'*), dirges (*nawha*), and elegies (*marthiyya*) accompanied by ritual crying and breast-beating. The climax for mourning rituals is the month of Muḥarram, commemorating the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, the Prophet's grandson. In the street procession only men act as self-flagellators while women are assigned the role of onlookers. On religious feast days, such as the birthdays of the members of the Prophet's family, women perform *mawlūdī* (from Arabic *mawlūd*, birth, birthday). While a female cantor sings joyous poems (*mawlū-khwānī*) praising the Prophet and his family, the women clap their hands and join in the refrains. Some assemblies also include the playing of the *daff* (frame drum) and dancing despite the disapproval of the majority of the religious orthodoxy. *Mawlūdīs* are much more common among women. On the day of the death of the Umayyad caliph 'Umar, whom the Shī'īs regard as a usurper, some women's circles perform *jashn-i 'Umar kushūn* (feast of killing 'Umar), a rite of reversal that includes funny recitations and curses of the enemies of the Imāms. In Ramadan, women gather for Qur'ān reading sessions. A female-only celebration is *sufra*, a ritual meal dedicated to a member of the Prophet's family or another holy being in fulfillment of a vow. Depending to the occasion the *sufra* includes the recitation of dirges and elegies or joyful *mawlūdī* poems and chants. The preparation and distribution of food that is regarded as imbued with blessings (*tabarrukī*) plays an important part in many rituals.

The celebrations can take part in a religious building, a shrine (*imāmzāda*), an outbuilding of a mosque, or at home. Some women have permanently dedicated part of their house to their favorite saint, thus turning their home into a place of worship. By sponsoring a religious ritual the hostess can earn religious and social esteem. Participants excel at reading the Qurʾān or offer their services such as serving tea, thereby earning religious merit (*thawāb*). Famous preachers and cantors demonstrate great authority, social prestige, and mobility.

The reasons to take part in these rituals are manifold. Women very often describe their participation as an expression of their love of and empathy with the members of the Prophet's family. Participants can earn religious merit for this life and the life to come. Many women believe that holy beings are present during the ritual. The reference to a higher reality serves as a source of empowerment. Often the rituals are held in fulfillment of a vow and participants use the commemorations to ask for intercession. Every vow fulfilled is a proof that one can influence one's life. Crying during mourning rituals represents a form of catharsis. Especially educated and politically active women emphasize the educational aspects of the gatherings. They argue that knowing Islamic precepts enables them to live a harmonious life, act as a guide for others – females as well as males – and contribute to the well-being of society. In sermons they also take up actual political discourses. Whereas in mixed assemblies women are assigned a more passive role, female-only commemorations give them agency. Female preachers and participants discuss, challenge, or reinforce male-defined religious concepts and gender roles. Sociability and the establishment of networks are also important. The rituals are a socially accepted space where women can express their thoughts, hopes, and feelings and negotiate them with others. They can find support and relief or just have fun. Older women may look for a suitable bride for young male relatives. The women also use the rituals to engage in charitable work. Often money for the poor is collected and in times of crisis individual women may ask for financial help.

The historical development of women's rituals is not well documented. Qājār sources give insight into the female religious gatherings held among the women of the court. Since the Islamic Revolution of 1979 the number of female religious rituals has increased and several innovations have taken place. During larger gatherings the voice of the religious leader is spread via loudspeaker and the women circulate recorded tapes. News about the

gatherings is not only broadcast by mouth but also through printed leaflets and advertisement in the media. On the Internet online rituals have emerged. Women's religious celebrations have thus become more visible.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Adelhah, *La révolution sous le voile. Femmes islamiques d'Iran*, Paris 1991.
- A. H. Betteridge, The controversial vows of urban women in Iran, in N. Auer Falks and R. M. Gross (eds.), *Unspoken worlds. Women's religious lives in non-Western culture*, San Francisco 1980, 141–58.
- M. al-Dawlah, *Khātirāt-i Mūnis al-Dawla. Nadīma-i haramsarā-yi Nāšir al-Dīn Shāh*, comp. S. Saʿdvandiyān, Tehran 2001.
- M. E. Hegland, Gender and religion in the Middle East and South Asia. Women's voices rising, in M. L. Meriwether and J. E. Tucker (eds.), *Social history of women and gender in the Middle East*, Oxford 1999, 77–212.
- S. Kalinock, Supernatural intercession to earthly problems. *Sofreh* rituals among Shiite Muslim and Zoroastrian women in Iran, in M. Stausberg (ed.), *Zoroastrian rituals in context*, Leiden 2003, 531–46.
- Z. Kamalkhani, Women's Islam. Religious practice among women in today's Iran, Ph.D. diss., University of Bergen 1996.
- A. Torab, Neighbourhoods of piety. Gender and ritual in south Tehran, Ph.D. diss., University of London 1998.

SABINE KALINOCK

### South Africa

Islam is a minority religion in South Africa where Muslims, numbering 654,064, comprised just 1.46 percent of the population of 44.8 million in 2001, with women making up half of the Muslim population. Approximately 90 percent of Muslims are either descendants of slaves and political prisoners from Southeast Asia who were brought to the Cape Colony by the Dutch East India Company beginning in the 1650s, or indentured and trader migrants from South Asia who settled in Natal from 1860 onwards. The former, who are often referred to by the generalized term "Malays," live mostly in the Western Cape, while Indian Muslims settled primarily in KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng. Indigenous Africans make up 10 per cent of the Muslim population, a number that is growing in the contemporary period due to increasing conversion to Islam. Historically, the Cape Muslims have embraced a more egalitarian view of gender relations with less austere gender segregation. In contrast to Natal, women played an important role in early Islam in the Cape and in society generally, with some acquiring wealth and prominence. Although the institutionalization of Islam gradually marginalized women, it was not to the same

extent as in Natal. Thus, the religious experiences of South African Muslim women differ significantly despite their shared religion. This entry focuses on the involvement of women in religious commemorations and processions, with particular attention to Indian Muslims in Natal.

Despite the difficulties of indenture, Muslim immigrants in Natal set about re-establishing their culture and religion by building mosques, instituting prayer, and establishing festivals. During the formative decades, the most public expression of ritual was the festival of Muḥarram commemorating the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet Muḥammad, on the plains of Karbala in Iraq on 10 Muḥarram 680 C.E. Though a Shīʿī Muslim festival, Muḥarram was observed by both Muslims and Hindus since the three days of annual leave to which all indentured workers were entitled were granted during this holiday. Muḥarram was a ceremony of boisterous fanfare, which included public processions and the building of *taʿziyyas*, replicas of Ḥusayn's mausoleum at Karbala. On this day, large groups gathered at places where *taʿziyyas* were built. Participants believed in the potency of the *taʿziyya* and offered food and money with requests, such as the birth of a son or a cure from illness. The festival included a play enacting the battle at Karbala, wrestling, stick fighting, fire walking, and marching to a river to deposit the *taʿziyya*. The consumption of alcohol and violence were intrinsic to the procession, which included both men and women, numbering in excess of 10,000 during the early decades of the twentieth century.

The ritual of Muḥarram was multifunctional, serving religious, recreational, and political purposes for devotees. The participation of women was influenced by socioeconomic backgrounds and demographics. Working-class Indian women, both Muslim and Hindu, participated fully in the rituals. There are many reports of them being arrested for fighting or drunkenness or even "owning" *taʿziyyas*. In contrast, few traders were accompanied by spouses during the formative decades and where wives were present they did not actively participate in Muḥarram celebrations, which were deemed by traders to be an "aberration" which they worked actively to stop.

Muḥarram continues to be observed to the present but has been modified as a result of education, economic mobility, residential relocation, and the impact of reformist movements. Many aspects of Muḥarram, especially public processions, were condemned by Deobandi reformists in the late 1960s as Hindu, not Muslim, practices. In the contemporary period, the majority of Muslims mark

the day through sermons at mosques. Gatherings in mosques have an overwhelmingly religious orientation. The role of Ḥusayn is increasingly de-emphasized, with the focus on lessons that Muslims can draw from the incident. Since Muslim women are strongly discouraged from attending mosques, very few women attend the lectures. However, some mosques do have separate facilities for the small number who attend; other women participate through receivers that transmit lectures into nearby homes.

Approximately ten *taʿziyya* groups, with under a hundred participants, including a small number of women, continue to gather at the Muslim cemetery in Brook Street, and from there make their way to the Umgeni River seven kilometers away. The Muslim-only procession is largely a symbolic pilgrimage. With more and more Muslims attracted to variants of reformist Islam, there is concern about maintaining old practices. Yet the procession has changed: the carnivalesque atmosphere has disappeared and the competition to determine whose *taʿziyya* is the most creative is muted; fire walking, wrestling, consumption of alcohol, and re-enactment of the battle have all disappeared as participants deliberately distance themselves from earlier and more syncretic forms of Muḥarram practice.

In both the Natal and Cape Muslim communities, public commemorations emerged around the role of Sufi saints (Urdu, *pīrs*) and their associated shrines (Urdu, *mazārs*), especially on their death anniversaries (Urdu, *urs*), with both men and women visiting their tomb sites to pay homage. The premier shrine in Natal is that of Bādshāh Pīr, located in the Brook Street cemetery in Durban. Bādshāh Pīr has been identified as Sheik Allie Vulle Ahmed, who came to Natal as an indentured worker with the first transport from India in 1860 (Vahed 2003). His popularity is based mostly on anecdote. According to legend, when his employers recognized him "to be of spiritual mind," Bādshāh Pīr was "honorably discharged." He subsequently spent his days near the Grey Street mosque, preaching to locals. According to reports, he did not have a home, a family, or relatives; he did not care for food; and he often visited plantations to counsel indentured workers struggling to cope with exploitative labor regimes.

Bādshāh Pīr's miracles (Urdu, *karāmāt*) are legendary. For example, it is believed that, while still indentured, he meditated all day on the plantation, despite the pleading of fellow workers that he would be flogged by the overseer, but by evening his tasks were all completed; he was refused a train ticket to

attend a wedding because of his shabby dress but reached the destination before the train; he advised a family to delay their departure to India, advice that they wisely followed because the ship sank in a storm shortly after it disembarked from Durban; and when a conductor refused Bādshāh Pīr onboard a horse-drawn tram, the animal refused to move until the conductor apologized to him and allowed him to use the tram. Bādshāh Pīr's tomb became a site of veneration for large numbers of Muslims who believe that praying to Allah in his presence is much more likely to be efficacious. Local Muslims believed that Bādshāh Pīr, having special attributes of divinity, exuded *baraka*, a supernatural power of divine origin. Being a "blessed" man, he was seen as intercessor between Muslims and Allah. Devotees felt that their difficulties were better explained and resolved by a benefactor. Indians, men and women, Muslims and non-Muslims, visit the shrine to find solutions to marital problems, seek jobs, pregnancy, cure from disease, assistance to pass examinations, or because they want a house from the city council, and so on. Visiting the shrine, drinking the holy water, and making an offering are important facets of religious practice.

A four-day 'urs is held annually at Bādshāh Pīr's shrine during the first weekend of the month of Rabī al-Awwal as he died on 6 Rabī al-Awwal, the month in which the Prophet was born. The 'urs is attended by an eclectic crowd, which includes those seeking the saint's blessing; professionals who make money out of the occasion by selling food, Islamic frames, and other wares; and those who simply attend for the entertainment. For the latter, the highlight is the Saturday evening entertainment when prominent *qawwāls* (singers) play songs originally associated with the Chīshṭī Sufi brotherhood. The root of the word *qawwāl* is the Arabic *q-w-l*, and refers to the sayings of religious personalities that inspire individuals and purify their thoughts. *Qawwālī* denotes the singing of religious hymns, usually accompanied only by a harmonium, in Persian and Urdu, in praise of Allah, extolling the greatness of prophets and saints, and popularizing the dictums of the Prophet. Frequenting stalls where mince kebabs are barbecued and the smoking of hemp by large numbers of people add to the festive atmosphere. The Saturday evening entertainment is an all-male affair. Activities on Thursday evening, Friday, and Sunday are confined to a tent near the shrine where meals are served, prayers offered, the Qur'ān recited, women recite *na'ts* (poetic praise of the Prophet), participants offer *maḥfil-i salām* (salutation ceremonies of the Prophet), and all offer *du'ā'* (convocation).

The main public event takes place on Saturday, when the "Sandal Sharīf" procession makes its way from Victoria Street through Queen Street to the shrine in Brook Street. The procession lasts about an hour. There are around a hundred participants including some women who march at the back of the procession. The subdued procession is due largely to the impact of reformist Islam. Until the 1970s, thousands – women and men, Muslim and Hindu – lined the streets of Durban to watch the procession, which was loud and buoyant. Participants sang devotional songs, accompanied by musical instruments such as drums and tambourines and carried weapons such as swords and special maces. Some participants were in a state of trance as they beat their chests, pierced their body parts, including cheeks and tongue with swords, iron pins, and other instruments. A public platform was constructed outside the Grey Street Mosque where the Mayor of Durban and leading religious luminaries gave speeches. The present procession is a shadow of its former self.

The birthday of the Prophet (Urdu, *mīlād al-Nabī*), observed on 12 Rabī al-Awwal, is a subdued and low-key affair compared to the boisterous public street processions of past years. Reformist-aligned mosques usually have a lecture in which lessons from the life of the Prophet are elucidated and their relevance to contemporary life made clear. Mosques practicing a populist form of Islam, known as "Sunni" in South Africa, have a sermon after the midday prayer on the Sunday following the birthday. This is followed by lunch and the reading of communal salutations, practices condemned by reformists. Both men and women attend lunch, although the seating facilities are separate.

Other major public commemorations are the Eid al-Fitr (Arabic, *'Īd al-Fiṭr*, the feast of breaking, *f-t-r* meaning "to break," symbolizing the breaking of both the Ramadan fasting period and patterns of bad behavior) and the Eid al-Adha (Arabic, *'Īd al-Aḍḥā*, the feast of the sacrifice). Eid al-Fitr was the main festival of the traders. Aboobakr Amod, the first Muslim trader to settle in Natal, told the Wragg Commission of 1885, appointed to investigate the social conditions of Indians, that the Ramadan Eid was the only festival that Muslims observed and that the authorities should put a stop to Muḥarram. The feasts are occasions of thanksgiving to God for helping Muslims individually and collectively fulfill their religious duties. On the night before Eid, women, but more especially young girls, paint their hands with *henna*. This is a delicate traditional art and skilled women usually apply it. Preparation of the new clothes to be worn on Eid begins almost



as soon as the fasting month commences. Among the affluent it is not uncommon to have different outfits for the morning, when families meet at a home for meals, and the afternoon, spent visiting. Mothers and daughters make outings to fabric stores to choose appropriate “dress lengths,” and this is followed by numerous visits to the family dressmaker to ensure that the fit and look are perfect. Women spend the week before Eid preparing traditional, colorful and extravagant Indian sweets such as *burfee*, *chana magaj*, *gulaab jamun*, and *halwa*, which are displayed to family and visitors with great pride on the big day. Nowadays, those who can afford to usually purchase these from one of many Muslim women who specialize in supplying this niche market.

As soon as the appearance of the new moon affirms the Eid, there is great excitement. The public religious aspects of Eid activities are primarily for men. While there are variations, a typical family begins the day with members getting up very early in the morning (usually drowsy from going to bed very late), taking a bath, and dressing in long, white Middle Eastern-style robes to attend the pre-dawn prayer at the local neighborhood mosque. Women do not attend the mosque but pray at home. They are charged with preparing a traditional snack, which consists of *samoosas* (triangular shaped pastries with meat filling) and milk prepared with almonds, vermicelli, and pistachios (Gujarati, *laai*). After partaking of this special dish when they return from the early prayer, the men make their way to the cemetery to pay homage to the dead. They usually attend a cemetery where most of their family members are buried. The largest and busiest cemetery is in Brook Street in central Durban.

The cemetery is bustling with flower sellers and beggars, some genuine, others not so, who add a buzz to the atmosphere as they jostle from visitor to visitor. It was traditional for the men of families to go in groups of ten to twenty with one person appointed to offer prayers at the cemetery but this is changing as people have relocated to different parts of the country. Boys are given coins to hand out to beggars, a large number of whom are women. Other than this, women remain at home. Before the Eid prayer begins every Muslim (man, women and child) must pay *fitra*, an alms for the month of Ramadan, which equates to about two kilograms of a basic food staple such as wheat or barley or its cash equivalent.

From the cemetery, the men and boys march in joyous spirit toward an Eidgah, the public venue for Eid prayers, which is a masculine domain from which women are excluded. However, one group

called Taking Islam to the People (TIP) has organized an open-air Eid prayer at Durban’s North Beach directed to entire families since around 2002. Both women and men attend and pray communally and both women and men may give lectures, practices condemned by some traditionalists. Otherwise, women listen to the Eid talk via special receivers or on one of several Islamic radio channels. Following the lecture in English, a short prayer, the sermon in Arabic, and a very long convocation in English, Arabic, and Urdu, in which almost every aspect of Muslim life, individually, locally, and internationally is covered and that reduces most of the congregation to tears, the men greet their fellow believers by embracing them three times, saying *Īd mubārak* (Happy Eid) and asking for forgiveness for any wrongs committed during the previous year, knowingly or inadvertently.

The Eid prayer is followed by a family meal. Though this takes place at around nine in the morning, the meal includes one or more of chicken *kalya*, mince kebabs, and roast lamb. A typical lunch menu includes *breyani*, a traditional dish made of rice, meat and lentils. From the afternoon onwards relatives visit each other. The eldest member of a family is usually the one that others visit. Elder family members traditionally give *eidī*, a small amount of money or gifts, to children. Since family contact and visitation has been reduced considerably in recent times, Eid is the main occasion when family members meet besides at weddings and funerals.

There are a few minor differences in the commemoration of Eid al-Adha, which marks the end of the Hajj, the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, and takes place on the 10th day of Dhū al-Hijja, the last month of the Islamic calendar. The first difference is that people generally do not consume any food until after the Eid prayer. According to tradition, the first meal that individuals partake of should be the animal that they ritually sacrifice. Since this is impractical, many Muslims fast and eat ordinary meals after the Eid prayer. Another important difference is that because people have to make the ritual sacrifice they spend less time at the Eidgah greeting others. The manner of the ritual sacrifice has changed considerably. In years past, several families gathered at one home where all the animals were sacrificed. Individuals carried out the sacrifice themselves and many women participated in this activity. Once the animal was skinned, it was the task of women to cut the carcass into small pieces to prepare for distribution to family members and the poor. Nowadays, due largely to economic mobility, individuals not wanting to dirty their hands or property, or people moving to

formerly white areas where they face opposition from neighbors, it is increasingly common for Muslims to contract out the *qurbānī* sacrifice to large farms. The meat is cut, sliced, frozen, and delivered to one's home a few days after Eid. This change has meant that the communal aspects and excitement have largely dissipated. Eid has changed in other ways as well. It is becoming common for nuclear families to spend their holiday afternoon shopping or going out for dinner.

Muslim commemorations have changed considerably since the first Indian settlers arrived in South Africa in 1860. During the formative period, there was much mixing between men and women, Hindus and Muslims, and the city of Durban was brought to a standstill when Muslims observed their major festivals. In post-apartheid South Africa, it is ironic that at a time when South Africa's citizens are encouraged to observe their festivals and celebrate or recreate their heritage, Muslims commemorations have become less public, less communal, and more subdued. Hindus, for example, have taken advantage of the opportunity to establish public festivals that take place on the beachfront and coincide with major public holidays, public events that the city of Durban promotes as tourist attractions.

Muslims in Natal have undergone important transformations during this period. There has been great pressure from reformist groups for the complete separation of men and women, which is evident in far more women being fully veiled; there is greater emphasis on neo-Sufi practices of purifying the soul through allegiance to individual learned guides to whom one formally swears allegiance (Arabic, *bay'a*); and there is emphasis on simplifying celebrations and reducing merriment, to the point even that many family festivities are gender segregated. In all, ceremonies and commemoration are more serious affairs and occupy a less significant position of importance on the religious calendar. This development reflects the message of reformists who continually remind the faithful by quoting an ostensible saying of the Prophet, that "laughing blackens the heart."

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Bhana and J. Brain, *Setting down roots. Indian migrants in South Africa 1860-1911*, Johannesburg 1990.  
 F. Bradlow and M. Cairns, *The early Cape Muslims*, Cape Town 1978.  
 Y. Da Costa and A. Davids (eds.), *Pages from Cape Muslim history*, Pietermaritzburg 1997.  
 S. Jeppie, *Reclassifications. Coloured, Malay, Muslim*, in Z. Erasmus, *Coloured by history, shaped by place. New perspectives on coloured identities in Cape Town*, Cape Town 2001, 80-96.

- E. M. Mahida, *History of Muslims in South Africa. A chronology*, Durban 1993.  
 S. Omar, A South African Muslim experience, <<http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/interreligious/cd35-10.html>>.  
 A. Tayob, *Islam in South Africa. Mosques, imams, and sermons*, Gainesville, Fla. 1999.  
 G. Vahed, Mosques, mawlanas and Muharram. Establishing Indian Islam in colonial Natal, 1860-1910, in *Journal of Religion in Africa* 31 (2001), 3-29.  
 —, Uprooting, rerooting. Culture, religion and community amongst indentured Muslim migrants in colonial Natal, 1860-1911, in *South African Historical Journal* 45 (November 2001), 191-222.  
 —, Constructions of community and identity among Indians in colonial Natal, 1860-1910. The role of the Muharram festival, in *Journal of African History* 43 (2002), 77-93.  
 —, A Sufi saint's day in South Africa. The legend of Badshah Pir, in *Islamic Culture* 77:4 (October 2003), 31-70.

GOOLAM VAHED

## South Asia

### INTRODUCTION: A BRIEF TYPOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS COMMEMORATIONS

Five types of religious commemorations are significant for Muslim women in South Asia: the Islamic calendrical celebrations; national, regional, and local saints' festivals; commemorations of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday (*mīlād al-Nabī*) and in honor of the family of the Prophet (*ahl-i bayt*); and celebrations of religious learning (*bismillāh*, *adin*). The Islamic calendrical celebrations comprise daily prayer, especially *jum'a ṣalāt*, the Friday prayer; Muḥarram; Ramadan; and 'Īd al-Aḏḥā. Saints' festivals bear regional characteristics and often share similarities with festivals for Hindu deities (Gaborieau 1975, van Skyhawk 1994). The term *mīlād* may be applied to various commemorative occasions, particularly those centered on the *ahl-i bayt*, but most often refers to *mīlād al-Nabī*. Commemorations of readiness for reading the Qur'ān (*bismillāh*), or the completion of its reading (*Qur'ān khwani*, *adin*), are commonly cited as "domestic rites," though they share some aspects of public commemoration.

### WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC COMMEMORATIONS

*Jum'a ṣalāt* is generally performed in the mosque by men, and sometimes in adjoining buildings or in separate prayer enclosures within mosques by women (Metcalf 1996). Recent years have seen efforts among women in some parts of India, particularly Tamil Nadu, to have their own, separate mosques. Sex segregation is less pronounced at

saints' shrines, where Hindu and Muslim women often comprise the majority of pilgrims. Although women's participation in ritual life is common at the larger, regionally or nationally famous, and wealthier shrines, their autonomous, self-directed ritual activities are more readily observed at the smaller, locally important shrines (Pemberton 2004, 2006). Both men and women, Sunnīs and Shī'īs, attend street processions that recall the tragedy of Karbala. Shī'a women also hold their own separate commemorative assemblies (*majālis*, *mīlād*), and in recent years there has been a growing number of celebrated ritual mourners (*zākirāt*) among them who perform elegies to the martyrs and heroines of Karbala (D'Souza 1998, Bard 2000, 2005).

Each evening of Ramadan is followed by a small-scale breaking of the fast (*iftār*); the month is concluded by a three-day celebration in which families donate money to the poor, hold congregational prayers, visit family and friends, and cook specially prepared foods for the final occasion of breaking the fast (Īd al-Fiṭr). Īd al-Aḏḥā, or Bakr Īd, recalls the patriarch Abraham's near-sacrifice of his son. Each household is expected to slaughter a sheep, goat, or cow to commemorate the occasion. On both occasions, women perform a variety of roles, particularly preparing food and ritual implements, organizing communal prayers (even those attended exclusively by men), and engaging in recitation of the Qur'ān and the performance of informal, non-obligatory prayers (*du'ā'*, *fātiḥa*) and celebratory poetry.

Women's celebrations of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday are not well documented, and this may be in part because these ceremonies often take place in private homes. In recent history, *mīlād al-Nabī* has become a celebration whose public expression is popularized by the composition and dissemination of *mawālid* (poems in honor of the Prophet Muḥammad's life) in Hindi and Urdu, as well as regional languages such as Bengali, Panjabi, and Sindhi (Schimmel 1982). On the 12th of Rabī' al-Awwal, women recite *mawālid* as well as other types of commemorative poetry (for example *na't*, *mī'rājīyya*, and *ghazal*). They do so in female-only assemblies, although sometimes an exceptional reciter is invited to perform in all-male congregations. *Mawālid* and other poems are also recited to commemorate the Prophet on various other occasions, many of which provide an occasion for women to participate in public ritual events (Hermansen 1995).

There is a growing body of research on Shī'i women's assemblies (*mīlād*, *majālis*) held in honor of the *ahl-i bayt*. Sometimes these assemblies involve

the recitation of miracle stories (*mu'jizāt kabānā*), which may be connected to the performance of vows (*mannat*) (Schubel 1993). More often, they recount the sufferings of the victims of Karbala. While all but one of the men of Ḥusayn's traveling party were massacred by the troops of the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd, the women were imprisoned in Damascus, and there Ḥusayn's sister Zaynab instituted the commemorative mourning that has become a hallmark of Shī'a pious remembrance during Muḥarram. These commemorations feature performances that range from acts of self-flagellation, zealous expressions of grief, and intensely heartrending recitations of elegies (*nawḥa*, *sūz*, *marsiya*) and Muḥarram stories (*rawza*) to more reserved and introspective recitals. In some circles, Shī'a mourning assemblies can resemble Sufi or carnival festivals, allowing for women to participate in particularly visible ways (Pinault 2000). In recent years, these events have also become the sites of sermons about Islamic duty (Schimmel 1982, Hegland 1998).

Because women do not always have access to the larger public commemorative events, many of their religious observances center on the so-called domestic rites, which nonetheless may have a wider public aspect. The *bismillāh* ceremony of a young girl, depicted in the video *On Being Muslim in India*, is held when a child is four years, four months, and four days old, and celebrates the child's readiness to read the Qur'ān. The *adin* is held when the child has finished reading the Qur'ān for the first time. Most often, these ceremonies are held in private homes, mediated by a religious scholar, and attended by the extended family, friends, and acquaintances of the hosts. Sometimes they involve pilgrimage to a holy site, such as a shrine, to secure blessings for the child (Sharīf 1921). An overview of many such commemorative events is provided by the Deobandi scholar Mawlana Ashraf 'Alī Thānawī, who condemned them as *bid'a*, innovative practices contrary to Islam.

#### MEANING, VALUE, FUNCTION, AND STRATEGY IN COMMEMORATIVE EVENTS

Since the late nineteenth century, with innovations in transportation, communication, and print, women's participation in public commemorative events has been on the rise, despite an ostensible trend toward more conservative ideals of Islamic womanhood that stress veiling and sex segregation. Coupled with an emphasis on acquiring Qur'ānic knowledge and observing the fundamental ritual obligations of Islam, a move toward greater Islamization among some Muslim communities has also created opportunities for women to participate in

commemorative events, and/or to exercise greater authority within the realm of religious affairs (Sikand 2005). Sometimes, Islamization serves to reinforce existing boundaries, with women acknowledged as preservers of a shared memory; this is true among the Shī'īs, for many of whom the ritual event has become a site for linking past with present, building Shī'ī community, and providing markers of identity in contradistinction to the surrounding non-Shī'ī population (Hegland 1998, Pinault 2001). In other cases, such as when Muslim minority populations are distinct from (and/or in conflict with) the surrounding predominant population, women may form ritual communities that transcend ethnic, sectarian, national, linguistic, and class boundaries. These communities have become, in some cases, sites of resistance to predominant discourses about Muslim womanhood (Hegland 1998). This is also true of women's participation in shrine cults. Print media and technoculture have enabled more women to move into areas considered traditionally male, as in the performance of devotional *qawwālī* music in honor of a saint (Abbas 2002), or in women's operation as *pirs*, particularly among pilgrims to saints' shrines (Pemberton 2006, Flueckiger 2006).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. B. Abbas, *The female voice in Sufi ritual*, Austin, Tex. 2002.
- A. M. A'zmī, *Jannatī zewar*, Lahore 1977.
- M. K. Barakātī, *Sunnī bihishtī zewar*, Delhi 1399/1978.
- A. Bard, Value and vitality in a literary tradition. Female poets and the Urdu marsiyah, in *Annual of Urdu Studies* 15 (2000), 323–35.
- , “No power of speech remains.” Tears and transformation in South Asian majlis poetry, in K. Patton and J. S. Hawley (eds.), *Holy tears. Weeping in the religious imagination*, Princeton, N. J. 2005, 145–64.
- Bishārāt-imazhariyya dar fazā'il-i-hazarāt-i'ariqa-imujad-didiya*, Aligarh 1204/1789–90.
- D. D'Souza, *The figure of Zaynab in Shī'ī devotional life*, in *Bulletin of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies* 17 (January–June 1998), 31–53.
- R. M. Eaton, Sufi folk literature and the expansion of Indian Islam, in R. M. Eaton (comp.), *Essays on Islam and Indian history*, Delhi 2000.
- J. Flueckiger, *Inside Amma's healing room*, Bloomington, Ind. 2006.
- M. Gaborieau, The Ghazi Miyan cult in western Nepal and North India (1975), in M. Waseem (ed.), *On becoming an Indian Muslim*, Delhi 2003, 238–63.
- M. E. Hegland, The power paradox in Muslim women's majales. North-west Pakistani mourning rituals as sites of contestation over religious politics, ethnicity, and gender, in *SIGNS. Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 23:2 (1998), 391–428.
- M. Hermansen, Women's celebration of Muhammad's birth, in D. S. Lopez, Jr. (ed.), *Religions of India in practice*, Princeton, N. J. 1995, 367–72.
- B. D. Metcalf, *Perfecting women. Maulana Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar*, Los Angeles and Oxford 1990.

- , Islam and women. The case of the Tablighi Jama'at, in *Stanford Electronic Humanities Review* 5:1 (February 1996), <http://www.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-1/text/metcalf.html>; also in *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 23:1 (April 2003), 173–81.
- K. Pemberton, Muslim women mystics and female spiritual authority in South Asian Sufism, in *Journal of Ritual Studies* 18:2 (2004), 1–23.
- , Women *pirs*, saintly succession, and spiritual guidance in South Asian Sufism, in *Muslim World* 96:1 (2006), 61–87.
- D. Pinault, *Horse of Karbala. Muslim devotional life in India*, New York 2001.
- D. Q. K. Salar Jang, *Muraqq'a-i Delhi*, Hyderabad 1737.
- A. Schimmel, *As through a veil. Mystical poetry in Islam*, Oxford 1982.
- V. Schubel, *Religious performance in contemporary Islam. Shi'i devotional rituals in South Asia*, Columbia, S.C. 1993.
- J. Sharīf, Islam in India; or, the *Qānūn-i Islām; the customs of the Muslimāns of India*, comp. and trans. G. A. Herklots, new ed., rev. W. Crooke, Delhi 1972.
- Y. Sikand, Women and the Tablighi Jama'at, in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 10:1 (1999), 41–53.
- H. van Skyhawk, Nagnath and Nasiruddin. *Pir-worship and saiva-bhakti in the literature of the Nages Sampraday*, in A. W. Entwistle and F. Mallison (eds.), *Studies in South Asian devotional literature. Research papers 1988–1991*, Delhi 1994, 255–74.
- A. 'A. Thānvī, *Bihishti zewar* [in Urdu and English], Delhi 1995, 1997.

KELLY PEMBERTON

## Southeast Europe

## INTRODUCTION

This entry provides a brief overview of Muslim religious commemorations in the Balkans by using a case study of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the religious and educational center of Muslims in Eastern Europe and the former Yugoslavian countries (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia). Muslim practices within the Yugoslavian countries are similar and were shaped by the religious forms and cultural values of the Ottoman Empire. In general, commemoration aims to fulfill the specific social and religious needs of people who practice their religions through different kinds of socially acceptable models of celebration. It is not only related to the remembrance of religious figures or events but also intends to bring about social solidarity, a sense of belonging to a certain group, and psychological security through participation in community celebrations and commemorations (Eliade 1991, 9–21). Women's participation in such commemorations is therefore a good reflection of these social and psychological values within a society as well as being a very important part of their religious and social lives.

#### ROLE OF WOMEN IN RELIGIOUS COMMEMORATIONS

Muslims in the region commemorate many historical events, religious figures, and sacred places, and women's participation depends on the type of ceremony, on the cultural practice of a certain area, and on rural or urban customs that include or exclude women at such ceremonies. Unfortunately, women's participation in religious commemorations is generally not recorded or portrayed in the official religious literature in this region, and sociological and ethnographical studies have not covered these themes at all. Therefore, this entry is primarily oriented to the experiences and voices of those women who have been permanently involved in the performance of religious commemorations as well as those who have generated changes and adjustments in the light of new circumstances and challenges.

The most significant commemorations in a Muslim's life are as follows:

1. 'Īd al-Fiṭr (Bajram in Turkish), the feast held at the breaking of the fast at the end of Ramadan and 'Īd al-Aḏḩā, the feast of the sacrifice that celebrates the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca. These two feasts are known in local Muslim practice as Ramazanski Bajram and Kurban or Hadzijski Bajram, and the 'Īd greetings are also in Turkish, for example "*Bajram mubarak olsun.*" The influence of Turkish is still strong, and there are no substitutions for some religious as well as non-religious terms in the Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian languages.

Women do not participate in Bajram congregations in the mosques, and their exclusion from mosques is justified by practical reasons (for example lack of space in the mosques for females as well as males). During the first two or three days of Bajram women usually stay at home and take care of family gatherings and guests, while men go to the mosques and cemeteries. The last days of Bajram are known as "Women's Bajram," during which women are supposed to visit their friends, neighbors, and relatives (Hangi 1906, 77–81).

2. Muslim New Year, the Hijra, which is the first day of Muḩarram, the first month of the Muslim lunar calendar, and celebrates memories of the first Muslims and their forced emigration from Mecca to Medina. The Islamic community and Sufi organizations usually prepare celebrations in honor of the first Muhājirs using the appropriate texts and songs with Hijra topics, written and arranged in the languages of this region and transmitted through the generations. In some mosques, particularly in rural areas, women participate equally with men, singing religious songs and poems of the Prophet's

life. Many imams prepare special programs with mixed choirs of girls and boys that affirm a new, inclusive model of congregations. In some cities in the last 15 years women's public cultural events – such as religious programs, fashion shows, and musical performances – have taken place at the religious commemoration of Hijra.

3. 'Āshūra is celebrated on the 10th day of the Muslim month Muḩarram in remembrance of Noah's flood. 'Āshūra is not a widespread celebration in the Balkans but is known mostly among Sufi groups and in some areas where Sufis have had influence. Muslims usually fast that day and the day before as did the Prophet Muḩammad, and women cook a dish known as *ashura*, prepared from a variety of cereals and fruits and shared with neighbors, friends, and *tekke* (a Sufi gathering place) or mosque participants. The main celebration takes place in mosques or *tekkes*, but women participate very rarely, often simply observing behind the men.

4. "Blessed (*mubāarak*) nights" are celebrated through intensive prayer, reciting the Qur'ān, and special rites such as those associated with *mawlid* (the Prophet's birthday) and *dhikr* (reciting the names of God). The following nights are celebrated in almost all mosques and *tekkes*, or in private houses: Laylat al-Qadr, the 27th night of Ramadan, the most influential night in a Muslim's life and the night when Almighty God started the revelation of the Holy Qur'ān to Muḩammad (p.b.u.h.); Laylat al-Mi'rāj, the 27th night of Rajab, commemorating the blessed night when the Messenger Muḩammad traveled to Jerusalem and then was elevated to heaven to talk to God; Laylat al-Badr, the 17th day of Ramadan, celebrating the famous victory of Muslims over non-Muslims from Mecca at Badr mountain; and the Prophet Muḩammad's birthday, celebrated on the 12th of Rabī' al-Awwali of the Muslim calendar. Women have participated in these celebrations by observing from behind curtains or from mosque balconies (*musandar*), or by having their own separate performances – *zenski mevludi* – either in mosques or in private houses (Enes and Esad 2006, 529–37).

#### NEW MODELS

Although women have not always participated equally with men in the majority of commemorations and have been discriminated against in terms of their access to public space, including religious space, over the past 50 years some positive changes have occurred reflecting the influence of new understandings of Islam and the reconciliation of religious and secular identities. After a long period

of suppression of religious life in this region, faith communities and religious educational institutions, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, have undertaken a reform process and created new models of integrated celebration oriented not only to the mosque's hall but also to the wider Muslim community. Traditional Muslim practices have started to be altered through the establishment of institutions such as mixed religious choirs, with new repertoires of religious songs (*qaṣīda* and *ilāhiyya*) in the Bosnian language (Latic 2003, 11–19), accompanied by musical arrangements more attractive to young people.

This new religious music has been recorded and filmed, performed at large concerts in city halls and stadiums, and broadcast on television shows not only in the Balkan countries but also in other European countries where Bosnian Muslims live. Women have been recognized as equal partners in its creation and have been allowed to perform and celebrate together with men. However, they remain relegated to a secondary place within the mosque, where male dominance still prevails.

Muslims have also taken traditional models of the Bajram celebration from family gatherings at home to restaurants, cafés, and club parties, as well as to gatherings in the city square with folk music, which unfortunately is often not appropriate to the celebrated event. This new form of secularization of religious commemorations is criticized and resisted by many Muslims, but it is popular with many others.

#### PILGRIMAGE AS COMMEMORATION

A newly revived pilgrimage site is the Ajvatovica Rock, situated in the middle of Bosnia. It commemorates the miracle of a good man, Aywaz-dedo, who prayed early every morning for 40 days for water for his village, Prusac. According to legend, the people of the village could not get water because it was blocked by a huge rock, which, thanks to the dedication and deep faith of this man, was split into two parts to let the water pass through. In honor of this miracle, women and men have long visited this place together, but during the first year of the Ajvatovica commemoration revival in 1990, some religious authorities suggested that women should stay in the village mosque and not to go to the Ajvatovica Rock and pray with men. The women used this discriminatory action as an opportunity to pray the noon prayer (*ṣalāt al-ḡuhr*) in a women's congregation with a female imam. About two thousand women prayed, for the first time, with a female imam (even though the practice was not forbidden by all religious schools). Later, women pressured the Islamic community and were

accepted again as partners at the commemoration at Ajvatovica Rock. There are various other local people and places that are commemorated for the purpose of healing, either physical or psychological, or just to share the spirit of celebration with the rest of the Muslim community.

#### SPECIFIC WOMEN'S COMMEMORATIONS

As a result of the tradition of gender segregation, women created many parallel social and religious commemorations. Under such cultural pressure women set up their own celebrations, such as the "women's wedding" (*nichah*, from Arabic *nikah*), which offered women's gatherings and parties as a way of praising the bride, her beauty, and her future role as a mother, as well as bringing her closer to the new family she had entered.

One specific female-led commemoration, the *tawhid* (unity of God) congregation, derives from Sufi tradition. Women gather in honor of a deceased individual during the burial, and then again after seven days and after forty days. The ceremony is conducted by religiously educated women and creates a social and spiritual community. A *tawhid* congregation may also mobilize believers around specific needs, yielding positive feelings and peace during, for instance, natural catastrophes or other perilous periods, or simply helping believers attain certain desires, wishes, and protection.

All of these commemorations and celebrations serve to strengthen people's identification with their religious and cultural values and to integrate them into community life. Since women have historically been relegated to the domestic sphere and excluded from the majority of public commemorations, they replaced them with their own separate ones; more recently, the region has witnessed integrated religious celebrations. Indisputably, the vast majority of feasts and commemorations have been guarded and transmitted by women, particularly during times of public religious suppression, although some women have, unfortunately, also participated in maintaining the gender discrimination of local religious discourse.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Eliade, *Images and symbols*, trans. P. Mairet, Princeton, N. J. 1991.  
 K. Enes and D. Esad, *Selected works of Mehmed Handžić, 1, Themes from the history of literature* [in Bosnian], Sarajevo 2006.  
 A. Hangi, *Life and customs of the Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina* [in Bosnian], Sarajevo 1906.  
 D. Latic, *Divan of ilāhiyya and qaṣīda. A collection of Islamic spiritual poems* [in Bosnian], Sarajevo 2003.  
 Office of the Mufti of Travnik, Ajvatovica, <<http://www.muftiluk-tr.com.ba/Ajvatovica.htm>>.

## Turkey

### INTRODUCTION

Religious commemorations in Turkey can be divided into three main categories: the calendrical celebrations; national or local saints' festivals; and commemorations of sacred days. The calendrical celebrations comprise daily or weekly prayer, especially *cuma namazı* and prayer performed at funerals, *cenaze namazı*, Muharrem, Ramazan, and Kurban Bayramı rituals. Saint's festivals comprise religious visits to the grave of national or local *şeybs* and the festivals performed in memory of the great mystics, Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi and Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli. Five *kandils* (Islamic holy nights when the minarets are illuminated) are celebrated, including the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday, Mevlid Kandili.

### WOMEN'S ROLE IN PUBLIC COMMEMORATIONS

Though there is no religious precept that women should not go to the mosque for daily prayer, they usually perform it in their homes. This is true for the Friday prayers, too. Nonetheless, especially with the interaction with modernist or feminist ideas (Wadud 2002), small groups of women have begun to go to the Friday prayers in recent years in some parts of the country (especially in large cities such as Ankara and Istanbul) (Milliyet 1998). The same is true for the prayer performed at funerals, *cenaze namazı*, which is traditionally performed only by men; in recent years, women in groups have attempted to perform this prayer shoulder to shoulder with men (ibid.) Nevertheless, the prayer is still performed almost entirely by men on account of beliefs derived from traditional Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), thought to originate from the political turmoil of the early period of Islamic history (Hatiboğlu 1995).

Every member of the family who has come of age fasts throughout the month of Ramazan. Some devout Muslims start two months earlier, with the beginning of the holy three months (*üç aylar*), Recep, Şaban, and Ramazan, as a traditional religious practice. During the Ramazan days, Muslim women, like Muslim men, recite the whole text of the Qur'ān, *hatim indirme*, a traditional practice performed not only on holy days but also followed periodically on ordinary days. Every evening they cook specially prepared foods (Mutlu 1994). Another religious practice is that men and women come together every night in separate parts of the mosque to recite a prayer, *tarawih*, peculiar to this month. On the 27th of Ramadan, Muslims,

both men and women, commemorate the Night of Power, *Kadir Gecesi*, during which the Qur'ān is believed to have been revealed, with prayers and enthusiastic rituals, mostly in mosques (Paksu 2003). After the thirty days of fasting, a three-day celebration begins in which families wear new clothes, *bayramlık*; donate money (*fitre*) to the poor; hold congregational prayer, *Bayram Namazı*, in which women widely participate; please their children greatly by giving them pocket-money; visit their relatives, neighbors, and friends; and cook special sweet pastries, *baklava* and *kadayıf*, only eaten during these three days.

*Kurban Bayramı* recalls the Prophet Abraham's near-sacrifice of his son; every well-off family, according to the level of income, is expected to slaughter a cow or a sheep. This commemoration is widely observed by adherents of the Ḥanafī school. Others, especially in southeastern parts of the country, belonging to the Şafīī Mezhebi, do not generally practice this commemoration, believing that it is not compulsory but only a prophetic tradition (*sünnet*). After the slaughter, one-third of the meat is given to at least seven poor families, one-third to relatives, and the rest is kept by the family itself (Mutlu 1994). Additionally, both men and women recite a kind of psalm, *teşrik tekbiri*, after each daily prayer, peculiar only to these days of festival, recited simultaneously by pilgrims at Mecca, testifying the devotion of all Muslims to God's commands (ibid.).

The celebrations that are held on special religious nights (*kandils*) are performed usually in mosques, generally by men. However, from the 1980s the national television channel, TRT, and some other private television channels have broadcast the ceremonies held in certain big mosques live, and there has been a tendency in recent years to watch the celebrations at home. Among other religious celebrations with a broad participation is Mevlid Kandili, which has been performed for approximately six centuries in Turkey, held on the night of 12th Rebiul-evvel. In it, Süleyman Çelebi's (1351–1422) encomium, *Mevlid Kasidesi*, some of the most popular commemorative poetry, is chanted by a reciter, *mevlidhan* (Galib 2003). *Mevlid Kasidesi* is also recited on certain other days (mostly the 40th and 52nd days after death) for the spirit of a dead relative. Many of these performances provide an occasion for women to participate in public ritual events.

Of the commemorations performed mostly by Sufi circles (sometimes organized by the authorities), two can be seen as having distinct characteristics. It is a tradition to hold an annual commemorative

ceremony in honor of a saint, Mevlana Celaleddin-i Rumi, in Konya on 7–17 December. Here professional dancers (*semazen*) perform a special kind of mystical revolving dance (*sema*), accompanied by a special musical instrument, the *ney* (Önder 1998). Though most of the dancers are men, in recent times some woman dancers have participated in these ceremonies. A similar annual ceremony is held by the Alevi, in honor of another mystic, Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli, in Nevşehir on 16–18 August. In this ceremony, women and men perform the rituals together as there is no sex segregation within the Alevi community in most public activities. This is also true for the rituals held in *cemevleri*, the houses in which men and women come together to perform either daily or weekly rituals. Here the participants recite songs and poems and perform *sema* in which men and women come face to face in a circle (Gülçiçek 2004). They also perform it at wedding feasts and other meetings or parties.

In the commemorations in honor of the Karbala martyrs held by Shīʿi Muslims in certain cities, such as Istanbul, Bursa, and Kars during Muharrem, women take an active part in rituals and street demonstrations. Recently the name of Zaynab, the daughter of the Prophet who demonstrated great resistance to the Umayyad Caliph Yezid, has been presented as a female symbol of resistance to oppressors not only for Shīʿis but also for Sunnīs (Hekimi 1996). By the same token, both Alevi and Shīʿi Muslims make a special meal, *aşure*, in this month, showing popular reminiscence and the wish keep alive the memory of this tragic event in Islamic history. *Aşure* is a kind of sweet pudding, made of grains, prepared in private houses. Each household treats their neighbors with it. Over the first twelve days of Muharrem, Alevi, do not drink water, do not slaughter any cows or sheep, and do not hold wedding feasts or entertainments (Zelyut 2002).

urging them to join the Islamic movements. Muslim women thus tend to assume rather active roles not only in political engagements but also in religious commemorations.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- H. R. Dekmejian, The anatomy of Islamic revival. Legitimacy crisis, ethnic conflict and the search for Islamic alternatives, in *Middle East Journal* 34 (1980), 1–12.
- F. Galib, *Mübarek günler ve geceler*, Istanbul 2003.
- A. D. Gülçiçek, *Alevilik (Bektaşılık, Kızılbaşlık) ve onlara yakın inançlar*, iii, Cologne 2004.
- M. Hatiboğlu, Prof. Dr. M. Said Hatiboğlu ile röportaj, in *İktibas*, 13:197 (1995), 22–30.
- M. Hekimi, *Hz. Zeyneb'i Tanımak*, Istanbul 1996.
- Milliyet*, Din yeniden yapılıyor, 17 January 1998.
- İ. Mutlu, *Üç aylar ve mübarek günler*, Istanbul 1994.
- A. Y. Ocak, *Alevi Bektaşî inançlarının İslam öncesi temelleri*, Istanbul 2000.
- M. Önder, *Mevlana ve mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1998.
- M. Paksu, *Mübarek aylar, günler ve geceler*, Istanbul 2003.
- W. Shepard, Islam and ideology. Towards a typology, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987), 307–36.
- A. Wadud, An interview with Amina Wadud, March 2002, <www.pbs.org/frontline>.
- R. Zelyut, *Öz kaynaklarına göre Alevilik*, Istanbul 2002.

M. KÜRŞAD ATALAR

#### MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF COMMEMORATIVE EVENTS

Together with the spread of modernist ideas into the Muslim world, and especially thanks to the growth of Islamic resurgence, women generally seem to assume greater roles in social (and political) events, including the commemorative ones. The changing status of Muslim women in commemorative rituals seems to be more an effect of their increasing role in Islamic revivalist movements, rather than of some general pattern of modernity. Islamic revivalism activates its adherents by solving the problem of the identity crisis of the faithful in the modern age (Dekmejian 1980),



# Religious Practices: Waqf

## Overview

Muslim women have played a major role in creating *awqāf* (sing. *waqf*, called *hubus* in North Africa), endowments for charitable or family purposes. *Waqf* is thus one of the basic sites where Muslim women's socioeconomic and political history can be investigated. Women's *waqf* reflects a Muslim woman's economic right in Sharī'a law to own and dispose of her property. This right has allowed Muslim women throughout Islamic history to endow money and property in order to construct, support, and maintain religious and charitable foundations. For centuries their perpetual endowments supported mosques, Islamic schools (*madāris*), fountains with Qur'ānic schools (*asbila*), stipends for students, rations for notable scholars (*'ulamā'*), accommodations for divorced and widowed women (*arbiṭa*), houses for Sufis (*arbiṭa wa-khawāniq*), dervish houses (*takayā*), small mosques (*zawāyā*), hospitals, public baths (*ḥammāmāt*), and the like.

Women in *waqf* history were either donors or beneficiaries. A woman could also be assigned as the supervisor (*mutawwalī* or *nāzir*) of someone else's *waqf* or could play the role of agent (*wakīl*) whom the endower entrusted to handle deals related to the endowed property. Basically, there are two types of *waqf*, charitable *waqf* and family *waqf* (*waqf ahli*). Family *waqf* entitles donors to receive the income of the endowed properties during their lifetime. After their death the income goes to their heirs; when the heirs are extinct the *waqf* is transferred to charitable status. *Waqf* sources inform us that women of different social classes created *awqāf*. While high-class women donated huge properties for the construction and maintenance of big institutions in their localities or in the holy places of Islam, middle- and lower-class women usually donated small-sized properties to support already established *awqāf* to help the poor in their own neighborhoods. Women endowed *awqāf* for spiritual reasons, but they also created them in order to keep notable social positions or to support state policy.

Different types and forms of women's *waqf* resources are available, such as *waqf* documents and historical encyclopedias. *Waqf* documents are of various forms: court registers (*sijillāt*), *waqf*

deeds (*waqfiyyāt* or *hujaj*), and supervisors' periodical reports and balance sheets of *waqf* management. Court registers include brief data about the name of the donor, the property endowed, the purpose of endowment, the date, and sometimes the name of the judge (*qādī*) and witnesses. A *waqf* deed includes more detailed basic and supplementary information about such specifics as the endower, all witnesses, the description of the property endowed such as real estate, farm land, or cash, endowment stipulations, the supervisor and his/her duties, the beneficiaries and the amounts they are entitled to, duration, maintenance, day-to-day functioning, and so on. According to Sharī'a law, the endower is able for a limited time to make alterations in the foundation deed, for example changing the purpose, expanding or reducing the share of a beneficiary, or increasing or reducing the number of beneficiaries. A *waqf* deed also shows different degrees of spiritual and pious motivations, as well as family interests involved in the endowment.

Elaborate narratives about *awqāf* and their owners are found in various historiographic sources such as chronicles, histories of cities, geographical encyclopedias (*khutaṭ al-buldān*), and biographical dictionaries. For example, in his chronicles, which cover the events of the late Mamluk and early Ottoman Egypt, Ibn Iyās (1448–ca. 1524) refers to Cairene endowments and contextualizes them within their political and social contexts. In his description of Cairo's districts and alleys, al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442) offers elaborate information about female endowers who donated to support the erection and maintenance of both large and small size public constructions. The large historical encyclopedias of Ibn 'Asākir (1105–76) on Damascus and Ibn al-'Adīm (1192–1262) on Aleppo offer elaborate information about notable and middle-class Syrian women's endowments, which contributed to the construction of the urban structure of those two cities. Biographical dictionaries that include entries about women scholars, such as the two eminent dictionaries of al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqālānī, generally give such details about women's endowments as were available.

Most of the research conducted on *waqf* relies on Sharī'a court documents more than other sources. The two basic types of *waqf*, family and charitable, are usually the subject of investigation. While some

studies tend to focus on the *awqāf* of women of all classes in a given time and place, providing statistical data, others tend to sketch the *awqāf* of notable women, such as the women of the Ottoman court and the female members of the Mamluk households. Commonly, they study women as founders, administrators, and beneficiaries of charitable endowments. They often focus on certain centers of Islamic history: Egypt, especially Cairo; the Levant, including Damascus and Aleppo; and Turkey, including Istanbul. A few focus on women's *waqf* in Mughal India and in Safavid Iran. Some studies pay attention to women who established *waqf* to support the holy places in Mecca and Medina (*waqf al-Haramayn*) and Jerusalem, even if they were living in distant cities such as Istanbul. Elite women are studied more often than middle- and lower-class women. Some studies have used women's *waqf* in order to explore the policies of the state to reinforce its authority through charitable endowments, especially the Ottoman state.

Different approaches have informed the study of women's *waqf*. While traditional historians focused on legal aspects of *waqf* institution, scholars in the last few decades have paid more attention to *waqf* documents as significant primary sources for Muslim women's socioeconomic and political history. One school of historians utilizes the study of *waqf* simply to dismiss the Orientalist assumption of the marginal positions and passive roles of women in Islamic history. They demonstrate how women's economic rights allowed them to endow different types of property to support various charitable institutions throughout Islamic history, taking particular Mamluk and Ottoman women as examples. Women were able to play important social and political roles, as well as to control the inheritance of their properties, by specifying their female inheritors and slaves as recipients of major amounts of *waqf ahli* revenues. They could thus manipulate inheritance law, which favors male heirs.

Another school of historians, however, seriously questions such conclusions. They argue that fewer women than men were endowers and beneficiaries of *awqāf* and that they held minor roles as supervisors. Accordingly, although women had the right to establish endowments, their male kinsmen controlled endowed properties by playing the role of supervisors. In addition, male endowers favored their male heirs as beneficiaries when it came to *waqf ahli*. Scholars from this school explore certain case studies to prove that the fact that women's *waqf* was mostly for male beneficiaries and controlled by male managers weakened women's economic position and gradually limited

women's control of their legal inheritance. Scholars from the former school raise a counter argument to prove that in other case studies women were more often administrators and beneficiaries of *waqf*.

Socioeconomic studies employ *waqf* data as an important source of information for the various facets of social, economic, political, and cultural history of Muslim women. A *waqf* deed often gives information about the endower's social class through her title or place of residence, marital history, the amount of wealth and the size of her properties, religious motivations, political affinities, and relationships within her family and household. Informed by this approach, research is conducted on female Mamluks and attention is paid to their significant contribution to educational life through supplying the endowments necessary to establish and maintain schools. Women were also eligible to serve as controllers of endowments supporting *madāris*. The study of *waqf* is one of the main means to reassess the understanding of Muslim women and the public/private dichotomy.

Family *waqf* is investigated by various approaches. Some scholars use family *waqf* as a means to explore the construction of the Arab family and women's position within it, and the way that family *waqf* controlled inheritance in favor of male or female inheritors. Some historians claim that family *waqf* was a way to deny female heirs their legal rights because it allowed male endowers to exclude female heirs or their offspring. Others try to prove that the opposite was the case: male and female endowers used family *waqf* to favor their female inheritors. Manipulating the Islamic law of inheritance in which a daughter receives half of what her brother receives, such scholars argue, endowers assigned female and male inheritors equal shares of the *waqf*'s revenue. Some notice that female endowers favored their kinswomen and female slaves. Family *waqf* endowed by female members of the family could be also controlled by the female donors; sometimes they named themselves as the managers of *waqf* during their lifetime.

Historians who investigate women's political role in Islamic history also find *waqf* documents of great significance in understanding the dichotomy between public and private. Women's *waqf* reveals that women in Mamluk households played basic roles in public life and sometimes influenced the formation of state policies. Some studies confirm that occasionally women participated in the construction of Islamic schools, helping the new political elite gain the loyalty of the urban population. They established shrines for Sufis in order to support the religious and ideological aims of the state, such as

reducing Shīʿī influence during the Sunnī rule of the Mamluks and Ottomans. Some studies focus on Ottoman court women's endowments, which were established to strengthen the state's authority.

In terms of periodization, the history of *waqf* in general and women's *waqf* in particular can be divided into many historical stages. After the Islamic conquests, all the lands conquered were considered property of the state, *hubus*. After the abolishment of the *hubus* system, Muslims owned farmlands and real estate and shortly afterwards they started donating them for charitable purposes. From the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, the new land system enabled Muslim women to endow properties that they inherited from fathers and husbands.

Women's participation in establishing endowments started as early as the Fatimid period in Egypt and North Africa, through the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries. At this time, before the appearance and spread of Islamic schools (*madāris*) from Iraq to the rest of the Islamic world, mosques functioned as schools. In the Fatimid realm huge mosques, such as al-Azhar, supported the state's formal Shīʿī *madhhab* (school of law). Elite female Fatimids who enjoyed the title of *sharīfa* (descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad) and other notable women contributed to the state's political and religious projects of enhancing authority through the establishment of huge mosques. Women endowed *awqāf* to establish houses (*arbiṭa*) for widowed and old women and fountains for the poor. Their *awqāf* contributed to the construction of the new city of Cairo. Women's *waqf* played similar religious and political roles in the Ayyubid period, through the sixth/eleventh and seventh/twelfth centuries. Islamic Sunnī schools flourished during this time and worked to eradicate the influence of the Shīʿī *madhhab* of the Fatimid state. Many royal and notable women endowed to support the Islamic Sunnī school, which taught the four rites of Islamic law. In addition, endowments to support Sufi houses were encouraged by the Ayyubid state, and women played a role in the establishment of *arbiṭa* and *khawāniq*.

During the Mamluk period, from the seventh/thirteenth to the tenth/sixteenth centuries, a variety of *awqāf* forms flourished, especially *arbiṭa* and *madāris*. The spread of *awqāf* was strong during that time because the Mamluk household relied on charitable endowments to seek political legitimacy among the populace. In this context, many women of different social classes participated in public life by establishing great endowments. Many princesses and notable women established Sunnī schools,

which thrived during this period. However, women were not able to fund the construction of hospitals, which were very few; only the Mamluk rulers could afford this. Concubines, who were mostly part of royal families and played political roles, for spiritual or political motives contributed greatly in establishing *awqāf* that served different social purposes.

During the Ottoman period, up to the twelfth/eighteenth and early thirteenth/nineteenth centuries, the centralization of *waqf* policy led to substantial decline in *awqāf* establishment. In general, endowments established to support mosques, *zaw-āyā*, *asbila*, and *takayā* were more common than those that granted money to schools, hospitals, and *arbiṭa*. Ottoman court women mostly endowed massive farmlands and properties to support mosques and the holy cities of Islam. Female Mamluk households, concubines, freed slaves, and free women donated farmlands and other forms of real estate. Female affiliates of Mamluk households tended to endow family *waqf* in order to protect private properties from the state. In general, women's wealth grew as a result of their work in official positions, especially as *multazimāt* who were allowed to hold and administer lands in return for collecting taxes for the Ottoman central government. A few women owned huge commercial complexes (*wikālāt*). A woman's *wikāla* contained dozens of stores and residencies for traders (*khān*); revenue from rent went partly to support various charitable endowments. Middle-class women owned or shared ownership of various types of small properties such as land, houses, mills, stores, sewing halls, and dye-houses. They donated to support endowments that served the communities of their quarters. Sometimes fathers assigned daughters the position of *waqf* manager (*naẓīra*).

During the colonial period, especially in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries, women in some countries used *waqf* to play nationalist roles. When the British administration's policy in Egypt limited educational expenditures and public services, Egyptians responded by endowing to establish schools, hospitals, and orphanages. They supported education and welfare through donations granted to charitable societies, which in turn created endowments. New European-style constructions appeared and women supported them through endowments, such as schools for girls, orphanages, and "modern" schools. They also endowed to support grants for educating students in Europe.

In the contemporary Islamic world, post-independent states have abolished *waqf* and applied centralization policies in most Islamic countries.

However, some women still attempt to revive *waqf* institutions. In Egypt, a few cases recently appeared in which women have initiated charitable *awqāf* to support the poor and elderly with the permission of the state.

There are many eminent examples of women endowers, some of whom have been treated in earlier studies. One of them is Fāṭima al-Fihriyya, who lived in the third/tenth century in Morocco. Fāṭima inherited a great deal of money from her husband and brothers, and since she was a religious, pious woman she decided to endow it to support the establishment of a great mosque with an interior well. She fasted without break until the end of the construction period of the mosque in 245 A.H. This mosque has been one of the important educational centers in North Africa and the Islamic world, and today it is the University of al-Qarawīyīn.

Another important example is Haseki Hürrem, the beloved wife of Sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent. The *waqf* created on her behalf, for political and pious reasons, resulted in the creation of vast properties to support the holy cities, Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina. In Jerusalem, she endowed villages, farmlands, mills, and other properties, which the Sultan had previously bestowed upon her, for the establishment and perpetual support of a mosque, a public soup kitchen, and an inn (*khān*) for Muslim pilgrims on their way to Mecca. In Mecca and Medina she endowed for the establishment and perpetual support of two huge Sufi lodges (*ribāt*) and attached fountains (*asbila*).

One of the prominent endowers of the Mamluk period is Nafisa al-Bayda, a concubine and the wife of Murad Bik, a famous member of Mamluk households in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Nafisa, who played an important political role in dealing with the French commanders during the French expedition to Egypt in 1798–1801, donated the revenue of a large commercial complex (*wikāla*) to support a fountain for the poor with a Qur'ānic school for children (*sabīl*). The study of Nafisa's *awqāf* provides a useful vehicle for exploring the political roles of the Mamluk female elite, especially concubines who owned and endowed commercial complexes (*wikālāt*) and other properties.

Although many scholars attempt to explore women's *waqf*, they often center on elite women in particular places and times. For example, the greatest concentration is on Egypt, the Levant, and Turkey, and it is rare to find studies on other regions, such as North Africa, Iraq, or India. Likewise, scholars seldom utilize *waqf* documents to explore women's socioeconomic and political his-

tory during the colonial period of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries or under the post-colonial state. Further research needs to be done on non-elite women's history, women's *waqf* archives outside metropolitan areas, and women's *waqf* established prior to the Ottoman period. Since the early establishment of women's *waqf* contributed to the construction of the main cities of Islam, it might be interesting to explore women's significant contribution to the construction and development of urban areas in major Islamic cities.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Egypt, National Archives of the Ministry of Awqāf, Cairo.
- Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-talab fī tārikh Halab*, Beirut n.d.
- Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, Damascus 1995.
- Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina fī d'yan al-mī'a al-thāmina*, Hyderabad 1929–32.
- Ibn Iyas, *Badā'ī al-zuhur fī waqā'i' al-dubūr*, Cairo 1961.
- al-Jam'iyya al-khayriyya al-Islāmiyya, Cairo, *awqāf* deeds.
- al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khutāt al-Maqrīziyya*, Beirut n.d.
- 'A. Mubārak, *al-Khutāt al-tawfiqiyya al-jadida li-Miṣr al-Qāhira*, Cairo 1304 H.
- al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi' li-ahl al-qarn al-tāsīf*, Cairo 1934.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- B. Abd al-Malik and D. Creelius, A late eighteenth century Egyptian *waqf* endowed by a sister of the Mamluk Shaykh al-Eyey Muhammad Bey Abou-al-Dhahab, in *Arab Historical Review of for Ottoman Studies* 1/2 (1990), 9–14.
- N.'A. Aḥmad, *'Amā'ir al-mar'a fī al-'asr al-Fātimī*, Cairo 1993.
- G. Baer, Women and *waqf*. An analysis of the Istanbul *tabrir* of 1546, in *Asian and African Studies* 17 (1983), 9–27.
- J. P. Berkey, Women and Islamic education in the Mamluk period, in N. Keddie and B. Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern history. Shifting boundaries in sex and gender*, New Haven, Conn. and London 1991, 143–57.
- S. Blake, Contributors to the urban landscape. Women builders in Safavid Isfahan and Mughal Shahjahanabad, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998, 407–28.
- D. Creelius, Incidences of *waqf* cases in three Cairo courts 1640–1802, in *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 29 (1986), 176–89.
- B. Doumani, Endowing family. *Waqf*, property, devolution, and gender in Greater Syria, 1800 to 1860, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40 (1998), 1–41.
- M. A. Fay, From concubines to capitalists. Women, property, and power in eighteenth-century Cairo, in *Journal of Women's History* 10 (1998), 118–40.
- , Women and *waqf*. Toward a reconsideration of women's place in the Mamluk household, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997), 33–51.
- H. Gerber, The *waqf* institution in early Ottoman Edirne, in *Asian and African Studies* 17 (1983), 29–45.

- D. Rizk Khoury, Slippers at the entrance or behind closed doors. Domestic and public spaces for Mosuli women, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden and New York 1997, 105–27.
- G. C. Kozłowski, Private lives and public piety. Women and the practice of Islam in Mughal India, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998, 469–88.
- A. S. Maḥmūd, *al-Jawārī fī mujtamaʿ al-Qāhira al-Mamlūkiyya*, Cairo 1988.
- M. L. Meriwether, Women and *waqf* revised. The case of Aleppo, 1770–1840, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden, New York, and Cologne 1997, 128–52.
- O. Peri, The *waqf* as an instrument to increase and consolidate political power. The case of Khasseki Sultan Waqf in late eighteenth-century Ottoman Jerusalem, in *Asian and African Studies* 17 (1983), 47–62.
- R. Roded, Great mosques, *zawiya*s and neighborhood mosques. Popular beneficiaries of *waqf* endowments in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Aleppo, in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990), 32–8.
- , Property ownership, philanthropy and management. Endowment documents, in R. Roded, *Women in Islam and the Middle East. A reader*, London and New York 1999, 140–58.
- A. Singer, A note on land and identity. From *zʿamet* to *waqf*, in R. Owen (ed.), *New perspectives on property and land in the Middle East*, Cambridge, Mass. 2000, 161–73.
- M. Tolmacheva, Female piety and patronage in the medieval hajj, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998, 161–79.
- J. E. Tucker, *Women in nineteenth-century Egypt*, Cairo 1986.
- S. S. Yahya, ‘Amay’ir al-mar’a fī Miṣr fī al-ʿasr al-ʿUthmāni, Ph.D. diss., Cairo University 1988.

ZEINAB A. ABUL-MAGD

## Arab States

The experiences of women are an important topic of discussion within the growing field of *waqf* studies. As an institution of Islamic law, the *waqf* is understood as the irrevocable and perpetual sequestration of a preferably immovable and income-producing property, rendering it thus inalienable, the profits of which are distributed following the wishes of the endower to purposes that are considered pleasing to God (*qurba*). Endowers had to be of age, free (as opposed to slaves), sound of mind and body, and the actual owners of the property they endowed, but gender made no difference in a person’s capacity to do so.

In the Arab world, the religious and legal sanctions surrounding the practice of endowing have led to a comparatively dense documentation, ranging from normative discussions in legal treatises and

*fatāwā* collections, administrative regulations and court documents (*sijillāt*), to building inscriptions and mentions in historical and biographical writing. The available information not only highlights the diversity of the social uses of endowments in different places and over time. It also brings to light the various ways that gender influenced the complex web of property relations created by endowing, linking not only people with other people, but also people and things over long periods of time. This variety makes it difficult to generalize. The Arab lands, understood in this entry as North Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, the Syrian regions and Iraq, were not a unity, either politically, socially, or culturally. The Maghrib, for example, where the institution is known under the name of *ḥabs* or *ḥubs* (pl. *ḥubūs*, French *habous*), developed a special tradition of endowing under the influence of the Mālikī school of law, which also included the possibility of making temporary endowments.

One of the earliest documented examples of a woman’s endowment in Islamic history are the elaborate waterworks around ‘Ayn Zubayda (Zubayda’s Well) in the plain of ‘Arafāt outside Mecca, dating from 193/808. They belong to the foundations of Āmat al-ʿAzīz, the wife of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, known under that nickname, who wanted to facilitate the pilgrimage to Mecca (Tolmacheva 1999). Helping Muslims fulfil their religious duties was generally accepted as a legitimate purpose of this newly defined form of charitable giving, but the sheer scope and the costs of this project are extraordinary and mark it clearly as the undertaking of a member of an elite. The majority of endowments were rather small and fitted more into the urban context of places like Medina, Basra, or Cairo according to the scarce evidence that can be gained from the early legal treatises (Décobert 1991). This is not surprising because endowments are made from the private property of individuals, men and women, seeking to come closer to God and earn rewards for the afterlife.

The religious motivation of endowers is often forgotten when it comes to the splendid buildings of elite women and men under the rule of the Fāṭimid, Saljūqid, Zangid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk dynasties. Introducing new institutions in the Arab regions, their tombs (*turba*), hostels (*khānqāh*, *ribat*, *zāwiya*), colleges (*madrasa*), and hospitals (*bīmāristān*) are the most visible signs of endowment activities during these periods. Many of these constructions are still extant, which makes them indeed “a beautiful way to be remembered,” as Ibn Jubayr remarked in 580/1184 (1907, 290). Some of these institutions, often founded by women,

catered exclusively to the needs of women, such as homes for poor widows or more rarely convents of women's Sufi communities (Humphreys 1994, Jacobi forthcoming). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted during his visit in Damascus in 726/1326: "There are endowments for supplying wedding outfits to girls, to those namely whose families are unable to provide them" (1958, i, 148). Poor women also profited from the distribution of money and foodstuffs or other necessities. Yet the new endowment activities of the elite also financed institutions of education and learning that completely excluded women, with the notable exception of functions in management and administration.

Since the beginning, the *waqf* institution had been a rather uneasy combination of philanthropic elements and looking after the interests of the endower's family and relatives. In the early formation period, family endowments (*waqf dhurri*, *ahli*) were probably more widespread than those for public religious and charitable purposes, which were rather financed out of the treasury (*bayt al-māl*). The small scale and the often rather short duration of such trusts make them difficult to trace in the source material. In Mamlūk times, a novel type of trust made its appearance in which the familial element is very pronounced. Such endowments provided for the upkeep of a public institution, yet they held much more assets than necessary for its income. Endowers stipulated that they themselves and their descendants were to profit from the surplus (*faḍl*). Women of elite households played an important role in the management of such trusts (Amin 1980, 73–8).

The subject of the inclusion or exclusion of women and their descendants in family endowments has warranted much debate among scholars and experts of law alike. Many, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, saw trusts merely as a means to circumvent the Qur'ānic rules of inheritance, depriving females of their rightful shares (Powers 1989). The historical record, however, is much more varied. The practice seems to have been influenced not only by individual preference, but also by political and economic conditions and social norms (Doumani 1991). Yet exclusion also worked in the inverse direction: there are a number of cases of matrilineal connections or female solidarity.

These diverse strategies are more visible in Ottoman times, when the documentation becomes denser and we can see beyond endowing as an elite phenomenon. The proportion of endowments made by women always ranged between one-fourth to one-third according to a growing number of studies. Yet

now the activities of non-elite women can be seen especially in the considerable number of small-scale endowments, made of one asset or small sums of money (Fay 1997, Meriwether 1997, Shuval 1998). The cash *waqf*, though, did not gain widespread acceptance in the Arab lands except in circles with strong ties to Ottoman Anatolia and Rumelia. This endowment type always remained controversial because the profits to be distributed were made by lending out the endowed sums of money against interest (*ribh*) at a rate which was not supposed to exceed 15 percent. At higher rates money lending, though suspect in any case, was seen as usury (*ribā*). Not only Muslim, but also Christian and Jewish women participated in endowment activities that were characterized by varying degrees of conviviality between the religious groups. As endowers and beneficiaries, women were confined to their community whether they themselves endowed for their children, other relatives, their husbands or their communities as a whole, or were named as beneficiaries, in the case of Christians also as nuns, profiting from foundations in the name of the poor of their churches or monasteries. Yet as tenants women could also exercise varying degrees of control over properties belonging to endowments outside their communities, using the possibilities of different long- and short-term lease contracts.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the political and legal contexts of endowing changed almost completely (Powers 1989, Meier 2001, Deguilhem and Hénia 2004, Hudson 2006). By the middle of the twentieth century, the now independent nation-states had gained control over all public endowments, putting them under the supervision of *awqāf* ministries. They introduced far-reaching changes into the legislation concerning family endowments as well, some of which affected women in particular. Lebanon prohibited the exclusion of legal heirs as beneficiaries, Syria and Egypt banned the family *waqf* altogether and ordered the dissolution of extant trusts. In the context of the Islamic resurgence, however, the institution has gained new attention as a building-block of Islamic economics or Islamic civil societies (Ghānim 2004). Though the historical record of the *waqf* is often depicted as less than satisfactory as a result of the negligence and wrong-doing of earlier generations, the institution itself is seen as an authentic instrument to secure a specific Islamic way of economic and social development and welfare. From this perspective, it has only to become more flexible than it ever was. Not surprisingly in a world of global cash flows, bringing back the cash *waqf* figures prominently on this agenda. It

will be interesting to see whether and in what forms women will contribute to this possible revival of the *waqf*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Ibn Baṭṭūta, *The travels of Ibn Battuta*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, 3 vols., Cambridge 1958–71.  
Ibn Jubayr, *The travels of Ibn Jubayr*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1907, repr. 1973.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- M. M. Amīn, *Al-awqāf wa-al-ḥayāt al-ijtimā'iyya fi Miṣr 648–923/1250–1517*, Cairo 1980.  
Ch. Décobert, *Le mendiant et le combattant. L'institution de l'islam*, Paris 1991.  
R. Deguilhem and A. Hénia (eds.), *Les fondations pieuses (waqf) en Méditerranée. Enjeux de société, enjeux de pouvoir*, Kuwait 2004.  
B. Doumani, Endowing family. *Waqf*, property devolution and gender in Greater Syria, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40 (1991), 3–41.  
M. A. Fay, Women and *waqf*. Towards a reconsideration of women's place in the Mamluk household, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997), 33–51.  
I. Ghānim (ed.), *Nizām al-waqf wa-al-mujtama' al-madani fi al-waṭan al-'Arabī*, Beirut 2004.  
L. Hudson, Investing by women or investing in women? Merchandise, money and marriage and the formation of a prenatal bourgeoisie in Damascus, in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 26:1 (2006), 105–20.  
R. S. Humphreys, Women as patrons of religious architecture in Ayyubid Damascus, in *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 35–54.  
R. Jacobi, Frauen im Stiftungswesen der Mamlukenzeit, in A. Meier et al. (eds.), *Gottes Eigentum für alle Zeiten? Islamische Stiftungen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Berlin (forthcoming).  
A. Meier, "Waqf only in name, not in essence." Early Tanzimāt *waqf* reforms in the province of Damascus, in J. Hanssen et al. (eds.), *The empire in the city. Arab provincial capitals in the late Ottoman Empire*, Beirut 2002, 201–18.  
M. L. Meriwether, Women and *waqf* revisited. The case of Aleppo, 1770–1840, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden 1997, 128–52.  
D. Powers, Orientalism, colonialism, and legal history. The attack on family endowments in Algeria and India, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1989), 535–71.  
T. Shuval, *La ville d'Alger vers la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Population et cadre urbain*, Paris 1998.  
M. Tolmacheva, Female piety and patronage in the medieval "Hajj," in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage and piety*, London 1999, 159–79.

ASTRID MEIER

## Indonesia

Women are the most active participants in family businesses. Hence, there is a hypothesis about

indirect correlation among microfinance sectors, family empowerment, and women's welfare in developing countries. Based on that hypothesis, the Cash Waqf Management System (Masyita 2006) has chosen the microfinance sector as the main portfolio for its investments to accelerate poverty alleviation. In some developing countries, women have proved to be highly competent and experienced in microfinance program management. In an Islamic socioeconomic context, women also work in collaboration with their husbands to empower their family and ensure care and a bright future for their children. Family empowerment rather than empowerment of women through microcredit, a form of microfinance, represents a significant shift in paradigm (Mannan 1998). Therefore, most funds collected through cash *waqf* certificate issues are allocated as loans for microenterprises. This microcredit program should be aimed particularly at helping poor people initiate family businesses and thus enhance their quality of life.

### WAQF PROPERTY

A *waqf* is a charitable endowment, a gift of land or property made by a Muslim, intended for religious, educational, or charitable use. The word *waqf* (pl. *awqāf*) comes from an Arabic root meaning "to prevent or restrain." It signifies confinement or detention. In the terminology of Islamic jurisprudence, it may be defined as refraining from the use and disposal of any asset from which one can benefit, or using its proceeds for a charitable purpose as long as it exists. Monzer Kahf (1999) wrote, "When al-Shāfi'ī in his *al-Umm* mentioned that the Prophet (peace be upon him) invented the *waqf*, a concept with no precedent in all other nations, he was not aware that Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans had certain types or versions of *waqf*." Al-Shāfi'ī was certainly correct in his assertion if we look at some of the unique characteristics and the scope of the Islamic *waqf*. One of the major points in this regard is the principle of perpetuity. Perpetuity in *waqf* means that once a property is dedicated as a *waqf*, it remains so until the Day of Judgment – it is immutable (this is perhaps why many Muslim jurists argue that a *waqf* property is owned by God, the Almighty).

Utomo (2001) states that cash *waqf* management institution is a legal entity, and therefore should fulfil certain requirements, *arkān waqf*: *wāqif*, the person who donates the *waqf* fund; *mawqūfa*, the assets or funds donated as *waqf*, which should be clear and durable; and *mawqūf 'alayh*, those who are entitled to benefit from *waqf* fund management.

The *wāqif* states his/her asset or funds as *waqf* by means of a *ṣiḡha*, a verbal contract.

#### CASH WAQF

In recent times, alongside *awqāf* in the form of building and land, cash *waqf* has been increasingly used, particularly because of its flexibility, which allows distribution of the *waqf*'s potential benefit to the poor anywhere. Cash *waqf* was first introduced in the Ottoman era in Egypt. The cash *waqf* was a trust fund established to support services to mankind in the name of Allah. The Ottoman courts approved these endowments as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth century they had reportedly become extremely popular all over Anatolia and the European provinces of the empire (Cizakca 2004).

In Bangladesh, Professor Dr. M. A. Mannan established a cash *waqf* in Bangladesh through the Social Investment Bank Limited (SIBL). SIBL issues cash *waqf* certificates to collect funds from the rich and distributes gains of the managed funds to the poor.

As in Bangladesh, most Indonesian people are poor and the two countries have many characteristics in common. The effectiveness of the cash *waqf* certificate programs in reducing poverty in Bangladesh gives hope that analogous programs may be successfully implemented in Indonesia (Masyita 2001).

The Fatwa Commission, a board of Indonesian Muslim scholars, responded to the necessity of cash *waqf* certificate programs in Indonesia by issuing the following *fatwa* (dated 11 May 2002): cash *waqf* (*waqf al-nuqūd*) is *waqf* donated by an individual, a group of individuals, or a legal entity, in cash; cash *waqf* includes securities; money donated as *waqf* is lawful (*jawāz*); cash *waqf* can only be distributed and allocated for activities sanctioned by *syariah* (Islamic law); and the *waqf* fund should be conserved and is not transferable.

#### CASH WAQF CERTIFICATE FRAMEWORK

The *wāqif* donates money as *waqf* by purchasing a cash *waqf* certificate. The certificate can be bought in the name of a family member, even if he/she is already dead. The *wāqif* expects the return of the managed fund to be assigned for a certain purpose, for example a public facility development, the rehabilitation of poor people, and the like. According to Masyita (2004), the *nadzir* (fund manager) invests the collected fund in various investment portfolios. The *nadzir* may invest the fund in Islamic banking products of both domestic and overseas banks; finance selected businesses; establish new prospec-

tive businesses; or finance small and medium scale enterprises (SMEs). As cash *waqf* practice has not yet become popular in Indonesia and Malaysia, cash *waqf* management institutions in Indonesia are able to replicate successful practices from other countries, such as Bangladesh. In an academic hypothesis, Mannan (1999) predicts that the contribution of cash *waqf* to socioeconomic development in developing countries is significant. Funds collected through cash *waqf* certificate programs can be allocated to social-related development areas (for example agriculture, education, health, and infrastructure), urban poverty alleviation programs, and other public service development. This in turn will reduce poverty levels and allow people to help themselves.

Cash *waqf* certificates are issued in various denominations, so that a greater number of prospective donors can afford them. The name of the donor (a donation may be made on behalf of a dead individual) and the specific purpose of the donation is stated on the certificate.

#### WAQF PROPERTY REQUIREMENTS FOR THE NADZIR

The *nadzir* should also pay attention to the following: transparency (the *nadzir* has to manage the cash *waqf* fund openly and regularly make financial and performance reports, which are accessible by the *wāqif*); productivity (the *nadzir* has to be able to manage the fund productively, so that disadvantaged people can benefit continuously); and trustworthiness (the integrity of a *nadzir* is crucial. S/he has to avoid any business opportunity and process that may lead to moral hazards). All proposed business activities should be assessed in terms of Islamic law. Manshur bin Yunus al-Bahuty (1319 A.H., 504–5) states that a *nadzir* is responsible for maintaining, expanding, and developing *waqf* assets in order to provide income, such as investment returns, rent fees, agricultural products, and the like.

#### WĀQIF'S REQUIREMENTS

The *wāqif* has a right to settle on particular requirements related to his/her *waqf*. Requirements are classified in two groups, those that are in line with *syariah* and those that are not. The *nadzir* does not have to conform with the latter, even if the *wāqif* has agreed to donate his fund as *waqf*. No rule or requirement should violate Islamic law. *Fiqh* experts affirm that the power of a *wāqif*'s requirement status should not contravene Allah the Almighty's rule.



WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN WAQF  
PROPERTY AND CASH WAQF IN  
INDONESIA

The participation of women is rather difficult to identify in the history of *waqf* development in the Ottoman era. Almost all scholars who wrote about *waqf* were men. In recent times, women have begun to write and appear in publications about *waqf*.

In Southeast Asia, especially Indonesia and Malaysia, we find articles and scientific research on *waqf* from women academics, for example Dian Masyita, a researcher from Padjadjaran University, Indonesia, Uswatun Hasanah, a lecturer from the University of Indonesia, and Siti Hawa Saat, a director of SitiTrust and administrator of Sendirian Benhard Limited-Malaysia. Their works appear in national and international publications.

Masyita (2005) has written about the roles of women in cash *waqf* management through a micro-finance sector. *Waqf* building assets also can be used by women for conducting economic activities such as trading and microenterprise. Women work hand in hand with their husbands to undertake income-generating activities for their families. Through microcredit, a form of microfinance, unemployed women can be organized into a productive workforce.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF APPLIED CASH  
WAQF IN INDONESIA

In Indonesia, cash *waqf* is new. The non-profit organization Dompot Dhuafa Republika, a *zakat* and *waqf* managing institution, pioneered the cash benefaction program that has proved the potency of cash *waqf*. An example of the results of cash *waqf* projects in Indonesia is Layanan Kesehatan Cuma-Cuma (free health services) of Dompot Dhuafa Republika for the poor. Lately, Dompot Dhuafa has also organized a free superior school for clever students with no financial support from their families. This boarding school became a monument of creative management of cash *waqf*.

According to Abdul Ghafur Anshori, an associate professor of law from Gajah Mada University, the Indonesian government arranged the legislation on *waqf* land following the stipulation of Government Regulation no. 28 of 1997 regarding Waqf Affair on Property Land, the continuation of Law no. 5 of 1960 regarding Basic Agrarian Law. The regulation did not attract strong interest from the Muslim population, who performed *waqf* on a wider scale. According to him, the comprehensive legal basis of *waqf* appeared after the issue of Law no. 41 of 2004 regarding *waqf* dated 27 October 2004 (Anshori 2005).

WOMEN'S RESEARCH ON CASH WAQF

The financial potency of cash *waqf* is extraordinary. Dian Masyita (2001) revealed the huge amount of funds collected by the *waqf* system. Her method of estimating the cash *waqf* strength in Indonesia is unique. Because of the lack of earlier *waqf* research, some assumptions need to be made in assessing the potency of *waqf*. If the programs of Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia, the charity shows of Surya Citra Television Corporation, and the charity music show of Indosiar could raise funds from viewers of 2 billion rupiahs in two nights, it is not excessive to say that people from various classes should receive 50 million rupiahs per day from the *waqf* fund, and more if the rich Muslims of Brunei Darussalam or the Middle East countries provide *waqf* for the poor people of Indonesia. Based on that assumption and data from the Central Bureau for Statistics of Indonesia (BPS), the Board of National Family Planning (BKKBN), and the existing Islamic financial institutions, Masyita calculated the potential profit from *waqf* at 3,947 million rupiahs per day. This assumes that the fund growth is 25 percent; the average absorbed fund is 50 million rupiahs per day and invested in the various Islamic financial institutions on a profit-sharing basis with profit equal to an optimistic 27 percent per annum; investment in industry/companies is equal to 35 percent per annum; and microcredit provides 1 million rupiahs per person on a profit-sharing basis with profit equal to 6 percent per annum. With this professional management, according to Masyita, the profit of 3,947 billion rupiahs is not impossible. According to her, that profit is ready to be used as the poverty eradication fund (Masyita 2005).

Another woman academic and prolific writer on *waqf* law, Uswatun Hasanah (2002), has said that Indonesia needs a law of cash *waqf* immediately. The potential of *waqf* is high, but it is not yet managed properly and professionally in Indonesia because there is no legislation that completely regulates it.

The survey in 2001 by Dian Masyita concluded that most Indonesian people did not trust any existing government institutions to manage cash *waqf* funds and control cash *waqf* investment activities, especially because cash *waqf* management involves a large amount of endowment funds. Most people also recommend that if a special purpose institution is established to manage cash *waqf* funds, it has to be highly capable of detecting any potential dishonesty and assessing the performance of the cash *waqf* fund manager, the *nadzir*. Therefore, it is necessary to design an instrument which is able to control

the cash *waqf* management. Masyita has tried to design a control tool that can quickly detect the human error in decision-making whether through mismanagement or dishonesty. The cash *waqf* fund collected from the *wāqif* will be distributed to the various portfolios and the usage will be controlled periodically. An early warning system will be prepared in order to ensure the amount of cash in the fund will not go below the initial amount. This is what makes the cash *waqf* different from other sources of funds. The gold standard can be used as the currency because of its stability. The *wāqif* and the public can control or monitor the cash flow of cash *waqf* investment. If mismanagement and dishonesty occur, the simulation result will demonstrate the deviation (Masyita 2005).

#### THE MICROFINANCE SECTOR AS AN IMPORTANT PART OF CASH WAQF PORTFOLIOS

Microfinancing programs, which used loss-profit sharing, are among the most important sectors for poverty alleviation. Most of the funds collected through cash *waqf* certificate issues will be allocated as loans for microenterprises. This microcredit program should particularly be aimed at helping poor people initiate businesses and improve their quality of life. Nevertheless, merely supplying them with capital is not sufficient, since most of them do not have adequate knowledge and skill to choose and run a business that is suitable to their condition. Consequently, relevant technical business assistance is needed to help them survive. Families' business activities have significantly influenced community economies, particularly in developing countries.

#### CHANGING IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN'S STATUS IN SOCIETY THROUGH MICROFINANCE SECTORS

In microfinance portfolio sectors, credit can transfer power to the powerless and help in the alleviation of poverty. It can also reinforce the power of the powerful and aid concentration and inequitable distribution of income and thus aggravate poverty. Seen from this perspective, it can empower a family or fragment it.

While some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) aim to empower women, as opposed to men, microfinance based on cash *waqf* funds aims to empower the family as a basic social unit and generates its own internal resources through re-empowering, institutionalizing the various obligatory and voluntary Islamic tools of redistribution of income. According to Mannan (2004), the family is a basic foundation of human society. The basis

of a family is laid through marriage and the relationship between husband and wife is viewed in Islam as that of a garment and its weaver; it is a civil contract, imparting mutual rights and duties. This is true in Christianity also. In Hinduism it is a sacrament. The fact is that the family remains the bedrock of a society. Microfinance is expected to give birth to the revealed preference theory of social income, social distribution, and social peace for a caring society, based on the assumptions that man is born with obligations. As such his duties should define his rights. Behind every great or successful man there stands a woman. This emphasizes that men's success in business often depends on the work and support of their wives.

Microfinance operations of cash *waqf* portfolios offer a paradigm shift in microfinance and are indeed fundamentally different from some NGOs' microcredit schemes that generate the forces of disintegration of families, internal migration, child delinquency, social alienation, and social conflict. Credit programs that do not manage their socio-economic consequences can not alleviate poverty. Under the family empowerment microfinance arrangement, the *nadzir* can also ensure joint liability of wife and husband. This humanizes the family and is clearly linked to social context and culture settings, with implications for Muslim countries in particular and developing countries in general. By teaching women to be independent and defiant of their husbands, voluntary organizations are presumed to be undermining the family. Some religious groups argued that the NGOs' work with women was a form of cultural persuasion imposed through Western materialistic and secular values. When people's identity and culture are threatened, they often react by going back to their roots, in this case Islamic values (Rashiduzzaman 1997). Therefore, the task of a cash *waqf* manager of a microfinance portfolio is to empower family as a basic social unit, ensuring joint liability of wife and husband. Furthermore, having a family in (perfect) harmony is certainly among the greatest achievements of a woman's life.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. G. Anshori, Cash *waqf* and potential of massive attack against poverty, in *Jurnal Pemberdayaan Horizon* 1:1 (September 2005), 66–73.
- M. b. Y. al-Bahuty, *Syarh muntaha al-iradah*, Jakarta 1319 A.H.
- M. Cizakca, *Ottoman cash waqfs revisited. The case of Bursa 1555–1823*, Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilisation, Manchester, U.K. June 2004.
- U. Hasanah, Law of *waqf*, in *Modal Magazine* 2:1 (December 2002).
- M. Kahf, Towards the revival of *awqaf*. A few *fiqhi* issues to reconsider, paper presented at the Third

- Harvard University Forum on Islamic Finance, Cambridge, Mass., 1 October 1999.
- M. A. Mannan, New frontiers of Islamic banking in the 21st century with special reference to non formal and voluntary sector banking, paper presented at the Second Annual Harvard University Forum on Islamic Finance, Cambridge, Mass., 8–9 October 1998.
- , Cash waqf certificate – an innovation in Islamic financial instrument. Global opportunities for developing social capital market in the 21st century voluntary sector banking, paper presented to the Third Harvard University Forum on Islamic Finance, Cambridge Mass., 1 October 1999.
- , *Lesson of experience of Social Investment Bank in family empowerment micro-credit for poverty alleviation. A paradigm shift in micro-finance*, Social Investment Bank Publication Series no. 10, Dhaka 1999.
- , Social financing lines of Social Investment Bank. Linking credit to culture, presentation in Jakarta, 2004.
- D. Masyita, Preliminary implementation model design of cash waqf certificate as alternative instrument for poverty alleviation in Indonesia using system dynamics methodology, thesis, Institut Teknologi Bandung, 2001.
- , A dynamic model for cash waqf management as one of the alternative instruments for poverty alleviation in Indonesia, proceeding, paper presented at the 23rd International Conference of the System Dynamics Society, organized by the Sloan School of Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2005, <www.systemdynamics.org>.
- M. Rashiduzzaman, The dichotomy of Islam and development. NGOs, women's development, and fatawa in Bangladesh, in *Contemporary South Asia* 6:3 (1997), 239–46.
- S. B. Utomo, Fiqh on waqf and cash waqf, presentation at Monthly Discussion for Cash Waqf Implementation in Indonesia, Commission of Economy, Majelis Ulama Indonesia, 2001.

DIAN MASYITA

## Iran

As in many parts of the Islamic world, women's ownership and participation in *waqf* property throughout Iranian history has involved not only an expression of religious piety, but the bolstering of social status and prestige through the possession and administration of family and, most importantly, public endowments. Whether considering medieval or modern periods, the *waqf* has served as an economic and social means for Iranian women to participate in pious institutions for the provision of a selected social service in perpetuity that are otherwise limited to the male members of the community.

The full extent of *waqf* ownership by women in early Islamic history from the Umayyids (especially after 755 when the juridical form of *waqf* emerged as a legal institution) to the early 'Abbasid era remains unknown. This is mostly due to the

absence of information based on contracts, decrees, or testaments surviving from the period. However, it is likely that there was some level of participation on a modest scale with these private endowments, which provided public services in correlation with tax collected under the auspices of *zakāt*.

The Seljuk era inaugurated a significant development in the history of *waqf*, and women's role in its expansion. Under the Seljuks the *wafq* institution was transformed into a public policy tool to legitimize the Sultan's power, especially in the building of many *madrāsas* that were funded by revenues by philanthropic foundations. Women of the Seljuk court played a crucial role in the expansion of the *madrāsas* in the empire throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Terken Khātun (d. 1264), who became the successor of the prince's Atābeks (tutors) in Fārs, founded a college with a rate of revenue of 200,000 dinars in 1326, and her granddaughter, Princess Kurdujīn (d. 1338), continued her endowment enterprise by building hospitals and schools with her own charitable foundations. In another case, Zāhidā Khātūn, the wife of the ruler of the province of Fārs, with her personal wealth turned large rural properties into *waqf* for funding a school she built in Shīrāz.

The *waqf* institution saw a period of proliferation with the increasing level of insecurity caused by the Mongol invasion of 1258, which forced many to protect their property by converting their private assets into endowments. Accordingly, women's role in the constitution of *waqf* was considerably enhanced in the post-Mongol period – especially under the Il-Khānid dynasty in the fourteenth century. This mainly became evident in western and central Iran, particularly in the Atābek successor states of Fārs and Yazd that survived the invasion by accepting Mongol rule. The formation of what Said Arjomand calls “the educational-charitable complex,” which included a combined space of *madrāsa*, hospital, Sufi lodges, and other pious institutions as a part of a single title of endowment, led to further social mobility for women as founders and even administrators of pious endowments. The two cases of the first wife of Timurīd Shah-rukh (1409–47), Gawharshād Aghā, and the wife of a Timurīd amīr of Yazd, who endowed a number of educational charitable complexes, highlight the active role women undertook in the spread of the educational-charitable institutions in medieval Iran.

By and large, much of women's participation in the endowment system from the Seljuk to Il-Khānid periods had to do with the Turco-Mongol nomadic steppe-traditions that included gender-sharing of

family power and the active role of females in the cultural and political life of Islamic Iran. This tradition extended into the post-Timurid periods, and especially played a prominent role with the Safavids from the early sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries.

Accordingly, Safavid Persia saw an increase in the ownership and administration of pious endowments by mothers, wives, and sisters of elite Iranian men. Although much of the income from these properties was allocated for public services, the institutionalization of Shī'i Islam under the Safavids introduced the added incentive for larger public service on behalf of the Immaculate Imāms, whose benevolence both men and women sought for a better life hereafter. The sister of Shāh Tahmāsp (1524–76), Shāhzāda Sultānum, for example, founded a number of *waqfs* for the Fourteen Immaculate (*chārdāh ma'sum*), namely the Prophet, his daughter, Fāṭima, and the twelve Imāms.

It should be noted, however, that these *waqfs*, owned and at times administrated by Safavid women, functioned for the main purpose of building and maintaining *madrasas*. From 1645 to 1648, the grandmother of Shāh 'Abbās II (1642–66), Dilāram Khānun, founded a number of *madrasas* that accommodated housing and food for seminary students. Maryam Begum, the daughter of Shāh Sulaymān (1666–94), founded a large *madrasa* in 1703; and the sister of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1694–1722), Shahr Bānu, built a bathhouse, profits of which were used for a *madrasa* she had built earlier. But the female members of the Shāh's court were not the only Safavid women involved in the ownership of *waqf* property. There are also the cases of a number of middle-class Safavid women, like the wife of an Isfāhānī physician, Zīnat Begum, who built a *madrasa* in 1705–6 and spent the revenues from her private properties to support the school.

Although with the collapse of the Safavid Empire after the Afghan invasion of 1722 the number of endowments was considerably reduced, women's ownership of *waqf* continued to spread in its public form, though on a reduced scale and in socially prestigious forms. From the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, especially under the Qājārs (1792–1925), Iranian women took an active role in the ownership and administration of smaller, more localized endowments. But the main purpose of public services was changed from primarily funding schools to the organization of commemorative ceremonies for the martyrdom of the Third Imām of Shī'i Islam, Ḥusayn. As accounts of the prominent *waqfs* of Tehran indicate, such as those of the two charitable endowments owned by Hājīya Khātun

Khānūm and her daughter, Sārā Sulṭān Khānūm, Qājār women were intensely active in the building and management of small shopping complexes for the organization of ritualized sermons (*rawza khānī*) on behalf of the Immaculate Imāms. For the most part, this new development underlined an increased social activity of Qājār women in the civic-religious life of Iranian society that initially began under the Seljuks in the eleventh century.

The Pahlavī modernization of *waqf* institutions, institutionalized with the Civil Code of 1928, included a number of legal provisions over the religious endowments that saw the intervention and control of a number of pious foundations by the state in major Iranian urban centers. This led directly to the first significant decline in women's participation in the *waqf* institutions, as many endowments experienced the secularization impact of the Pahlavī regime. This was especially the case after the adoption of the 1934 Administrative Statute Law that granted substantial authority to the Department of Endowments to manage the financial affairs of the religious *awqāf*, in which many women had been directly involved in their ownership and management since the Qājār era. Equally, this major transformation was also due to the strengthening of the patronomial state under Rizā Shāh and the decline of a nascent civil society that earlier enabled middle-class and aristocratic women of the pre-Pahlavī era to remain active in the constitution of endowment foundations.

The expansion of the patronomial state and the secularization of Iranian society under Muḥammad Rizā Shāh in the late 1940s and especially after the "White Revolution" of the early 1960s, which initiated major land reforms that took power away from the traditional landed aristocracy, further enhanced the centralization of endowment institutions. This centralization process continued with the establishment of the Islamist regime in the late 1970s as many large religious endowments (*bun'yāds*) came under the direct control of the new theocratic state after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. However, the participation of middle-class Iranian women in the *waqf* institutions appears to have increased in the post-revolutionary era. This is due to the expansion of a state-sponsored popular culture of public charities in strengthening the Islamist ideal of a pious community of Shī'i faithful, inclusive of both men and women.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- L. Hunarfar, *Ganjīna-yi āsār-i tārikh-i Isfahān*, Tehran 1971–2.

‘A. al-H. Sipanta, *Tārīkhcha-yi awqāf-i Isfahān*, Isfahan 1927–8.

#### SECONDARY SOURCES

- S. Akhavi, *Religion and politics in contemporary Iran. Clergy-state relations in the Pahlavī period*, Albany, N.Y. 1980.
- S. A. Arjomand, The law, agency, and policy in medieval Islamic society. Development of institutions of learning from the tenth to the fifteenth century, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 2 (1999), 263–93.
- K. Babayan, The “aqā’id al-nisā.” A glimpse at Safavid women in local Isfahānī culture, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed), *Women in the medieval Islamic world*, New York 1998, 346–81.
- H. Gaube and E. Wirth, *Der Bazar von Isfahan*, Weisbaden 1978.
- A. K. S. Lambton, Wakf. Persia, in *Encyclopedia Islamica*, vii, 1960<sup>2</sup>, 81–7.
- C. Werner, Zanān-i waqif dar Tih-rān-i ‘ahd-i Qājār, trans. N. M. Qahrūdi, in *Mīrās-i jāvidān* 4 (1999), 115–22.

BABAK RAHIMI

## The Ottoman Empire

Exercising the right given to them by Sharī‘a law to own and dispose of property in their own name, women in Islamic societies regularly used their personal assets to establish *waqfs* from the early years of Islam. In Ottoman times, women across the socioeconomic spectrum created endowments, managed them, rented properties belonging to *waqfs*, and were named beneficiaries of *waqf* revenues.

Creating their own endowments legally empowered women in decisive ways and gave them the means to reach deeply into society. As endowers, it enabled them to decide the long-term future of their personal properties by establishing them as capital resources for their *waqfs*. Creating a foundation also gave women the right to choose the beneficiaries of their endowments, an act nonetheless conditioned to a large extent, regardless of gender, by the socioeconomic status of the endower. Establishing a *waqf* was, without any doubt, a powerful instrument that enabled endowers to directly affect societal processes by supporting designated religious, cultural, or philanthropic institutions in the immediate or larger society and/or by contributing toward the financial support of specific individuals, usually family members, thereby keeping revenue assets within the family unit.

In gender-related terms, however, it is impossible to establish a category in the Ottoman Empire as women’s *waqf* per se or, for that matter, in previous periods, as something distinct from *waqf* in general. Except in several cases, such as those

mentioned at the end of this entry, research remains basically inconclusive for the moment as to whether one can speak of large-scale gender-aligned endowments or trends. On the whole, women endowers did not choose patterns different from those of their male counterparts. Nevertheless, it does seem that women in Ottoman times who owned a property or two, and even women from modest levels, used *waqf* much more frequently than in earlier periods (Fay 1997). Is it possible to define this as an Ottoman phenomenon? This is difficult to say with certainty since documentation is still missing or unstudied from previous eras in this respect.

No specific juridical injunctions delineate or define a gendered *waqf* in Islam during Ottoman times or in any other period. The institution of *waqf* is gender-blind regarding the legal modalities for creating it and managing it; the regulations produced and codified by *fiqh* as well as civil law on *waqf* are identical for both genders (Deguilhem 2003).

Nevertheless, since both women and men regularly used the *waqf* system from its inception in the early years of Islam and throughout its development over the centuries, one could consequently presuppose that social and customary practices played a gender-differentiating role as the institution of *waqf* evolved in response to fluctuating societal demands. But even here, as far as concerns the Ottoman world, ongoing empirical and qualitative research in the Ottoman archives does not reveal any perceivable gender-specific patterns or tendencies regarding the pious foundations.

The relevant documents from the Ottoman period (Deguilhem 2000) show that the endowers’ socioeconomic milieu carried more significance than the situation of gender when defining the specifics of their *waqfs*. In other words, belonging to a particular socioeconomic stratum generally meant having access to a certain kind and quantity of property, ranging from a large group of commercial assets or an entire village to a tiny modest room, which individuals used as capital for their foundations. Archival research also indicates a direct correlation between the socioeconomic stratum and the type of beneficiaries chosen by *waqf* endowers, a situation which apparently played a greater role than gender considerations. This becomes apparent when studying the endowment charters of *waqf* (*waqfiyya*, *kitāb al-waqf*) established in the Ottoman era as well as from subsequent documents and reports detailing individual *waqf* activities that were registered in the law courts (*sijill al-mahākim*), in tax registers (*daftar al-khaqānī*), in imperial orders and correspondence between Istanbul and the provinces

(*awāmir*), and the like. The sixteenth-century real estate surveys (*tahrīr tābū*) conducted by the Ottomans to itemize private (*milk*) and *waqf* properties in the newly-conquered provinces of their empire also provide precious information on gender and *waqf* practices.

Yet, some notable differences in *waqf* practices during Ottoman times are nonetheless directly contingent upon gender. The most obvious are those endowments created by high-level Ottoman bureaucrats – invariably men – which transformed urban space and infrastructure. Even though these *waqfs* founded by Ottoman bureaucrats were, of course, created in the endower's own name as his individual initiative, they were usually also the means of developing existing or future urban quarters on behalf of the Ottoman state. It is important to take a quick glance at this male-gendered *waqf* with the aim of understanding *waqf* practices linked to gender since, in Noiriél's terms, both masculine and feminine gendered practices need to be studied in relation to one another rather than in opposition or apart from one another (Noiriél 1987) in order to be able to contextualize them. Among many examples from different regions around the empire, Ipshir Pasha, a mid-seventeenth-century Ottoman governor of the Aleppo province in northern Syria developed a new urban quarter in Aleppo called al-Judayda, an area mostly inhabited by Christians, by constructing public-oriented commercial buildings there for his *waqf* such as a *khān*, a *qaysariyya*, a bread furnace, a dye workshop, a coffeehouse, and several shops. The income accruing from the buildings in al-Judayda was dedicated to Islamic religious sites situated in other quarters in Aleppo, thereby linking the infrastructure of various sections of the city inhabited by different religious communities (Raymond 1980, David 1982).

Despite the fact that this type of *waqf* in the Ottoman lands was dependent on government appointed officials and was thus gender specific to men, women also established ground-breaking and highly influential *waqfs*. Imperial and other elite women in the empire regularly created endowments that widely impacted urban infrastructure, transforming the physical and social fabric of cities. As the most prominent, powerful, and visible women in the empire, the sultans' mothers (*vālide sultans*) created monumental *waqfs*, leaving a strong physical, cultural, and social legacy in the capital city of Istanbul as well as in other Ottoman cities, in particular from the mid-sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries (Zarinebaf 2005, 91–4). Their abundant daily stipends, reaching up

to a daily 3,000 aspers in the case of Safiye Sultan, mother of Mehmed III (1595–1603), an amount far higher than that accorded to the empire's top functionaries (Peirce 1993, 126), provided extraordinary resources to the royal mothers who created pious foundations with far-reaching influence both in terms of properties that they built and/or ceded to their *waqf* as well as for the beneficiaries of those *waqfs*.

In numerous cases, the *vālide sultans'* endowments literally changed the urban skyline and, along with that, the socioeconomic configuration of urban quarters, leaving women's indelible imprints upon Ottoman cities. For example, revenue-generating capital for the *vālide sultans'* *waqfs* included the construction of new and valuable commercial properties such as the Misir Çarşisi (Egyptian Market) in Istanbul which, along with other resources, subsidized the building of Safiye Sultan's magnificent Yeni Çami (New Vālide Mosque) in Eminönü, which was later completed by Turhan Sultan, mother of Sultan Mehmed IV (1648–87). Istanbul's skyline was also transformed by Köcem Sultan's *waqf*, a royal mother who was doubly *vālide sultan* since both Sultan Murad IV (1623–40) and Sultan Ibrahim I (1640–48) were her sons. Using her extensive properties (baths, *khān*, shops, marketplace, and others) located in various quarters of Istanbul, Köcem Sultan endowed the Çinili Mosque and its *madrassa*, a major religious-cultural complex (*küllīye*) in Üsküdar, permanently linking her own name and memory to it as well as, by extension, those of her two royal sons.

For both genders, *waqf* was the means of creating long-lasting pious acts and bestowing beneficence while, at the same time, an endower used this institution as a way of constructing a public image and touching the general population. The *waqfs* established by or in the name of Hürrem Haseki Sultan, cherished wife of Sultan Sulaymān the Legislator (1520–66), are a prominent example of all these aspects. Hürrem's endowments in Istanbul, Mecca, Medina, Ankara, Jerusalem, and Edirne – intentionally located in the most strategically important religious and political centers in the empire – linked her vast properties situated in different regions throughout the Ottoman lands from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Arab provinces as well as the Haramayn as assets for underwriting her charitable *waqfs*, some of which function until today. Hürrem's *waqfs* traversed the last four centuries of Ottoman rule, providing services to the religious sphere through the mosques, *madrassas* and *zâwiyas* that she built and endowed, notably her *küllīye* in Istanbul constructed near the Avrat

Pazarı (Women's Market), a statement in and of itself, along with social services for the needy and the larger public especially via her *waqfs* in Istanbul and Jerusalem, which endowed hospitals and soup kitchens feeding hundreds of persons every day (Peirce 1993, 200–5, Singer 2002).

In addition to leaving her personal imprint on society through the legacy of her *waqfs*, Hürrem increased the visibility of her husband's public persona and his concern for his subjects' public welfare by means of his wife's charitable endowments. In this way, Hürrem's *waqfs* should also be seen as part of her husband's construction and public opinion projects in different areas of the empire (Peirce 1993, 201), to some extent mirroring Ipshir Pasha's *waqf* in Aleppo, mentioned earlier, founded during the reign of Mehmed IV.

Besides creating and financing such grandiose structures, imperial and other women in the empire established less visible, but very important gender-oriented *waqfs* expressly devoted to helping women and girls in difficult circumstances. For example, *waqfs* founded by women provided the means to help prostitutes make their way in life, redeem female slaves held in captivity, and so on. An endowment founded by Köcem Sultan, mentioned earlier, which provided a dowry to orphaned girls along with lodgings and furnishings for their future homes is a typical example of *waqf* created by women to care for unfortunate members of their sex (Peirce 1993, 202 quoting Mustafa Naima, *Tarih*, Istanbul, 1863–4, v, 113).

Elsewhere in the Ottoman lands, including the North African provinces where the endowments are known as *hubus* (French, *habous*), the pious foundations provided both genders with the opportunity to impact society in diverse ways. Among the more prominent women who created *waqfs* in this part of the empire, the princess 'Azīza 'Uthmāna established the most important and enduring ones in Tunis during the second half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Her endowments, funded by a combination of different types of commercial properties together with other assets, echoed the endowments established by imperial women in Istanbul as they also reached out not only to the religious sphere, but especially to the needy and poor, leaving 'Azīza 'Uthmāna's imprint upon society's infrastructure for centuries following the establishment of her *waqf* (Larguèche 2006).

Beyond the endowments created by women belonging to imperial circles, Ottoman archives show that the overwhelming majority of women as well as men, for that matter, in the empire who

established foundations came from middle-level or modest backgrounds, including women who were former slaves. These women used the institution of *waqf* to influence society in areas which they deemed to be of importance by bestowing their foundations' revenues on beneficiaries of their choice as indicated in their *waqfiyyas*. Similar to men, non-imperial women also presumably used the *waqf* system to safeguard their assets under the umbrella of an endowment, circumventing the division of their properties among their heirs and, in the case of women coming from prominent families, to mitigate the possible confiscation of their capital resources once their families fell from grace.

A number of works mention typical examples of *waqfs* established by non-imperial women in different regions around the vast Ottoman Empire, indicating the strong presence of endowments in women's lives. A recent study (Bilici 2006; for an earlier study of women's *waqf* based on this survey, see Baer 1983) based on a property survey register dating from 1546 carried out during Sultan Sulaymān I's reign, shows that about one-third of the endowments founded in the walled city of Istanbul in the mid-sixteenth century were established by non-imperial women. Many of the assets for these *waqfs* consisted of only one or several pieces of built property, indicating that their endowers came from middle socioeconomic levels of society. The register shows that cash sums were also used by these women as assets for their *waqfs*, which, as was the case for men, represented an important means of financing endowments in Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkan provinces (Zarinebaf 2005, 90–1). The beneficiaries of these *waqfs* created by women ranged from religious sites – mosques, religious schools, and the like – to the private sphere where beneficiaries were unsurprisingly mostly family members, often including the family's recently franchised slaves.

In other parts of the Ottoman lands, similar data are found for *waqfs* created by women in the sixteenth century in Damascus and its deep hinterland. An analysis of the property survey register no. 602, established in 1582 during the reign of Sultan Murad III, shows that approximately one-quarter of the endowments functioning at that time had been created by women using both built assets and agricultural property. As was the case for men endowers listed in this register, cash funds did not figure among *waqf* assets. Different from the Istanbul survey, register no. 602 does not only list properties within Damascus itself and its immediate environs. It also gives information for the city's far hinterland, such as the fertile Bekaa plain located

to the northwest of Damascus as well as the Hawran situated to the south of the city where women held both built and agricultural possessions, which they used as capital for their *waqfs*.

According to some researchers, the empirical and statistical analysis of the Ottoman court records indicate that women in some parts of the empire became much more active in creating both public and family *waqfs* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in managing them, than during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This appears to have been the situation for Ottoman Aleppo in northern Syria where women created a good one-third of the overall *waqfs* founded there during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Meriwether 1997, 132) while they constituted only a small fraction of the endowers in Aleppo during the first two Ottoman centuries. A similar pattern seems to have emerged in Ottoman Cairo during the eighteenth century when socioeconomic and especially cultural conditions favored a marked increase in creation of *waqf* by women (Crecelius 1986, Fay 1997, 34).

This proportion of one-third, which is an indicative quantity since the proportion of women endowers fluctuated significantly higher or lower in any given year, is nonetheless interestingly analogous to percentages calculated from data based on the sixteenth-century *waqf* survey registers for Istanbul and Damascus. However, this information, namely the fact that the survey register from sixteenth-century Damascus reveals a strong feminine presence in matters of *waqf* whereas it seems that women were scarcely present in terms of endowing *waqf* or managing them in sixteenth-century Aleppo, indicates that it is impossible, for the moment, to determine, with any real certainty, trends in the Ottoman lands concerning women endowers. Only a systematic study, for example of property survey registers across the empire from the sixteenth century, would reveal eventual trends or divergent practices.

The *waqfiyyas* are, by far, the most revealing documents regarding the assets and beneficiaries of an endower's *waqf* for both genders alike. A typical *waqfiyya* by a woman registering her endowment in late Ottoman Damascus states that Hafīza khānum al-Mūrahli created a *waqf* on the basis of sixteen commercial properties belonging to her in the walled city of Damascus, ten of which were in the form of *kadak* rent contracts. This woman, who was married to a high-level Ottoman official, established her *waqf* for the benefit of family members and their descendants as well as several former slaves of the family in addition to six mosques

and a *madrassa*, all of them located in Damascus (Deguilhem 1995). The choice of beneficiaries here illustrates the concern by this woman endower to provide for her family as well as to contribute her wealth toward maintaining the religious infrastructure of her city and, in particular, that of her immediate neighborhood.

The creation by women of endowments was also predictably a phenomenon in Ottoman North Africa. Moreover, court cases show that women sometimes established *waqfs* there for the exclusive benefit of their daughters and their progeny. An early eighteenth-century document from the Ottoman court in the city of Tripoli attests that al-Ḥājja Fāṭima, wife of Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh Islām-būli, created an endowment in 1715 with revenues generated by an orchard for the sole benefit of her daughter, Ḥalīma (and her future children of both genders), born from the endower's previous marriage with the now deceased al-Ḥājī Muḥammad al-Bahlūl (Sharfeddine forthcoming). Parallel cases where women endowers ensured an income for their female offspring are found equally in nineteenth-century Syria (Doumani 1998).

An interesting case from the nineteenth-century Tripoli court records an odalisque (*jāriyya*) named Zahrā' who had born children to Yūsuf Pāshā Qarāmānlī, a member of the ruling elite in Tripoli. This woman established a *waqf* in 1831 whose proceeds, accruing from an orchard located in Gargarish, located several kilometers west of the city of Tripoli, went toward the maintenance of the Sīdī 'Abd al-Jalīl Mosque in the village of Janzūr, also situated to the west of Tripoli (Sharfeddine forthcoming). This *waqf* is worthy of note since its existence testifies that slave women in the situation of *jāriyya*, and thus in a position of power, were able to create a *waqf* despite the Shar'īa stipulation that only free individuals could establish an endowment, showing here the flexibility and accommodation of *waqf* to social practices (see Zarinebaf 2003, 95 for the more common situation where manumitted *jāriyyas* created *waqfs*).

It does not seem possible, at the present stage in research, to offer much information about women endowers in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Ongoing studies will certainly reveal data on this subject.

A final word: *waqf* was indeed widely and routinely used by property-owning women from highly diverse socioeconomic levels in the Ottoman world. But this was not limited to Muslim societies, Sunnī or Shī'ī. Jewish and Christian women also established *waqfs* in Ottoman times (Shaham 1991) as well as in earlier periods, as attested by the Geniza



documents from Fatimid Cairo (Gil 1976, 5–6). Research clearly shows the universality of this practice among women not only in the Ottoman Empire but also in early times.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Istanbul, Başbakanlık archives, Property Survey Register no. 602: 990/1582.  
 Tripoli, Libya, Dār al-Hamrā' archives, Sijill maḥkama shar'iyya, 1134–40/1722–8; 1233–52/1815–36 (registers cited by Sharfeddine forthcoming).

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- G. Baer, Women and *waqf*. An analysis of the Istanbul *tahrir* of 1546, in *Asian and African Studies* 17 (1983), 9–27.  
 F. Bilici, Les *waqfs* constitués par les femmes à Istanbul dans la première moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, in Kuwait Awqaf Public Foundation, *Awqaf*, Kuwait 2006, 11–34.  
 D. Crecelius, Incidence of *waqf* cases in three Cairo courts, in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 29 (1986), 176–89.  
 J.-C. David, *Le waqf d'Ipšir Pāšā à Alep (1063/1653). Etude d'urbanisme historique*, Damascus 1982.  
 R. Deguilhem, La naissance et la mort du waqf damascain de Hafīza Hānim al-Mūrahli. 1880–1950, in R. Deguilhem (ed.), *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique. Outil de pouvoir socio-politique*, Damascus 1995, 203–25.  
 —, The *waqf* in the Ottoman Empire till 1914, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden 2000, fasc. 179–80, 87–92.  
 —, Gender blindness and influence in late Ottoman Damascus. Women as the creators and managers of endowments, in *HAWWA. Journal of Women in the Middle East and the Islamic World* 1:3 (2003), 329–50.  
 B. Doumani, Endowing family *waqf*. Property devolution and gender in Greater Syria, 1800 to 1860, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 40:1 (1998), 3–41.  
 M. A. Fay, Women and *waqf*. Property, power, and the domain of gender in eighteenth-century Egypt, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden 1997, 28–47.  
 M. Gil, *Documents of the Jewish pious foundations from the Cairo Geniza. Edited with translations, annotations and a general introduction*, Leiden 1976.  
 D. Larguèche, Femme et don pour la ville. 'Azīza 'Uthmāna entre histoire et mémoire, in D. Larguèche (ed.), *Femmes en ville*, ed. C.E.R.E.S. and the Institute of Patrimony, University of La Manouba, Tunis 2006, 35–54.  
 M. L. Meriwether, Women and *waqf* revisited. The case of Aleppo, 1770–1840, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden 1997, 128–52.  
 G. Noiriell, L'historien et l'objectivité, in *Sciences humaines* 18 (1997), 18–20.  
 L. Peirce, *The imperial harem. Women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford 1993.  
 A. Raymond, Les grands *waqfs* et l'organisation de l'espace urbain à Alep et au Caire à l'époque ottomane (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles), in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 31 (1980), 113–28.

- R. Shaham, Christian and Jewish *waqf* in Palestine during the late Ottoman period, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 54:3 (1991), 460–72.  
 E. Sharfeddine, Economic history of Tripoli (Libya) in the 18th and early 19th centuries according to the Ottoman tribunal registers and the local chronicle of Hasan al-Faqih Hasan, doctoral diss., University of Provence (forthcoming).  
 A. Singer, *Constructing Ottoman beneficence. An imperial soup kitchen in Jerusalem*, Albany, N.Y. 2002.  
 F. Zarinebaf, Women, patronage, and charity in Ottoman Istanbul, in A. El Azhary Sonbol (ed.), *Beyond the exotic. Women's histories in Islamic societies*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2005, 89–101.

RANDI DEGUILHEM

## South Asia

In South Asia, the institution of *waqf* dates back to the establishment of Muslim rule. It is also an indication of the solid formation of Islamic Law in the subcontinent. Particularly during the Mughal period, women often participated in acquiring property for *waqf*. Mughal princesses and female members of elite Muslim families donated huge amounts of money to charity to construct religious schools (*madāris*), tombs, orphanages (*yatīm khāna*) and mosques. The Mughal princess Jahānārā Begum (d. 1681) was responsible for the construction of the Masjid-i Jahānārā Begum (Agra) and the Fakhr-i Masājid (Pride of the Mosques) in Delhi. The old city of Shahjahanabad (South Delhi) has approximately 20 buildings constructed on *waqf* land as a result of the charitable efforts made by women. Women were also patrons of various Sufi shrines throughout the subcontinent. For example, they bought the *waqf* land or erected the mosques built on this land. Another form of patronage was to finance the erection of a tomb for a Sufi and turn the *waqf* into a center of learning. Jahānārā Begum was a patron of the famous shrine (*dargāh*) of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī (d. 1236) in Ajmer.

A special form of *waqf* for Shī'ī Muslims is the *imāmbāra*, the residence of the *imām*. The *imāmbāra* is an assembly place where the Shī'ī community carries out mourning rites during the month of Muḥarram. One of the most important *imāmbāras* is that of Hughli (West Bengal, India), constructed in the eighteenth century. During the early nineteenth century, Maryam Khānam, called Mannūjān Khānam, was the *mutawalliyya* (custodian) of the Hughli *imāmbāra*. When she died childless, her half-brother Hājī Muḥammad Muḥsin became Mannūjān's successor and placed the *waqf* under the administration of the Mohsin Trust. The *imāmbāra* complex with its *madāris*, mosque, hospitals, and markets continues to

profit from Mannūjān's charitable activities to the present.

The nineteenth century also witnessed the foundation of several *madāris* for girls, founded as *waqf* property by women. For example, Farḥat al-Nisā' founded a *madrasa* for women in Shahjahanpur in the late nineteenth century. In the princely state of Bhopal, the female rulers (see biography box) established several *madāris*, such as the Madrasa-yi Bilqisiyya or the Madrasa-yi Sultāniyya, and cared for the female students by establishing a *waqf*. Several women, among them Ruk'iyya Ḥusayn (d. 1932), from noble and *zamīndāri* (land-owning) families supported the establishment of girls' schools.

The nineteenth century was also the time when British rule made its mark on the Indian subcontinent's administration and laws. Several *waqf* properties were confiscated by the British authorities, which alleged that these were mismanaged by corrupt *mutawallis*. Some of the properties later were

returned to the Muslims, but their administration was regulated under the Religious Endowment Act passed in 1863. It was a common practice of wealthy Muslims at this time to establish a so-called *waqf 'alā al-awlād* (*waqf* in the interest of the progeny) or family *waqf*. According to the Islamic law of inheritance, property was normally inherited by sons and male heirs. The widow or unmarried daughters were entitled to a small proportion of the money. The *waqf 'alā al-awlād* gave the founder of a *waqf* the opportunity to give greater sums of his wealth to the female members of the family than was allowed under Shari'a. The supporters of the *waqf 'alā al-awlād* argue that this kind of *waqf* helps to keep a family's property intact and is therefore helpful in times of financial difficulty. Supporters also maintain that Islam allows all forms of charity to one's own family. With the introduction of British law in India, the rulings of *waqf 'alā al-awlād* were invalidated, as in most cases women were excluded from inheriting property. The Waqf Validating Act

#### BIOGRAPHY BOX: THE BEGUMS OF BHOPAL

The four female Nawwābs (rulers) of the princely state of Bhopal are a remarkable example of female Muslim rule in India. The Central Indian state of Bhopal was founded around 1720 by a Pashtoon adventurer named Dost Muḥammad Khān (d. 1727). The Begums ruled Bhopal for more than a century and were renowned for their charity. In 1818 Qudsiyya Begum (d. 1882) became a widow at only 17 years of age. Although she was completely illiterate and had been veiled since her youth, she successfully set aside the claims of numerous male members of the family. She was an ascetic and pious personality, and brought up her only daughter, Sikander Begum, to prove worthier to the throne than her cousins and uncles. The British, however, decided that Qudsiyya had to hand over the power to her son-in-law, Jahāngīr Muḥammad Khān. His short rule (1837–44) marked the only interruption of female rule in Bhopal. When the Nawwāb drank himself to death, from that time on the British were supporters of the Begums. Jahāngīr's widow, Sikander Begum, was admired for her energy and administrative ability. Never veiled in public, the Begum used to ride, shoot, and hunt. She was the first female ruler from India to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca (*hajj*) and even wrote a travel account of it. In Bhopal, the Begum combined Islamic reforms (construction of mosques such as the Moṭī [Pearl] Masjid, *madāris*, and publishing houses for Islamic literature) with her loyalty to the British. When she died in 1868, her only child, Shāh Jahān Begum (d. 1901), became the undisputed ruler of Bhopal. Shāh Jahān was very much interested in arts, architecture, and Islamic scholarship. Especially after her second marriage, to the *Ahl-i ḥadīth* scholar Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān Qannajī (d. 1890), the Begum became a patron of Islamic learning. She wrote *Tabdhīb al-niswān wa-tarbiyat al-insān* (Urdu, Education of women and cultivation of mankind), in which she stressed the necessity of veiling and moral behavior. She also built the Tāj al-Masājid (Crown of the Mosques), which is the second biggest mosque in Asia. Like her mother, Shāh Jahān also built several *madāris*, publishing houses, and hospitals for women in purdah. The Begum's second marriage caused a rift between her and her only surviving daughter, Sulṭān Jahān Begum; this was not resolved until the Begum's death in 1901. Sulṭān Jahān, however, became the last female ruler of Bhopal. The Begum's 25-year reign again marked a period of promotion of female education. Sulṭān Jahān Begum herself was elected chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University and chairperson of the All-India Women's Education Conference (1919). She wrote several books in defense of veiling, on Islamic marriages, and on housekeeping. She performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and afterwards traveled to Egypt and Turkey, later also to Europe, always veiled. In 1926, Sulṭān Jahān abdicated in favor of her only surviving son, Ḥamidullāh Khān (d. 1960). After that, she gave up purdah; she died in 1930.

of 1913 and the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act of 1937 further reduced the possibilities of female ownership of *waqf* property. Since 1900, the institution of *waqf* has been the subject of permanent controversy. *Waqf*-controlling bodies are said to use their influence over the community in favor of their political ambitions.

#### INDIA

In India, more than 300,000 *waqfs* are officially registered and are under the supervision of different Central Waqf Boards and Central Waqf Councils, depending on the Indian state they are in. The Government of India has a Department of Waqf. Women are normally excluded from any political influence on the *waqf* boards. One remarkable exception is Badar Sayed (Sayyid) who was appointed to chair the Tamil Nadu Waqf Board in 2002. Sayed is thought to be the first woman to hold the post of chair of a *waqf* board in India. In keeping with her interest in women's issues, Sayed does not support the idea of mosques used exclusively by men. In a small village in Tamil Nadu, women contested the view that they were not entitled to pray in a mosque. These women have used *zakāt* and *ṣadāqa* money to buy the land on which a mosque is going to be built. This mosque is likely to be turned into a *waqf* and will be under the supervision of the Tamil Nadu Waqf Board.

Some of the most famous buildings constructed by Muslims continue to be *waqf* to the present day. Some of these religious endowments are disputed by religious communities. The Babrī Masjid (Ayodhya) and the Tāj Maḥal (which was built by the Mughal Emperor Shāh Jahān in commemoration of his wife Mumtāz Maḥal) are well-known examples. There were several *waqf-nāmas* (*waqf* deeds) that ensured the maintenance of the Tāj Maḥal, but these are no longer available due to the events of Partition and the fact that the climate has damaged them beyond repair. Recently, Begum Laila Umahani, granddaughter of the last Mughal Emperor Bahādur Shāh Zafar II (d. 1862), pleaded for the Tāj and other Mughal buildings to be administered by the Uttar Pradesh Sunni Waqf Board and asked for her eldest son to be appointed as the *mutawalli*. The Tāj was under the supervision of the Archeological Survey of India. A decision about its management might have to be taken in court.

#### PAKISTAN

In Pakistan, an Awqaf Department was established in 1959, under the rule of Muḥammad Ayyūb Khān (r. 1958–69). Since that time, the state has controlled the numerous Sufi shrines and even the curricula of the religious schools. The charitable money of the believers is redistributed to the *madāris*, hospitals, and shrines. Here, destitute or homeless people – many of them women – can receive free meals or shelter. In South Asia, the maintenance of divorced or widowed women who cannot be supported by their families passes to the local *waqf* boards. Thus, the institution of *waqf* can be of assistance to women.

A remarkable example of *waqf* led by a woman is the Hamdard Waqf in Pakistan. Hamdard is one of the biggest enterprises dealing in (herbal) pharmaceuticals manufactured according to the traditional Graeco-Arabic medical system of *ṭibb-i yunānī*. Hamdard was founded in 1906 by Ḥakīm ‘Abd ul-Majīd in Delhi. He founded a pharmacy and turned it into a *waqf* in 1947. After Partition, ‘Abd ul-Majīd’s younger brother Ḥakīm Sa‘īd moved to Karachi and established a pharmaceutical laboratory. In 1953, he turned the whole Pakistan-based Hamdard into a *waqf*. After his assassination in 1998, his daughter Sa‘diyya Rashīd Begum became chair of the Hamdard Waqf and president of the Hamdard Foundation. Hamdard, which is also a certified *waqf* in India and Bangladesh, with its educational, medical, and charitable efforts is regarded as a role model of Islamic philanthropic activity in South Asia, from which many women benefit.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. B. Abbas, *The female voice in Sufi ritual, devotional practices of Pakistan and India*, Austin 2002.  
 M. ‘Arif, *Islām kā qānūn-i waqf, ma’ tārikh-i Muslim awqāf*, Lahore 1994.  
 I. Ḥusayn, *Muslim awqāf kā uṣūl wa-naẓm wa-nasq*, Lucknow 1997.  
 G. C. Kozłowski, *Muslim endowments and society in British India*, Cambridge 1986.  
 J. Malik, *Colonialization of Islam. Dissolution of traditional institutions in Pakistan*, New Delhi 1996.  
 G. Minault, *Secluded scholars. Women’s education and Muslim social reform in colonial India*, Oxford 1998.  
 S. Khalid Rashid, *Wakf administration in India*, New Delhi 1978.  
 M. Waqar-ul-Haq, *The manual of auqaf rules*, Lahore 1992.

# Religious Practices: *Zakāt* (Almsgiving) and Other Charitable Practices

## Overview

*Zakāt*, or the paying of the alms due, is the third pillar of Islam. It is prescribed in the Qurʾān, dating back to the second year after the Hijra, and is amplified in later *ḥadīth*, by jurists such as Bukhārī. The *zakāt* is levied annually on all Muslim men and women who live above subsistence level and whose debts do not exceed their assets. The original meaning of *zakāt* refers to both purification and growth. As the setting aside of a portion of one's possessions for those in need, *zakāt* purifies the wealth from which it is taken, and protects this wealth from misfortune. Moreover, giving over some of one's wealth for the sake of Allah purifies the giver's heart of miserliness, selfishness, and greed. In respect to growth, *zakāt* is like the pruning of plants, for in cutting back wealth there is balance, leading to the encouragement of spiritual growth and prosperity.

Almsgiving is mentioned more frequently than any other duty in the Qurʾān. In almost every *sūra*, it is enjoined upon Muslim followers, and Qurʾānic references to almsgiving make clear that it is not a tax in the ordinary sense, but a payment given out of piety. All things belong to Allah, and from him humans receive health, wealth, luxury, comfort, friends, spouse, children, and life. Moreover, every penny earned is by the grace of Allah; humans, thus, own wealth only by proxy and therefore are its guardians and stewards. As a spiritual practice, *zakāt* is a means to repentance, atonement, reconciliation, and open-heartedness. Personal benefits from *zakāt* include an increase in wealth, protection from losses, safety from misfortune and grief, protection from bad death, forgiveness and blessings from Allah, and shelter on the day of judgment.

*Zakāt* is not only an act of worship of Allah but an act of service to the community as well. As all Muslims share equally in their obligation to God, so they share equally in their obligation to the social welfare of others by redressing economic inequalities. If followers pay *zakāt* in full and abstain from greed and extravagance, no member of the community remains destitute. Thus, the institution of *zakāt* undergirds the philosophy of social responsi-

bility in Islam by enjoining upon believers a continuous, thoroughgoing accountability for others and instilling a strong sense of communal identity. A cement for Islam, *zakāt* serves as a basis for achieving social solidarity, mutuality, interdependence, and equitable distribution of wealth and, in theory, both the rich and the poor share in its benefits, as it protects individuals and society from the evils of both poverty and plenty. Moreover, it protects the community from confusion and from the danger of conflict between rich and poor, it keeps wealth in circulation, and it stimulates investment and discourages hoarding in the community.

Terrible punishment awaits those who withhold *zakāt*, for they are considered unbelievers. In this world, specifically, when *zakāt* is not properly paid, the *zakāt* itself will destroy the wealth in which it remains. Allowance, however, is given to those who have recently converted to Islam for they may be ignorant of its principles. Further, if someone acknowledges the obligation to pay *zakāt* but abstains from paying it, that person commits sin without being considered a disbeliever. Such a person receives a discretionary punishment and is forced by the ruler to pay *zakāt*. If it is a powerful group of people who, though acknowledging its legality, abstain from paying *zakāt*, then they must be fought against until they pay it.

According to Islamic traditions, anyone who can pay *zakāt* but does not will receive punishment on the day of resurrection. The hoarded wealth will be beaten into sheets, heated in hell-fire, and used to cauterize the non-payer's body endlessly. The process will be repeated throughout a day of fifty thousand years until judgment is pronounced and the offender goes either to Paradise or to Hell. Some *ḥadīth* narratives recount that a non-payer's property will turn into a large, bald snake which will encircle his neck, grab his jaw and tell him that he, the snake, is the offender's wealth and treasure.

Adult Muslims are enjoined to pay 2.5 percent annually on the surplus of their wealth, that is on properties which are in their possession, and which augment, reach *niṣāb*, and are in excess of their basic needs. The *niṣāb* is the exemption level below which minimum no *zakāt* is charged. The *zakāt* is calculated at the beginning and end of a year, and is

normally paid before the beginning of Muḥarram, at the first of the new year.

*Zakāt* is levied on such things as crops, livestock, precious metals (gold and silver), and cash (coins, notes, banks deposits). Personal properties that are used to meet one's basic requirements such as houses, work tools, machines for industry, means of transport, and furniture, however, are excluded from *zakāt*. The same applies to the money dedicated to the repayment of debts, since the debtor needs this money to prevent imprisonment. Moreover, there is no *zakāt* calculated on precious stones and immovable property, nor on public wealth – since it is property held in common by all the individuals of the community, including the poor – or on monies dedicated to charitable purposes, so long as they do not belong to a specific owner.

The calculation of *niṣāb* differs according to the kind of wealth being counted: for example, gold and silver are calculated by weight but by different multipliers, animals are calculated differently according to the species, and land is calculated differently if it is irrigated by artificial methods or if it needs constant attention. In contemporary times, help in calculating *zakāt* is available on the Internet, where the major categories of taxable items include banknotes, gold, silver, ornaments, debts, capital goods, cattle, merchandise, fruits and other crops, minerals, and extracted treasures. Once *zakāt* has been paid, it absolves the owner from paying twice in the same year, even if the property has been transferred to a different type. For example, if *zakāt* is paid on crops or cattle, and they are then sold, there is no new *zakāt* that year on the cash made from the sale.

By Qur'ānic injunction, *zakāt* is collected on behalf of, and distributed to, those in need. There are eight channels of distributing *zakāt*. The first four are 1. the poor, who are unable to support themselves and their families; 2. the needy, who for legitimate reasons have lost their sources of income; 3. those officials employed to collect and pay the *zakāt*, who themselves may not be poor but whose regular salaries are low; and 4. those whose hearts are to be reconciled, for example new converts who are re-establishing themselves, or those who are proselytizing for new converts. The second four include 5. those in bondage, for example slaves or prisoners of war; 6. those who incur debt as they lawfully meet their needs; 7. fighters in the cause of Allah and in the service of the spread of Islam who, for example, are repelling enemy attacks, establishing Islamic law, resisting the marginalization of Islam, financing centers for Islamic institutions, and supporting Islamic minorities under non-Muslim

rule; and 8. travelers pursuing lawful activities in a foreign country who need support to come home. Women may receive *zakāt* through many of these categories, as widows or destitute women.

In theory, *zakāt* is collected and distributed by officials especially appointed for this purpose. These officials are paid out of *zakāt* funds, are not allowed to receive cash or other gifts, are equipped with the necessary professional tools through *zakāt*, and are themselves monitored and held accountable for any loss resulting from misuse or negligence. As a state, and therefore a public, institution, *zakāt* is managed on behalf of all citizens. Because the task of collecting and disbursing even a modest alms due by mosques and religious organizations in an increasingly complex Islamic world often proves difficult, the enactment of this religious duty is thus coupled with political implementation. If there is no Muslim state, or any national institution for this purpose, however, *zakāt* may be collected by individuals or institutions who are working for the cause of Islam. Guidelines are set up to govern the transfer of *zakāt* out of places where it has been levied to other places where there may be good cause, for example places of *jihād*, special institutions of health or education, Islamic regions afflicted by famine or disaster, or relatives who are especially needy.

In practice, the regulations governing *zakāt* are not often applied literally once large fortunes begin to accrue in the hands of nobles and merchants in capital cities of Islam, for example, or among important tribal chiefs. Not only are the great amounts owed never fully collected, but the sums actually taken may not be used for the purposes set out in the Qur'ān. Many Muslim leaders, for example, may collect *zakāt* and add it to their royal treasuries.

In time, payment of *zakāt* is left to up to the individual, with each Muslim choosing the form and the recipient of his or her *zakāt*. In recent years, however, a number of governments have asserted the government's right to a *zakāt* tax. In contemporary times, more effective technologies and methods are being discussed for collecting and distributing *zakāt* in ways that better achieve the aims of the Sharī'a.

Women's payment of *zakāt* depends on what property they are thought to have. Three areas pertain: dowry (*jāhiz*) and bridal gift (*mabr*), inheritance (*mīrāth*), and earnings from work. There is much discussion among jurists about exactly what rights women have over materials in each of these categories, but it is clear that marriage involves much shifting in what women have use and disposal rights over. The Qur'ān says that every woman has

the right to buy and sell, to contract and earn, and to hold and manage her own money and property. In addition to these rights, the Qur'ān grants woman a share in the inheritance of the family and notes that the *mahr* of her marriage should belong to her alone and never be taken by her husband.

It appears from traditional literature that among taxable items for women, one of the most significant is jewelry. According to one tradition a jurist, on seeing gold bangles on the hands of two women, inquired if they had given *zakāt* for the bangles. When they replied no, he asked them if they wished, on judgment day, to be made to wear bangles of fire. Responding no, the women were told to pay *zakāt* on them.

In addition to being subject to making certain payments of *zakāt*, over the centuries Muslim women have been centrally involved in patronage of the arts and religion, and many female leaders have had enough wealth and power to allow them to contribute significantly to the material culture of Islam. Included among such women patrons are Şayfa Khātūn in Aleppo; Safwat al-Dunyā wa-al-Dīn in Anatolia; Hürrem and Kösem of the Ottoman Empire; Nūr Jahān of the Mughal Empire; and Gawhar Shad of the early Safavid Empire.

In contemporary times, use of the Internet has allowed the details of paying *zakāt* to be rendered clear and available to a large audience. Several sites answer women's questions on what jewelry is taxable; the relative value of different precious metals and gemstones; and whether jewelry that does not increase in value over the year, that belongs to indebted students, or that is set aside for use as gifts is taxable through *zakāt*.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J. L. Esposito, *Women in Muslim family law*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1982.  
 Imam Malik ibn Anas, *al-Muwatta' of Imam Malik ibn Anas. The first formulation of Islamic law*, trans. A. Abdurrahman Bewley, London 1989.  
 D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000.  
 J. I. Smith (ed.), *Women in contemporary Muslim societies*, Lewisburg, Pa. 1980.

ELLISON BANKS FINDLY

## The Ottoman Empire

### PROVIDING CHARITY: THE EARLY OTTOMAN PERIOD AND THE LEGACIES OF PRE-OTTOMAN TIMES

Ottoman records on charity only rarely concern almsgiving not connected to *vakıfs*; and where

such records exist, they do not refer to charities instituted by women. Most of the discussion in this entry therefore deals with pious foundations or *vakıfs*.

Among the oldest surviving Ottoman documents (1323), produced even before the death of the eponymous Sultan Osman, there is a text establishing the foundation of Aspurca Hatun, one of the wives of Sultan Orhan (r. 1326–62, Beldiceanu-Steinherr 1967, 78–84); it survives only in a later, rewritten version. Aspurca Hatun had received certain villages in the area of Bursa as freehold property from the sultan and turned them over to a family foundation intended to benefit her son Ibrahim and his descendants. A daughter of Sultan Orhan's is also known to have established a pious foundation: Hadice Hatun endowed the dervish lodge (*zaviye*) of Ahi Tuzcu in the district of Tophisar. Somewhat later, a daughter of Sultan Bayezid I Yıldırım (r. 1389–1402) named Hundi Hatun, wife of the dervish shaykh Emir Sultan, contributed a village in her possession to the pious foundation of her husband (Barkan and Meriçli 1988, 49, 146).

In addition, the Ottomans took over numerous petty Anatolian principalities, where some pious foundations had been established by or at least in the name of high-ranking women. The Ottoman princess Melek Sultan Hatun, daughter of Murad I (r. 1362–89) was married to a prince of the Karaman dynasty and founded a school for Islamic law and divinity, elaborately decorated with inscriptions, in the town of Larende/Karaman (Konyalı 1967, 461–2, *vakfiye* extant). Among the ruling family of the tribal principality of the Dulkadir, annexed by Selim I (r. 1512–20) after his conquest of Egypt, the name of Güneş/Şems Hatun, wife of Alaeddevle Bozkurt, was also attached to several pious foundations. Even after the annexation of the principality Alaeddevle's daughter İklime Hatun established a further mosque (Yinanç and Elibüyük 1988, i, 38, Yinanç 1989, 121, 124, 129, Bayburtluoğlu 1973). Women of the Aydın *oğulları* also had charities founded in their names; thus Hafsa Hatun, daughter of Isa Bey, donated the flourishing village of Bademiye to a dervish lodge she had established in this locality (Binark et al. 1995, i, 379). Many of these foundations continued to function well into the 1500s and even longer. In consequence, there was a model of female princely generosity that Ottoman royal women, especially during their lengthy stays in Anatolia, may have wished to emulate.

PROVIDING CHARITY: THE ETIQUETTE  
GOVERNING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF  
ROYAL WOMEN'S PIOUS FOUNDATIONS

In addition to a sizeable number of major mosques built in Istanbul by, or in the names of, female members of the Ottoman dynasty, we do in fact find pious foundations pertaining to the latter also in provincial centers such as Manisa, Bursa, Trabzon, Cairo, and Jerusalem. On the pilgrimage routes to Mecca and Medina, roads were also cleared and "rest stops" established by Ottoman royal women (Çelebi 2005, ix, 287, 296, 303).

The prominence of certain mosques, schools, and soup kitchens established by female members of the Ottoman dynasty has encouraged a discussion of the conditions under which these women were permitted by the sultans to gain prominence by publicly visible charities. It has been suggested that in the late 1400s and throughout the sixteenth century, when young princes were sent to the provinces to learn the art of governing, they were permitted to build mosques and covered markets in their places of residence. However as they had not yet ascended the throne they were encouraged, or perhaps required, to name their buildings after their mothers. This would account for the Hatuniye mosques (*hatun*, lady, wife of the ruler; Peirce 2000) that we find in Trabzon, Manisa, and Amasya. But in some cases we cannot be sure whether it was the princes or else the royal women themselves who were the founders. In the case of Hafsa Sultan (d. 1534), however, mother to Sultan Süleyman the Lawgiver (r. 1520–66) who resided in Manisa before joining her son in the capital, the *vakfiye* of her mosque complex, located in this town, is extant. This document shows Hafsa to have been the actual founder; only the bath and hospital were added by Süleyman after her death (Durmuş and Yavaş 1997).

Further discussion has concerned the locations of mosques established in Istanbul by royal women (Bates 1978, Peirce 1993, 198–212). While usually the hilltops were reserved for the rulers themselves, the mosque complexes built by royal women were not relegated to the margins as has sometimes been surmised, but were highly visible especially from the sea, and that was the route by which many travelers first approached the city. Such prominent locations were enjoyed by the foundation of Mihrimah Sultan (1522–78) and also by that of the Valide Sultan (queen mother) Nurbanu (d. 1583). Of Nurbanu, a Venetian ambassador (*bailo*) reported that through her great Üsküdar foundation complex, clearly visible from the palace, she wanted her son Murad

III (r. 1574–95) to be constantly reminded of her piety and generosity (Pedani Fabris 1996, 271). Similarly the Yeni Cami, first ordered by the Valide Sultan Safiye (about 1550–1605) and completed by her successor Hadice Turhan (d. 1683) in 1663–5 was also widely visible and moreover located in the heart of the city's business district (Thys-Şenocak 2000). Safiye also ensured herself a prominent place in the Cairo cityscape by appropriating a mosque that had been built by one of her eunuchs (Behrens-Abouseif 1994, 173–7).

Other research concerns relate to the stage within a royal woman's life cycle when she was permitted to become a public persona through her pious foundations. It has been suggested that this occurred when the women in question were no longer in a situation to bear children, either because of widowhood, or else because they had accompanied their sons to a provincial residence and thus were no longer part of the ruler's harem (Peirce 2000). In the 1500s the complexes established in Istanbul by Hürrem Sultan/Roxelana (d. 1558) formed the exception to this rule; criticism was perhaps deflected by the founder's expressing a special concern for women (Singer 2002, 95).

Scholars have also asked themselves whether the foundations established by royal women exhibited any special characteristics that differed from those built on the order of sultans or viziers. This question has been partly answered with respect to the Valide Hadice Turhan. Her mosque is one of the first examples in Istanbul to possess an elaborate annex in the shape of a pavilion, along with a prominent access ramp; it has been suggested that this form was chosen because of the patron's familiarity with the many pavilions on the grounds of the Topkapı Sarayı (Thys-Şenocak 2000). Turhan Sultan moreover appeared as the sponsor not only of an urban mosque, but also of a more modest place of prayer located in the fortress of Seddülbahir on the Dardanelles; up to that time, fortifications had been the prerogative of the sultans themselves (Thys-Şenocak 1999). She also acted as an agent of Islamization and Ottomanization through the mosque established in her name on the recently conquered island of Crete; but here her role was no different from that of her son the sultan and members of the Köprülü vizieral dynasty that she herself had helped to bring to power (Bierman 1991). No comparable research has as yet been done on the etiquette governing royal women's foundations in the 1700s and 1800s.

PROVIDING CHARITY: URBAN AND  
MAGNATE WOMEN

Urban women founders have been studied for mid-sixteenth-century Istanbul and also for Edirne, official documents, especially registers of pious foundations, forming the principal source material (Baer 1983). In Istanbul about one-third of the non-sultanic foundations had been established by women. Given the limited means available to most of the founders, these latter charities were relatively small and often seem to have been intended as a protection of a woman's property against encroachment by her in-laws. Freed slaves rather than children were often the beneficiaries. Female administrators of pious foundations existed, but usually were active only when a pious foundation was still relatively recent. At a later stage of the charity's existence, typically men took over. In 1600, out of 3,264 pious foundations then functioning in Istanbul, over 1,200 were founded by women: However the two registers are not immediately comparable as the later one largely excludes money *vakıfs*, which had not infrequently been established by women. A detailed analysis would therefore be necessary to find out whether significant changes occurred in the patterns governing women's pious foundations during the second half of the sixteenth century. In Edirne in the 1400s and 1500s, the number of women who established pious foundations amounted to only 20 percent; charitable foundations of medium size were mainly established by royal women, while those of the subject population endowed mostly single houses, typically for family purposes (Gerber, 1983).

Studies of notables and magnates (*ayan*) during the 1700s and early 1800s have shown that there were significant differences between the numerous regions making up the Ottoman lands. In Cairo, Aleppo, and Baghdad, women from Mamluk and scholarly backgrounds established charities that were sometimes quite imposing (al-Sayyid Marsot 1995, 51). Adile Hatun, daughter of Ahmed Paşa, a long-time governor of Baghdad, founded two mosques in this city, one of them in the name of her mother Gülruh Hatun (Lier 2004, 86–8). On the other hand this custom did not exist in the Balkans and Anatolia, where in spite of the late medieval traditions previously discussed, women from magnate families rarely seem to have been accorded the resources they would have needed to establish pious foundations. Thus the numerous charities of the Kara Osmanoğulları in the Manisa region were virtually all in the names of males (Kuyulu 1992).

WOMEN AS RECIPIENTS OF CHARITY

Women were less often receivers of charitable benefits than men, if only because they were not represented among the students and religious personnel that formed such a large share of all beneficiaries. However, some of them may have received a share of the food taken home by male recipients; yet this was made difficult by the requirements of many public soup kitchens that the food be consumed on the premises themselves. When gifts were given to religious scholars and dervishes we may assume that some of them shared with their female relatives; this is known in the case of Medinan and Meccan families that received allowances from the sultans (Hoexter 2003, 153). But little information has been found so far; nor are there many data on female patients in hospitals. A few exceptions must however be mentioned: the foundation of Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror in Istanbul during the late 1400s set aside a certain amount of food for women of good reputation who had fallen on hard times and were permitted to send their servants to the foundation's kitchen in order to pick up their rations. In addition, the same charity also took care of 200 orphans, some of them girls (Barkan 1963, 281, 295). A few bits of information on women receiving food from Hürrem's soup kitchen in Jerusalem have also come to light: on ordinary days the women were served last, and probably received only the leftovers. However when rations had to be cut because of insufficient supplies, it was decided to leave the widows' portions unchanged (Singer 2002, 63, 115). Among later documentation it is worth mentioning that in 1805 a woman of the sultan's harem by the name of Şeb-sefa Kadın founded a primary school where she specifically wanted girls to be taught. Further research is urgently needed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Baer, Women and *waqf*. An analysis of the Istanbul *tahrîr* of 1546, in G. Warburg and G. Gilbar (eds.), *Studies in the social history of the Middle East in memory of Professor Gabriel Baer*, special issue *Asian and African Studies* 17:1/3 (1983), 9–28.
- Ö. L. Barkan, Şehirlerin teşekkül ve inkişafı tarihi bakımından. Osmanlı imparatorluğunda imaret sitemlerinin kuruluş ve işleyiş tarzına ait araştırmalar, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası* 23:1/2 (1963), 239–96.
- and E. H. Ayverdi (eds.), *İstanbul vakıfları tahrîr defteri, 953 (1546) târîhli*, Istanbul 1970.
- Ö. L. Barkan and E. Meriçli, *Hüdavendigâr livası tahrîr defterleri*, Ankara 1988–.
- Ü. Bates, Women as patrons of architecture in Turkey, in L. Beck and N. Keddie (eds.), *Women in the Muslim world*, Cambridge, Mass. 245–60.
- Z. Bayburtluoğlu, Kahraman maraşı'ta bir grup dulka-diroğlu yapısı, in *Vakıflar Dergisi* 10 (1973), 234–50.



- D. Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's adjustment to Ottoman rule. Institutions, waqf and architecture in Cairo*, Leiden 1994.
- I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich 1967.
- I. Bierman, The Ottomanization of Crete, in I. Bierman, R. A. Abou-El-Haj, and D. Preziosi (eds.), *The Ottoman city and its parts*, New Rochelle, N.Y. 1991, 53–75.
- İ. Binark et al. (eds.), *166 numaralı muhâsebe-i vilayet-i Anadolu defteri (937/1530)*, Ankara 1995.
- M. Canatar (ed.), *İstanbul'un 550. Fetih yılı için İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 2004.
- E. Çelebi, *Evlîya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 306, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Pertev Paşa 462, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Hacı Beşir Ağa 452 Numaralı Yazmaların Mukayeseli Transkripsyonu, Dizini*, ix, ed. Y. Dağlı, S. A. Kahraman, and R. Dankoff, Istanbul 2005.
- İ. Durmuş and D. Yavaş, Hafsa Sultan ve Hafsa Sultan külliyesi, in *Türkiye daniyet vakfı İslâm ansiklopedisi*, xv, Istanbul 1997, 122–5.
- M. A. Fay, Women and *waqf*. Property, power and the domain of gender in eighteenth-century Egypt, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden 1997, 28–47.
- H. Gerber, The *waqf* institution in early Ottoman Edirne, in G. Warburg and G. Gilbar (eds.), *Studies in the social history of the Middle East in memory of Professor Gabriel Baer*, special issue *Asian and African Studies* 17:1/3 (1983), 29–46.
- M. Hoexter, Charity, the poor, and the distribution of alms in Ottoman Algiers, in M. Bonner, M. Ener, and A. Singer (eds.), *Poverty and charity in Middle Eastern contexts*, Albany, N.Y. 2003, 145–62.
- İ. H. Konyalı, *Âbide ve kitâbeleri ile karaman tarihi. Ermenek ve mut âbideleri*, Istanbul 1967.
- İ. Kuyulu, *Kara Osman-oğlu ailesine ait mimari eserler*, Ankara 1992.
- T. Lier, *Haushalte und Haushaltspolitik in Bagdad 1704–1831*, Würzburg 2004.
- A. L. al-Sayyid Marsot, *Women and men in late eighteenth-century Egypt*, Austin, Tex. 1995.
- M. L. Meriwether, Women and *waqf* revisited. The case of Aleppo, 1770–1840, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden 1997, 128–53.
- M. P. Pedani Fabris (ed.), *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, xiv, *Costantinopoli, Relazioni inedite (1512–1780)*, Padua 1996.
- L. Peirce, *The imperial harem. Women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, New York and Oxford 1993.
- , Gender and sexual propriety in Ottoman royal women's patronage, in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000, 53–68.
- A. Singer, *Constructing Ottoman beneficence. An imperial soup kitchen in Jerusalem*, Albany, N.Y. 2002.
- , Charity's legacies. Reconsideration of Ottoman endowment making, in M. Bonner, M. Ener, and A. Singer (eds.), *Poverty and charity in Middle Eastern contexts*, Albany, N.Y. 2003, 295–314.
- L. Thys-Şenocak, The Ottoman fortresses of Seddülbahir and Kumkale, in Ç. Kafescioğlu and L. Thys-Şenocak with G. Danişman (eds.), *Aptullah Kuran için yazılar. Essays in honour of Aptullah Kuran*, Istanbul 1999, 311–24.
- , The Yeni Valide mosque complex of Eminönü, Istanbul (1597–1665). Gender and vision in Ottoman architecture, in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany 2000, 69–90.
- R. Yinanç, *Dulkadir beyliği*, Ankara 1989.
- and M. Elibüyük (eds.), *Maraş tahrir defteri (1563)*, 2 vols., Ankara 1988.

SURAIYA FAROQHI

## South Asia

As the third pillar of Islam, *zakāt* has a long tradition in South Asia. Ever since the Muslim conquest of the Indian subcontinent from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, women have been either donors or recipients of *zakāt* and other types of donations.

### WOMEN AS DONORS OF CHARITABLE FUNDS

It has always been normal practice for wealthy and influential people such as Muslim elites, local *nawwābs*, and landowners (sing. *zamīndār*) to help the poor. The establishment of new educational institutions, charitable trusts, and donations for emergency projects in case of flood or famine was on the agenda of the Muslim aristocracy. The Mughal period witnessed the construction of numerous mosques and religious schools (*madāris*). Wives and daughters of Mughal rulers and local notables were among the financiers of numerous mosques and *madāris*. The Masjid-i Maryam Zamānī in Lahore, Pakistan was built by the mother of the fourth Mughal Emperor Jahāngir in 1641. Also of interest are the four Begums of the Muslim princely state of Bhopal (Central India). The Begums ruled Bhopal for more than one hundred years (1818–1926), and built several mosques, schools, and hospitals at their own expense. All of these newly created institutions were open not only to Muslims but also to Hindus. Like the rulers of Hyderabad or the Carnatic, the Begums also built hostels for (female) pilgrims in Mecca and Medina from their private purse.

Another form of philanthropic institution with a long tradition in South Asia is the *khānaqāh* (Sufi hospice) and the shrines of Islamic saints and mystics. Sufi orders (*ṭuruq*) – Suhrawārdiyya, Qādiriyya, Chishtiyya, and Naqshbandiyya, among others – became centers of moral training and charitable activities from the eleventh century onwards. The Muslim aristocracy often constructed the buildings of the *khānaqāh* and turned them into a *waqf* (religious endowment, pl. *awqāf*). South Asian women, who are often not entitled to pray in the mosque, took part in the community life

at the *khānaqāh*. Even today, it is very common for women to prepare meals or sweetmeats and to bring them to the *khānaqāh*. At the *khānaqāhs*, women were also recipients of charitable activities, as most *khānaqāhs* had an open public kitchen (*langar*), where regardless of sex, race, or religion people received a meal and social welfare assistance.

#### SOCIAL WELFARE AFTER PARTITION

After Partition of the Indian subcontinent in 1947, newly founded non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were primarily active in the field of refugee rehabilitation. Fatima Jinnah and Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan and many other women from the affluent classes cared for thousands of refugee women and those abducted and raped during the days of Partition. These well-educated urban women – most of them members of the Muslim League – were the first social workers in Pakistan, and their activities resulted in the foundation of several women's organizations, some of which remain active today.

Partition in 1947 and the foundation of Bangladesh in 1971, however, had a major influence on the system of donation and voluntary activities in South Asia. A considerable number of people belonging to the Muslim aristocracy and the Muslim landowner class left their properties and went to the bigger cities. The growing urbanization in South Asia also changed the habits and traditions of donation. Islamic rulings advise the believer to give *zakāt* directly to those entitled to receive them, without dealing with any intermediary organizations. Despite this, throughout South Asia only elderly people and women from the lower classes tend to give their *zakāt* and other voluntary donations directly to the poor and needy. The middle and upper classes usually give their donations to educational institutions. An increased access amongst women generally to the mass media (print media, Internet) is changing the manner in which they make their donations. NGOs and non-profit organizations (NPOs) are aware of this and launch their *zakāt* appeals at regular intervals. Some organizations also apply new forms of marketing strategies in order to receive more *zakāt*. Women also very successfully work as volunteers for organizations in the fields of marketing and fund raising.

The time around *Īd al-fiṭra* (the festival after the fasting month of Ramaḍān) is when most organizations launch their *zakāt* appeals, as this is the time when the greatest amount of *zakāt* is paid. The *Īd al-aḍḥā*, however, is the most important festival, and all families give the hides and parts of the flesh of the animal sacrificed to the poor as a

*ṣadāqa* (voluntary giving). Religious festivals like the *Īd* celebrations or the festivals at the local shrines of Muslim saints attract thousands of men and women. Families who live in the urban centers often return to the villages they originally came from. There they take part in local forms of charity. In India and Pakistan as well as in Bangladesh it is very common practice to give fruits, wheat or grain to the poor and needy. This practice is also quite independent of the religion of donors or recipients.

#### PAKISTAN

Pakistan is in a unique position in South Asia in that in 1980, during the process of Islamization under Zia ul-Haq, it introduced the Zakat and Ushr Ordinance whereby 2.5 percent of all income in excess of 2,000 rupees is directly deducted from every bank account, investment, or annuity. As a consequence, *zakāt* became a formal duty and not a matter of choice. However, following the Hanafi school of thought, Zia ul-Haq introduced *zakāt* on items not normally subject to it. Shīī Muslims strictly opposed this system of *zakāt*, and the government exempted them from the *zakāt* duty. This resulted in the conversion of several wealthy Sunnī families to Shīism. Another consequence of the *zakāt* system was the mushrooming growth of small religious schools (*ḍinī madāris*), including some for women.

#### WOMEN AS RECIPIENTS OF ZAKĀT

Women are not only donors, but very often also recipients of *zakāt* and other charitable practices. Some NGOs/NPOs, in cooperation with large international organizations such as the United Nations or the World Bank are also able to receive *zakāt*, *ṣadāqa*, or other forms of donation and channel the money directly to the needy. The fields that are covered, together with names of popular organizations are:

1. Rehabilitation of women victims of domestic violence or trafficking (Rokeya Sadan, Bangladesh).
2. Help for old, widowed, marginalized or destitute women (Ain o Shalish Kendra, Bangladesh). This is of special importance in India, where the remarriage of widows is often disapproved.
3. Orphanages (Salimullah Muslim Orphanage, Bangladesh)
4. Health care and distribution of medicine (Behbud Association, Pakistan)
5. Literacy, education, and vocational training for women and girls. The Sajida Foundation (Bangladesh) also gives microcredit to women.

## 6. Relief for Muslim women in Gujarat and Kashmir.

Some organizations combine several of the activities mentioned, for example the Anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam (Pakistan), the Zakat Foundation (India), the Edhi Foundation (Pakistan), and the Anjuman Mufidul-Islam (Bangladesh) are all working in several fields.

There are many projects for women in South Asia, but women activists are campaigning for better channeling of money. A clear inefficiency in *zakāt* fund management and a high degree of bureaucracy also appear to hinder the provision of more help for South Asian women.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Ahmad and R. Jahan, *Investing in ourselves. Giving and fund raising in Bangladesh*, Manila 2002.  
 I. A. Imtiaz et al. (eds.), *Management of zakah in modern Muslim society*, Jeddah 2000.  
 Z. Islām, *NGOs. What are they – what are they not?* [in Urdu], Rawalpindi 2000.  
 G. C. Kozłowski, *Muslim endowments and society in British India*, Cambridge 1986.  
 J. Malik, *Colonialization of Islam. Dissolution of traditional institutions in Pakistan*, New Delhi 1996.  
 K. Mumtaz and F. Shaheed, *Women in Pakistan. Two steps forward, one step back*, Lahore 1987.  
 A. H. Sadeq, *A survey of the institution of zakah. Issues, theories and administration*, Jeddah 1994.  
 N. S. Shirazi, *System of zakāt in Pakistan. An appraisal*, Islamabad 1996.

CLAUDIA PRECKEL

## Turkey

The system of charity in Islam involves financial rituals such as almsgiving, sacrifice, *fitir*, and other activities. As a universal humanitarian act charity, regardless of gender differences, is recommended or required of all Muslims. Turkish society, by its patriarchal structure, has been well known for its male-giver and women-recipient character. Even though, throughout Turkish history, philanthropic activities have been mostly managed by men, there have also been many leading female philanthropists. Charitable dealings are generally run by charitable endowments (*waqfs*). Some *waqfs*, founded by women, prioritized or even restricted their benefits to women only. During the Ottoman period a number of *waqfs* were founded for this aim. Records in the archives of the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (General directorate of *waqfs*) show that 1,044 of 26,789 *waqfs* were founded by distinguished female figures of Ottoman society, such as relatives of the sultans or high ranking bureaucrats.

Among the goals of these endowments were providing assistance to widows, providing trousseaus for poor young girls, feeding and taking care of homeless and orphan girls, giving child care assistance to working women, and compensation for utensils broken by servant girls.

The wars, migrations, and developments in the field of human rights at the beginning of the twentieth century affected the goals and working methods of humanitarian organizations. In addition to *waqfs*, many other associations, unions, and organizations were established to address the problems of Turkish women. The revenues of these institutions came from members' dues, *zakāt* and other donations, profits from the sales of goods collected by the association, lottery gains, and governmental support. This income was distributed to the wives and children of fighters, martyrs, and injured soldiers. Another priority was to educate and help girls establish their own careers. Organizations included the Şefkat-i Nisvân Cemiyeti (Compassion for women society); the Asrı Kadın Cemiyeti (Modern women's society), which focused on cultural activities for women; the Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi (Ottoman women's compassion charity society), which prioritized assistance to homeless women and their children among its activities; and the Osmanlı Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Derneği (Ottoman Turkish women's protection association), which worked on professional education. Like Muslims, non-Muslim Turks also founded various organizations either with Muslims or by themselves to manage women's problems. For example, Emire Semire was a Muslim woman who established Hizmet-i Nisvan with ten Muslims and six non-Muslim women in the city of Edirne. The Türk Ermeni İttihad-ı Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi (Turkish and Armenian women's help union society) was founded by Muslim Turks and non-Muslim Armenians. The Beyoğlu Rum Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvâniyesi (Beyoğlu Rum society for women's help), which was established by the Rums (Byzantines left in Turkey after its conquest), distributed 360 suits to the injured during the Kasımpaşa fire.

To cover the damages caused by the First World War and to aid widows and orphans, 200 non-Muslim women under the leadership of a non-Muslim Armenian woman established the Abeilles-Bal Arıları (Abeilles honey bee group). The Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslâmiyesi (Ottoman Islamic association for the employment of women) and the Harb Malulleri ve Şehid Kadın ve Çocukları Çalıştırma Cemiyeti (Women and children of martyrs and veterans employment society) were established by men to employ only poor women.

After the declaration of the Turkish Republic (1923), the process of modernization and Westernization, and rural–urban migration in the 1950s and 1980s, poverty and illiteracy emerged as unacceptable social problems in Turkish society. To respond to the needs of poor and deprived women and to help their education many *waqfs*, unions, associations, groups, and platforms were established. In 1990, the Directorate General on the Status and Problems of Women was founded by the Turkish government. This institution opened eight women's shelters by 2004. Some municipalities organized professional courses for women and opened shelters for women facing family violence. The Kadın Dayanışma Vakfı (Women solidarity foundation) in Ankara (1993) and the Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı (Purple roof women's shelter foundation) in Istanbul opened women's shelters (1995) but unfortunately both of them closed in 2004.

Today in Turkey there are more than one hundred establishments that are involved in women's problems directly, some of which may include social welfare and charitable activities. Among the most prominent of these non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are the Türk Kadınlar Birliği (Turkish women's union), the Türk Anneler Derneği (Turkish mothers' association), the Türk Kadınlar Konseyi (Turkish women's council), the Hanımlar Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı (Foundation for women's education and culture, FWEC), the Şefkat Vakfı (Şefkat foundation), the Gökkuşluğu İstanbul Kadın Platformu (Rainbow Istanbul women's platform, RIWP), the Başkent Kadın Platformu (Capital's women's platform, CWP), and the Hazar Grubu (Hazar group). These NGOs are generally established by women who are academics, lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, and the wives of politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen who are interested in social problems. Their revenues come from members' dues, management and rent revenues, *zakât*, ritual sacrifices, donations, and profits from social activities such as tea parties and bazaars. In addition they benefit from the sponsorship of large companies and material and logistical support from municipalities.

Donations in the form of money, food, clothes, fuel, and medicine are given first to women and young girls, and then to orphans, poor families, old people, widows, and the sick. For instance, the FWEC, which has chosen to struggle against poverty and illiteracy as its first aim, is known for helping female students from poor families. The Şefkat Vakfı prioritizes poor students' education by opening schools for them. FWEC and Şefkat Vakfı distribute hot meals to poor families in their soup

kitchens, and collect used household items in order to distribute them to deprived people. The Oya Girişim Grubu (Oya enterprise group), a member of CWP, aims to open a house for mentally sick helpless women. The Hazar Grubu places importance on intellectual activities for women, and RIWP and CWP focus their efforts on coordination and cooperation among women's organizations.

Courses have been organized by these foundations to prepare young girls and women for artistic and professional careers. Educational and scientific seminars on various topics, such as women's rights, health, and family problems have been offered by these organizations. They also help women to sell their homemade products. The annual reports of FWEC confirms that it organized more than 75 scientific and cultural activities and distributed aid in the amount of approximately \$400,000 in 2004.

All these efforts create many opportunities for women to raise their educational levels and help improve their lifestyles. Finally, *zakât* and other donations are instrumental in creating a new kind of woman who is interested in finding solutions to the problems of women in Turkey.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- G. Ataseven and A. Erdoğan, *Vakıf ve Kadın*, İstanbul 1999, 33–54.  
 İ. Alver, *Tarihimizde vakıf kuran kadınlar. Hanım Sultan Vakfiyeleri*, ed. T. Duran, İstanbul 1990, 8–9.  
 F. Berktaş, Türkiye'de kadınlık durumu, in *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, 15 vols., Çağaloğlu, İstanbul 1983–96, xiii, 757–64.  
 Z. Ediz, *Cumhuriyet döneminde Türkiye'deki kadın örgütlenmeleri*, Ph.D. diss., İstanbul University 1994, 210–52.  
 Z. Şahin, *Philanthropic women's NGOs as a way of participation to public sphere. A case of women's education and culture foundation*, Master's thesis, Boğaziçi University 2004, 50–87.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- T. Akkaya, *Kadın örgütlerinin toplumsal dönüşümdeki yeri*, Master's thesis, Mimar Sinan University 1998, 1190–1201.  
 Baskent Kadın Platformu–Capital Women's Platform, *Habitat II kent zirvesi etkinlikleri–Habitat II city summit. Ankara 30 May–14 June 1996*, Ankara 1996, 47.  
 M. Çizakça, *A history of philanthropic foundations*, İstanbul 2000, 6–12.  
 A. İlyasoğlu, *Örtülü kimlik*, İstanbul 2000, 36–70.  
 L. Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve siyasi teşkilatlarda Türk kadını (1908–1960)*, Ankara 1998, 38–43.  
 Ş. Tekeli, *Kadın*, in *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, 15 vols., Çağaloğlu, İstanbul 1983–96, v, 1190–1204.

# Representations: Afterlife Stories

## Overview

This entry deals with Qurʾānic narratives about men and women in relation to the afterlife, specifically the Garden(s) of Paradise and the Fire(s) of Hell, and how those narratives often were changed, recast, and reinterpreted in the early centuries of Islam as traditions developed and were informed by the contexts in which Islam found itself the ruling faith.

Much popular Islamic lore portrays the afterlife as the habitation of glorious abodes of paradise where all is comfort, bliss (including sexual), and tranquility. In these stories there often seems little question that those described as enjoying the pleasures of this paradisiacal abode are men, and that their bliss is defined in terms of the fulfillment of all kinds of dreams and desires that they may have had while on the earthly plane. In truth, descriptions of the nature of the afterlife differ greatly throughout the literature of Islam. The Qurʾān presents one picture, the traditions often a quite different one, and the poetic narratives of Islamic Sufism yet others.

The dominant message of the Qurʾān is that the reward of the Garden and the punishments of the Fire (both Garden and Fire are often rendered in the plural) are the direct result of the beliefs and actions of women and men while alive on earth, and that those abodes will be their recompense in equal measure. Numerous verses of the Qurʾān attest to that reality. The Qurʾān contains *no* suggestion that men have greater access to paradise than women, or that women are more likely to spend eternity in the abodes of punishment, and the text is unequivocally clear that men and women are on an equal footing in terms of final felicity or perdition. Theological reflection on the Qurʾānic details regarding the Garden and the Fire tends not to deal directly with the question of what happens to women after they die, although reference is sometimes made to the fate of women in the course of discussing other issues.

In the few Qurʾānic narratives that specifically mention women in the Garden or the Fire it is clear that women are fully responsible for their own actions. In verse 66:10, for example, the wives of Lot and Noah are said to have been consigned to the Fire because of their faithlessness (reflected, however, in their relationships to their husbands).

The next verse, 66:11, indicates that the wife of Pharaoh can expect to be at home in the Garden, most likely as a result of her having saved Moses (28:9) and thus preserved a Messenger of God. The one woman most clearly described in the Qurʾān as deserving a final resting place in the Fire is the wife of Abu Lahab (28:9), who is said to wear a collar of palm fiber around her neck in the flames (presumably) because of her iniquity in spreading thorns in front of the Prophet to cut his feet.

Qurʾān commentators have traditionally been disinclined to say that the fate of women is in any way related to that of their husbands. Still, a few verses do raise the question. In 37:22–3, for example, God calls for the gathering of those who have done wrong, along with their wives, to be led to the Fire. There the wives appear to be the unfortunate victims of perdition because they are married to evildoers. The opposite might be interpreted in Qurʾānic promises such as that in 13:23, which says that the virtuous believer will be in the Garden with his wives and children. Such suggestions, however are rare in the text and have been subject to a variety of interpretations in the classical commentaries. Modern commentators generally agree that wives are neither punished nor rewarded for the deeds of their husbands. Most affirm that men and women are personally responsible and will be judged equitably, although some leave the issue ambiguous as they feel the Qurʾān itself to reflect that ambiguity.

The Qurʾān has little to say in specific terms about women in relation to eschatological concerns beyond these very limited references. In the *ḥadīth* materials, however, one finds much more specific mention of the fate of women in the afterlife. Many Muslims deny that such tales are part of the authoritative or reliable corpus of traditional materials, but in fact they are reported in such notable collections of *ḥadīth* as those of Ibn Ḥanbal, Bukhārī, and Nasāʾī. It is obvious that many of these traditional narratives reflect both the legacy of the indigenous cultures into which Islam spread and current social attitudes toward women. Even when they seem to contradict the evidence of the Qurʾān, there is little question that these *ḥadīths* were influential in shaping opinion and justifying responses to women in ways that belie the generally egalitarian nature of the scripture itself. Some clearly specify that an unhappy judgment for women may be due to the

faithlessness of their husbands, or even that the fault may lie with the women insofar as they themselves have not obeyed their husbands.

The amplification of materials in the traditions beyond the Qur'ānic narratives is most evident in three areas: the role of women in the days immediately preceding the resurrection, the specific consignment of women to the Fire for reasons beyond their control, and the relationship of believing women in paradise to the *ḥūr*.

The Qur'ān details a series of cataclysmic events that will serve to disrupt the natural order, thus signaling the immanence of the day when time will come to an end and all souls will be rejoined with their bodies for judgment. The traditions add to these narratives a series of events that will evidence the collapse of the ethical, moral, and social order. Many of these signs, pointing to societal disintegration, have to do with women. Among them are such examples as the necessity of a man obeying his wife and of men working for women, that women will go on pilgrimage unaccompanied by men, that sexual license and ignorance will prevail (with the clear implication that this is somehow the fault of women), and that women will come to outnumber men fifty to one.

Many contemporary writers find in this theme of the ethical and moral disintegration of society as a sign of the coming of the end of time a perfect opportunity to reflect their concern that social changes today are destroying the fabric of Muslim ethics and culture. The Egyptian commentator Abū al-'Azā'im, for example, indicates that the coming of the eschaton is evident in the fact that men have become obedient to their wives and women now think themselves superior to men, handling the financial affairs of the household, shopping and participating in public life with no objections from their husbands. Others hold the opposite view, such as M. Sadeddin Evrin of the Advanced Islamic Studies Institute in Istanbul, who sees that the equality of women, with full participation in society, is suggestive of a general advance in culture. Evrin believes that the women of today's world are the best examples of the women who will inhabit paradise.

The Qur'ān contains no hint that the ultimate abodes of the Fire or the Garden will be occupied more by one gender than another. Many *ḥadīths*, however, do contain strong suggestions that the majority of women will be consigned to the Fire, and that the majority of the inhabitants of Hell will be women.

For example, the Prophet Muḥammad himself at the time of his *mi'rāj* (heavenly ascension) is

quoted as saying that when he gazed into the Fire he saw that most of the inhabitants were women. The reason they are there, he is reported to have said, is that these women have been untrustworthy and ungrateful for the good things they have been given. In another version of this story the Prophet is said to have clarified that their ingratitude is not, in fact, in relation to God, but in relation to their husbands for the charity these men have shown to their mates. Other traditions, again generally considered to be part of the corpus of reliable *ḥadīths*, report that women are deficient in their religious practice (which, presumably, would keep them from a favorable reward at the end of time) precisely because of the biological fact that they menstruate and thus cannot pray at certain times. Such tales, it seems obvious, are intended not as actual descriptions of the expectations of final consignment. They can, however, serve to legitimate forms of social control over women, especially insofar as they suggest that a wife's relationship (and obedience) to God is in some way determined by her relationship (and obedience) to her husband.

Aside from the Qur'ānic affirmations that the pleasures of the Garden will be the reward of faithful women as well as faithful men, there is little specific reference to gender in the context of paradise. The rewards described there are plenteous and apparently available to all. The one seeming exception is the Qur'ānic mention of the *ḥūr*, the chaste maidens of the Garden promised as an eternal reward to Muslims who have earned a place in paradise. The term *ḥūr* is mentioned four times in the Qur'ān, all references from the early Meccan period, and literally means having eyes with marked contrast of black and white. These scriptural references are sparse and restrained, though they make it clear that the *ḥūr* are lovely, virginal, and intended as a reward. These references have piqued the imagination of Muslims for many generations and provided the basis for a great deal of elaboration in the *ḥadīths* and subsequent narratives of Islam. Not surprisingly, these maidens have been seen to be the clearly defined rewards for faithful men, not women. (Contrary to popular lore, however, there is no reference in the Qur'ān that specifically designates the *ḥūr* as the rewards of those who are martyrs for the faith). Some *ḥadīths*, generally considered unreliable, provide great elaboration in the descriptions of the *ḥūr*. Sometimes they are said to be made of saffron from the feet to the knees, musk from the knees to the breast, amber from the breast to the neck, and camphor from the neck to the head. They may be wearing 70 or 70,000 gowns so sheer that even the marrow

of their bones can be seen, reclining on couches of hyacinth encrusted with rubies and jewels, and the like. Most intriguing to the imagination, perhaps, is the extra-Qur'anic affirmation that the *ḥūr* do not sleep, get sick, menstruate, or become pregnant. In fact, many traditions affirm that they remain eternally virgins.

There is no indication in either the Qur'an or the traditions that the *ḥūr* should be equated with the female believers in the Garden. Some tales even go so far as to say that the *ḥūr* in Paradise are awaiting the male believers, and look on their earthly wives as rivals. Even the *ḥadīths* are vague in reference to human females and their roles in the Garden, though they are sometimes referred to as daughters of Eve who will have one husband each, presumably their earthly husbands. If a woman has had more than one husband, the situation is unclear – sometimes it is said that she will get the last one as a husband in the Garden, sometimes the best, and sometimes that she will have her choice. Neither classical nor contemporary exegesis of the Qur'an offers much clarification as to the relationship of the *ḥūr* to the *mu'mināt* or faithful women. Most modern commentators actually seem to avoid elaborating on the two categories of females, repeating with only slight modification the words of the Qur'an in its particular references. While some contemporary commentators and writers affirm that the pleasures of the Garden are to be understood in a very physical sense, including the companionship of the *ḥūr*, most agree on a more figurative, spiritual, or even psychological explanation. Most deny that procreation as such will have any role in the life to come. The general explanation is that the descriptions of the Garden and the Fire in the Qur'an are really only suggestive of what the human imagination in its limited capacities cannot fully grasp.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Muḥammad Māḍī Abū al-'Azā'im, *Tafṣīl al-nash'ā al-thāniya*, Cairo 1973.  
 Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā', *Kitāb al-mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Beirut, 1973.  
 Anon., *Kitāb aḥwāl al-qiyāma*, ed. M. Wolff, Leipzig 1872.  
 Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Rasūl al-Barzinjī, *al-Ishā'a li-asbrāt al-sā'a*, Cairo 1384 A.H.  
 Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ*, Cairo 1966, vols. 67, 86.  
 Muḥammad 'Izza Darwaza, *al-Tafsīr al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1962–4, vols. 3, 4.  
 Muḥammad Shāhīn Ḥamza, *al-Rūḥiyya al-ḥadītha*, Cairo 1968.  
 Muḥammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Husn al-uswa*. Cairo n.d.  
 Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ḥijāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-wāḍiḥ*, Cairo 1962–9, vols. 3, 27.

- Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1895, vols. 1, 2, 3.  
 Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Jammāl, *al-Tafsīr al-farīd li-al-Qur'ān al-majīd*, Cairo 1973, vol. 4.  
 Muḥammad 'Abd al-Zāhir 'AwādKhalifa, *Kitāb al-dār al-barzakhiyya*, Cairo, 1973.  
 Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf, *Hukm al-Islām*, Cairo 1974.  
 Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nasā'ī, *al-Sunan al-musammā bi al-mujataba*. Cairo, 1894, vols. 2, 3.  
 'Abd al-Razzāq Nawfal, *al-Hayā al-ukhrā*, Cairo 1965.  
 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb al-Sha'rānī, *Mukhtaṣar tadhkirāt al-Qurṭubī*. Cairo, A.H. 1307.  
 Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī, *al-Muṣḥaf al-mufassar*. Cairo, 1968.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, *The religion of Islam*, UAE n.d.  
 E. Berthels, Die Paradiesischen Jungfrauen im Islam, in *Islamica* 1 (1925), 263–87.  
 R. Eklund, *Life between death and resurrection according to Islam*, Uppsala 1941.  
 M. S. Evrin, *Eschatology in Islam*, Istanbul 1960.  
 A. Galwash, *The religion of Islam*, Qatar 1973, vol. 1.  
 Imam 'A. al-R. al-Qadī, *The Islamic book of the dead*, Norwich, Norfolk 1977.  
 Ş. el-Şaleḥ, *La vie future selon le Coran*, Paris 1971.

JANE I. SMITH

# Representations: Creation Stories

## Overview

In the narratives of the Qurʾān the first female of the human species is neither created from a bone of the first man, Adam, nor considered to have singular culpability for disobedience of the commands of God, although the traditions of Islam have sometimes reverted to the interpretations more commonly associated with Jewish and Christian views of original woman.

The twin themes of creation and the fall are generally linked in the Qurʾānic passages in which the creation of Adam is narrated. The female partner of Adam is never mentioned by name, although there are several references to Adam's wife as well as other passages in which the creation of human beings is discussed with reference only to the generic Arabic term *insān* (human). Adam himself is said to have been created from clay or mud (15:26, 38:71) and infused with God's spirit (15:29, 38:72). The divine spark thus served to animate the material body, affording human beings a status and an obligation beyond that of other members of the created order. Adam was given knowledge of "the names" of things (2:31), which also conferred on him a special responsibility as vicegerent over the earth. It is with Adam alone that God made this covenant and it is only to Adam that God calls the angels to prostrate themselves. Islamic interpretation in general has understood that this trust was given not because Adam was male, but because of his prophetic function.

These Qurʾānic narratives contain no reference to the actual creation of Adam's female partner. Three verses say that God created man and his mate from a single soul (4:1, 7:189, 39:6), and in two places the Qurʾān indicates that among the signs of God is the fact that mates are created so that their partners may find rest in them (7:189, 30:21). There are no other scriptural references to the creation or formation of the female of the species, and classical interpreters of the Qurʾān have often insisted that Adam is intended to be understood not simply as a man but as the archetypal human being. Some modern exegetes, such as Amina Wadud, insist that God did not intend to start human creation with a male, citing the consistent evidence in the Qurʾān of the essential nature of pairs in God's plan for creation.

In general the Qurʾān commentaries, often little more than a recital of the many *ḥadīths* or traditions that began to accumulate in reference to Adam and his partner, provide considerably more detail about the creation of woman than the Qurʾān itself. Attempts are sometimes made to answer the questions of how, why, and when Eve was created, and she is generally given the name Hawwā' or Eve. Many of these traditions, whose reliability as authentic sources is often questioned, tended to borrow heavily from biblical accounts and from the popular lore of Judaism and Christianity, and presented a very different image from that of the Qurʾān. Thus some commentators cite the *ḥadīth* relating that when God sent Iblīs out of the Garden (of Paradise) and put Adam in it, the man was alone and had no one with whom to socialize. After God caused him to go to sleep he took a rib from Adam's left side and placed flesh on it, thus creating Eve. When Adam he woke up and asked the woman who she was, she answered that she was woman, created so that Adam might have rest in her. The angels then asked about her name, to which the answer was given that she was created from a living thing (*hawwā'* is from the Arabic root of the verb "to live"). The specification of Eve's (un-Qurʾānic) name as meaning living, with the implication that she came from the living body of Adam, is clearly not from the text of the Qurʾān. Abū Ḥayyān and al-Ṭabarsī suggest that she is called woman (*imrā'a*) because she is from man (*mar'*), or that she is named Ḥawwā' because she is the mother of all living beings.

The third Islamic century exegete al-Ṭabarī, the most commonly cited classical commentator on the Qurʾān, relates several versions of the report that after God created Adam from different kinds of earth of many colors, God caused him to sleep. He took a rib from Adam's left side and from it created his wife Hawwā' in the form of a woman. Adam, upon waking, acknowledged her as his flesh and blood and his wife, and took his rest in her. The several renditions of this story provide amplification both on the purpose for which the female of the species was created, and on the etymological meaning of her name. The suggestion that Eve was created for Adam's rest is the only part of the saying that is true to the Qurʾān, and even in that case the scripture specifies that mates find rest in each other



and not just that the woman provides this service for the man. Many *ḥadīths* elaborate this point, such as that cited in Ibn Kathīr, which suggests that Adam, who was roaming in the Garden like a lonely beast, found solace and comfort in his new partner. Often accompanying this popular *ḥadīth* has been reference to another that was attributed to the Prophet and cited by such commentators as Ibn Kathīr. It says that men should take good care of women because woman was created from a rib, of which the most crooked part is the top. Men are advised, therefore, not to try to straighten out the bone (i.e. a woman) because that would serve to break it, but rather simply to take good care of women. While most contemporary commentators eschew both this particular *ḥadīth* and the idea that Eve was created from Adam's rib, it continues to be quoted in some conservative Islamic literature.

The traditions cited in classical Qur'ān commentaries also raised the question of the time that Eve's creation must have taken place. Some make it clear that Eve came into being *after* Adam was given entrance to the Garden, yet others say that the command of God was for both to go to the Garden (thus, obviously, after Eve was created). As is often the case in the elaboration of tradition, some narratives add a flurry of detail, in this case describing the hosts of angels carrying Adam and Eve into Paradise on a bed made of gold, with clothing made of light, crowns of gold and pearls and rubies, and the like. (Later traditions also elaborate greatly on the figure of Eve herself, describing her as large and attractive, with braided hair, delicate skin and a voice even more beautiful than Adam's.) Qur'ān commentator al-Rāzī concludes that the weight of evidence shows that Eve was created before Adam was in the garden, while others continue to debate the issue. The majority of exegetes hold to the view that Adam was so lonely by himself in paradise that it was necessary for God to create a companion for him.

As the traditions reinterpreted the message of the Qur'ān about Eve's creation to insist that she came from Adam's rib, so also they changed the scriptural understanding of who was responsible for the disobedience of succumbing to the temptations of Satan (Iblīs), resulting in the banishment of both from Paradise. In the Qur'ān Eve is considered no more culpable than Adam. Some interpreters have concluded that because the Qur'ān ascribes the accusation of disobedience only to Adam (20: 121–2), accountability for the disobedient act is clearly Adam's alone. In fact the Qur'ān in two places says that Adam alone repented for the deed, and once that both admitted fault and sought for-

giveness. The dual form, with one exception, is used in the Qur'ān in reference to the temptation of Adam and Eve and their disobedience. The Qur'ān consistently refers to Adam and his wife as the original parents of humankind, as in 7:27 where the "children of Adam" are urged not to let Satan seduce them as he did when he caused their parents to have to leave the Garden.

The bulk of the many traditions about Adam and Eve, however, put the blame squarely on Eve, whose weakness made her more open to the guiles of Satan. In one set of narratives included in al-Ṭabarī's exegesis of the Qur'ān and repeated often in the traditional literature Adam is asked by God why he ate the fruit of the Garden when it was forbidden to him. His answer was that Eve made him do it. While often it is not clear if Eve is understood to have been about the business of temptation and deception or was simply wanting to share the delicious fruit, the majority of the narratives leave little doubt that her intentions were not good. Some traditions claim that while Adam was in full possession of his mental faculties he was successful in refusing temptation, but that when Eve gave him wine to drink he lost his rationality and succumbed. Such tales, of course, underscore the disposition to see Adam's inherent nature as rational and above temptation, and Eve's as crafty and disobedient.

It is clear in the Qur'ān that the consequences of their actions in eating the forbidden fruit are the same for both man and woman. They see their own nakedness, and are expelled by God from the Garden. The traditions, however, provide details of additional burdens to be carried by Eve and by the serpent, who is credited with having influenced Eve into misdeeds. The specific curse put on Eve is the pain of childbirth, and some *ḥadīths* even say that as she has bled the tree of paradise, so Eve herself will have to bleed on a monthly basis. One narrative in al-Ṭabarī's collection reports that after the fall Eve was engaged in weaving, spinning, kneading dough, and baking bread, to which the commentator adds that these are all the things that women do. The story continues with a description of Adam's death, which is said to have happened a year before the death of Eve. Reflecting the tone of many of the *ḥadīths*, the final touch on the story is Adam's rebuke to Eve when she tried to go to him in his dying moments, saying that whatever had befallen him had happened because of her.

Some contemporary commentators try to uphold the spirit of the Qur'ān itself and strongly deny the validity of the kinds of *ḥadīths* that assigned to Eve either creation from the bone of Adam or culpability for the pair's expulsion from the Garden.

Others, however, continue to voice the traditional views represented in these narratives, stressing that the nature and role of the male of the species since creation should be understood to be fundamentally different from that of the female. The man wants and asks, the woman resists and tempts, summarizes al-‘Aqqād. By her very nature woman is a temptress. Most of the modern writers actually talk about repentance only in terms of Adam, with little or no mention of Eve. To the extent to which they discuss the purpose of the creation of the female of the species, it is clearly in terms of her necessity for procreation and to meet the male need for care and companionship. While some voices are strong in calling for a different interpretation of the creation of woman in relation to man, it appears that the traditional views continue for others to be useful in the attempt to see the implications of the creation of the parents of the human species for the ongoing relationships of men and women today.

B. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur’an, traditions and interpretation*, New York 1994.

A. Wadud-Muhsin, *Qur’an and woman*, Kuala Lumpur 1992.

JANE I. SMITH

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

‘Ā’isha ‘Abd al-Rahmān, *al-Mafhum al-Islami li-tabrīr al-mar’a*, Cairo, 1967

Abū Ḥayyān, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ*, Riyadh n.d.

‘Abbās Maḥmūd ‘Aqqād, *al-Mar’a fī al-Qur’ān*, Cairo n.d.

Ma’mūn Gharīb, *Nisā fī ḥayāt al-anbiyā*, Cairo 1977.

Ismā’īl ibn ‘Umar Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-al-nihāya fī al-tārīkh*, Cairo n.d.

Aḥmad Muṣṭafa al-Marāghī, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān li-al-Qur’ān*, Cairo 1959.

‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Najjar, *Qaṣaṣ al-anbiyā*, Beirut 1966.

‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad al-Nasafī, *Tafsīr al-Nasafī. Madārik al-tanzīl wa-ḥaqā’iq al-ta’wīl*, Cairo 1948.

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Cairo 1935.

Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān al-ḥakīm al-mushṭahīr bi-ism Tafsīr al-Manār*, Cairo 1948–56.

Ibrāhīm Zakī al-Sā’ī, *Mādhbā ‘an Ḥawwā’?*, Alexandria 1967.

Maḥmūd Shalabī, *Ḥayāt Ādam*, Cairo 1964.

Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi’ al-bayān ‘an ta’wīl al-Qur’ān*, Cairo 1954.

al-Faḍl ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarsī, *Majma’ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, Beirut 1970.

Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshaf ‘an ḥaqā’iq ghawamid al-tanzīl*, Beirut 1966.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Barlas, “Believing women” in Islam. *Unreading patriarchal interpretations of the Qur’an*, Austin, Tex. 2002.

Y. Y. Haddad and J. L. Esposito (eds.), *Daughters of Abraham. Feminist thought in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, Gainesville, Fla. 2001.

A. Schimmel, *My soul is a woman. The feminine in Islam*, New York 1997.

J. I. Smith and Y. Y. Haddad, Eve. Islamic image of woman, in *Women’s Studies International Forum* 5:2 (1982), 135–44.

D. A. Spellberg, *Politics, gender, and the Islamic past*, New York 1994.

# Representations: Dream Literature

## Overview

There exist at least two types of dream literature in Arabic. The first is mainly represented by a unique collection of brief accounts of dreams, the *Kitāb al-Manām* by Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (208–81/823–94). This is the only known example of collected dream narratives but the material comprising it was drawn from earlier sources and was repeated in subsequent works belonging to various genres (Ibn Abī Dunyā 1994, 11–15). The purpose of the dream narratives collected in *Kitāb al-Manām* was to edify by delivering moral counsel.

The second type of dream literature consists of manuals explaining how to interpret dreams in order to divine the future, a very prolific genre of writing in both Arabic and other languages of the Muslim world; 181 titles in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian have been recorded (Fahd 1966, 330–63); at least 63 were written in Arabic before the eleventh century (Lamoreaux 2002, 175–81). The date, place, and author's identity cannot be ascertained for a number of them. Such handbooks of dream interpretation were also produced by other civilizations with which Islam came into contact, including the Graeco-Roman, Byzantine, medieval European, Judaic, Indian, and African. As a result, Islamic dream interpretation influenced and/or was influenced by other traditions. Dream interpretation for divinatory purposes is still practiced in the Middle East and contemporary printed dreambooks reproduce mostly or entirely medieval Arabic material.

Dream interpretation is the only divinatory practice of pre-Islamic Arabia specifically condoned in the Qurʾān, where the Sūrat Yūsuf narrates the story of the Old Testament Joseph portraying him as a divinely inspired interpreter of dreams. The practice is further condoned in prophetic traditions (*ḥadīth*) reporting that the Prophet Muḥammad and some of his companions engaged in dream interpretation. Qurʾānic passages are cited in Islamic Arabic dreambooks in order to support a given interpretation and among the duties of a dream interpreter is to be familiar with the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīth*. In fact, it seems that already by the fourth/tenth century dream interpretation interested and was transmitted by the *muḥaddithūn* and the *ʿulamāʾ* (Lamoreaux 2002, 41–3), and can be considered a minor religious science. Indica-

tively, around the third/ninth century the name of Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, one of the most famous and respectable religious scholars of the early Islamic period, started being associated with dream interpretation; various dreambooks are attributed to him though it is certain that he never wrote anything on the subject, and to this day popular tradition in the Middle East considers his work synonymous with this form of divination.

The close affinity of dream interpretation with religious scholarship is one of the main reasons for the homogeneity of the Islamic oneirocritic tradition. Muslim authors of dreambooks did not feel free to invent new interpretations but only to repeat, systematize, refine, and broaden the existing ones (Lamoreaux 2002, 102–5, Mavroudi 2002, 23–5). For these reasons several identical interpretations – frequently corresponding word for word – can be found in dreambooks written many centuries apart in different regions of the Islamic world.

A major influence on Islamic dream interpretation was the second-century Greek work of Artemidoros, which was translated into Arabic in the third/ninth century and was extensively quoted in the dreambook of Abū Saʿīd (or Saʿd) Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb al-Dīnawarī (completed in 397/1006); al-Dīnawarī's was an exceptionally long and comprehensive manual that served as a source for several subsequent dreambooks, thereby ensuring the dissemination of Artemidoros's interpretations. However, some of Artemidoros's interpretations can be found, at least in their broad outline, in the dreambook of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim Ibn Qutayba (213–76/828–89), who is thought to have deliberately avoided non-Islamic sources in the compilation of his manual (Mavroudi 2002, 169, Lamoreaux 2002, 33).

In light of this, Islamic dreambooks must be viewed as products of a multi-layered literary tradition as much as of their contemporary reality. Using them as a source for social history is further complicated, at least in some cases, by our inability to ascertain by whom, when, and where they were written. Though the differences and omissions evident when comparing various Islamic dreambooks with each other are as important as their similarities, this entry by necessity draws broad conclusions based on the homogeneity of the material examined, and depends on Arabic texts without specifically

considering those written in other languages of the Islamic world because the latter largely derive from Arabic models.

In part I of his *Care of the Self* (volume 3 of *History of Sexuality*), Michel Foucault analyzed the manual of Artemidoros in order to understand how sexuality was experienced in Graeco-Roman antiquity. Though the Graeco-Roman and Islamic experiences of sexuality and gender are definitely neither identical nor homogeneous, certain elements in the sexual attitude conveyed by both Graeco-Roman and Islamic sources, including dreambooks, are consistent, and can broadly be identified as male dominance, conceiving of penetration as a central sexual act, and evaluating differently in terms of social acceptance the active and passive role in male homosexuality. The consistency of these elements should be counted among the reasons that enabled the Islamic appropriation of Artemidoros and of Graeco-Roman medical literature; this consistency also makes it meaningful to examine the representation of sexuality and gender in Islamic dreambooks under Foucault's lens and leads to some conclusions that are similar to his when considering Artemidoros.

Contrary to how modern psychoanalysis has trained those conversant with contemporary Western civilization to view dreams, and consistently with what has already been pointed out for Artemidoros (Winkler 1990, 26–7), Islamic dream literature does not view the experience of gender and sexuality as any more central than other aspects of human life and activity, nor as particularly burdened by psychological tension or confusion, and dreams are not considered as the key to accessing and understanding a latent or repressed part of a dreamer's personality. Dreams about sex are a rather small percentage of those discussed and interpreted in the manuals; non-sexual dreams signifying sex are also limited in number. Many dreams are interpreted in broad terms, such as the attainment of something good, relief from sorrow and distress, or misfortunes that will befall the dreamer; by surveying more concrete interpretations we can conclude what the major preoccupations of the dreamers were, or at least what the authors of dream manuals considered them to be. The average dreamer addressed in Islamic dreambooks (and this includes the work of al-Dīnawārī, which is dedicated to Caliph al-Qādir Billāh) is more or less equivalent to the one addressed in Artemidoros (as described by Foucault 1988, 7), generally a middle-class professional male unless otherwise specified; interpretations that apply to women, to slaves, to the very poor, and to the extraordinarily rich and

powerful are sometimes also recorded because Muslim authors, and in general dream interpreters from Artemidoros to Freud, acknowledge that the interpretation of the same dream may vary depending on the gender and social position of a dreamer (Mavroudi 2002, 152–5). The concerns of the average dreamer in Islamic dreambooks are similar to those in Artemidoros and underscore the analogies in the experience of everyday life in premodern urban settings: financial and business affairs leading to enrichment or impoverishment, health, life and death of oneself and of one's entourage, becoming victim to oppression exercised by government officials or one's social superiors. In contrast with Artemidoros, Islamic dreambooks frequently mention moral and religious considerations and several dream symbols are interpreted as "progress" or "decay in religion," commitment or avoidance of major or minor sins, performing the *hajj*, and the like. Such concerns are understandable in view of the aforementioned study and transmission of dream interpretation by scholars with training in the religious sciences. Contracting a marriage is occasionally mentioned among the possible interpretations of a dream, though its financial and social aspects (marrying a woman of higher social and economic status, a foreigner or an Arab) are more frequently expounded than the sexual ones (marrying a beautiful or unattractive woman, a virgin or one who has been married before). Rare, but not completely absent from Islamic dreambooks, is the interpretation of a dream as obtaining a slave girl (*jāriya*) through gift or purchase, with the implication that the dreamer will enjoy her as a sexual partner. The interpretations of women's dreams recorded in Islamic dreambooks indicate that major female preoccupations are pregnancy and childbirth, particularly the gender of the child to be born (most favorable being, of course, male); the subsequent fate of their offspring; accusations of fornication, real or fabricated; and divorce. When it comes to the veracity of women's dreams, at least one manual, a fourth/tenth century work by the last Saffarid emir of Sijistān, considers them less reliable than those of men since in general the dreams by people of higher social and/or moral status are more reliable than those by dreamers of lower status; along the same lines, the dreams of a veiled woman are more reliable than those of an unveiled one (Lamoreaux 2002, 83). However, this view is not uniformly repeated in later dreambooks.

Much as Foucault explains Artemidoros, when discussing dreams about sex Islamic dreambooks briefly and matter-of-factly describe the sexual act

dreamt of without passing moral judgment and disregarding its possible reprehensibility according to prevalent norms (for example incest, sex with a dead person or with animals); they then proceed to give its interpretation that can be – but is not always – colored by the religiously and socially perceived morality of the act dreamt about. For example, the eleventh/fifteenth century dreambook by Ibn Shāhīn interprets dreaming of being sexually penetrated by the caliph (or his social equivalent) as attaining authority (Ibn Shāhīn 1991, 257). The dream as such is religiously and socially reprehensible: homosexuality is condemned by the religion of Islam, and even if Muslim societies accept or tolerate it within certain contexts, submitting to penetration is socially perceived as a subordinate and humiliating situation (on this topic see, for example, Rowson 1991, 50–79). However, this particular interpretation is favorable because the general consensus about the significance of sexual penetration (going back to Artemidoros) is that the passive sexual partner will receive profit and benefit from his/her penetrator. Similarly to Foucault's explanation of Artemidoros, sexual intercourse in Arabic dreambooks is seen as “an ‘economic’ game of expenditure and profit: profit, the pleasure that one takes...; expenditure, the energy necessary for the act, the loss of semen – that precious vital substance – and the fatigue that ensues” (Foucault 1988, 30). Significantly, Arabic dreambooks agree that semen along with other excretions of the human body indicate money. The most important factors influencing the negative or positive interpretation of a dream about intercourse is not the illicitness of the sexual act or the partner according to social and religious norms, but the partner's condition and compliance, as well as whether the submission of the penetrated to the penetrator reproduces or upsets the existing social order between superior and subordinate, and whether the expenditure of semen is profitable and productive or not. These factors are operative in Arabic dreambooks although they are not discussed as explicitly as in Artemidoros because Muslim authors generally do not provide the reasoning leading to a particular interpretation in as much detail as he did. For example, Ibn Qutayba asserts that a wicked person who dreams of having intercourse (*nakaḥa*) with a prostitute or an adulteress (*zāniya*) will receive unlawful money and a righteous person will attain knowledge (Hebrew University MS *Yahuda ar.* 196, fol. 32b, chapter 15); intercourse with a compliant unknown old man (generally understood as the dreamer's fate) is extremely auspicious (Ibn Shāhīn 1991, 258); and sexually penetrating the

sultan means loss of money, although the opposite is auspicious (*ibid.*, 259).

Islamic dreambooks tend to be more reticent about abhorrently illicit sexual acts that Artemidoros analyzes in more detailed and explicit terms, for example homosexual and heterosexual incest. When such dreams are included their ultimate source seems to be the Arabic translation of Artemidoros, though an Islamic reasoning for the interpretation may be provided. For example, according to Ibn Shāhīn dreaming of having intercourse with one's dead mother means that the dreamer will die, an interpretation found in Artemidoros but here justified with a Qur'ānic passage (Ibn Shāhīn 1991, 258). In the sexual dreams discussed by Artemidoros the dreamer is always present as an actor (Foucault 1988, 28). The same is also true of most sexual dreams interpreted in Islamic dreambooks, with some rare and interesting exceptions. For example, dreaming of having sex with one's own mother, sister, or a female relative (*dhāt raḥīm*) can be dreamt directly by the man committing incest in the dream, or by a third party on his behalf; this is the case, for example, in the eleventh–twelfth-century manual by al-Dārī, published as Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, *Tafsīr al-aḥlām al-kabīr* (see Sīrīn 1963, ch. 54, 357; on the author, sources, and other editions of this dreambook, see Mavroudi 2002, 27–9).

Since Islamic dreambooks are usually arranged thematically in descending hierarchical order from the most to the least important (Mavroudi 2002, 142–9), the position of the interpretations pertaining to women in the overall organization of a given Islamic dreambook can be indicative of its author's and his society's views on female identity and sexuality. Women of various ages, both known and unknown to the dreamer, are usually discussed in longer chapters immediately following the corresponding interpretations of dreams about men. Of course women as dream symbols are also discussed in chapters on marriage and sexual intercourse. Though Artemidoros covers these topics in two very different parts of his work (intercourse in book 1 and marriage in book 2), Arabic dreambooks usually place them together in chapters that include the social, ceremonial, legal, and personal aspects of matrimony (engagement, marriage and its physical consummation through intercourse, divorce). Illicit sexual relations, including fornication, homosexuality, and incest, can be discussed in the context of longer chapters on marriage. The multiple meaning of several technical terms, such as *nikāḥ* (sexual intercourse, matrimony), *zāniya* (adulteress, female fornicator, prostitute), *jāriya*

(girl, slave girl, servant), must have influenced the decision to treat these subjects together.

In the manner of Artemidoros, the Islamic interpretation of women involved in dreams is generally positive, though the ultimate significance of such dreams depends on the degree of their compliance to the act and their condition: whether they are young or old, attractive or not, richly adorned or poorly clad. An old woman represents the dreamer's worldly considerations (*al-dunyā*) while a slave girl indicates something desirable. A beautiful wife, especially when one has sex with her, is particularly auspicious and signifies prosperity. The significance of female genitals (*farj*) is consistently based on etymology, a method of interpretation applied to a wide variety of dream symbols by both Artemidoros and Muslim authors, and is largely given as release from suffering (*faraj*). Likewise, the male pudenda (*dhakar*) are consistently interpreted etymologically as renown and reputation (*dhikr, dhukra*). Overall, if a woman dreams that she transformed into a man or possesses a penis or a beard, the dream either pertains to one of the woman's male relatives or indicates something positive, such as giving birth to a boy, displaying the mental strength of a man, or enjoying enhanced social prestige, interpretations evidently prompted by the more exalted social position of men in relation to women. In contrast, when a man dreams of having a vagina the dream is negative and is interpreted as subordination and humiliation. Eunuchs signify angels because they are not subject to carnal passion (Mavroudi 2002, 268–9).

Women as interpreters of dreams are almost non-existent in the official and recorded Arabic tradition of dream interpretation. No dreambook, either surviving or known only by its title, is attributed to a female author. This is not surprising, given not only the male-dominated structure of Muslim societies at large, but also the advice offered in some manuals discouraging dreamers from disclosing their dreams to women. For example, in explaining how to obtain the soundest possible interpretation the aforementioned manual by al-Dārī (Sīrīn 1963, 25) instructs dreamers not to narrate their dreams to a young person (*ṣabīy*) or a woman. The implicit reason for such advice is the consensus shared by Islamic manuals that the higher the intellectual, moral, and social standing of a dream interpreter the sounder the interpretations he offers. Obtaining a sound interpretation is important not only in order to be accurately informed about the future but also because a number of Islamic manuals agree that a dream is fulfilled according to its interpretation; therefore, an originally auspicious dream can

have disastrous results if interpreted negatively by a less competent interpreter. The dangers of female incompetence in dream interpretation (at least as compared with the equivalent abilities of the Prophet himself) are illustrated by some versions of a narrative found in a variety of Arabic sources on dreams. According to the broad outline of the story, the Prophet interpreted a woman's dream as her husband's return. When she later had the same dream and sought him again in order to obtain an interpretation she only found 'Ā'isha, or the Prophet's wives (though, in another version, Abū Bakr), who concluded it signified her husband's death, which did occur (Mavroudi 2002, 387–9). In general, however, Islamic tradition acknowledges Abū Bakr as a competent interpreter of dreams (Fahd 1966, 289–91), and the only women mentioned in the unique surviving list of dream interpreters (*ibid.*, 341–3) are his daughters, 'Ā'isha and Asmā', evidently because of their association with him (Lamoreaux 2002, 23–4, 42) and their reputation as transmitters of *ḥadīth*. Especially 'Ā'isha is the source of traditions that shaped Islamic views about dreams and are frequently cited in dreambooks (Lamoreaux 2002, 65, 117, 132).

A rare glimpse of how a seventeenth-century Muslim woman viewed her dreams as a source of spiritual guidance can be obtained from the collection of letters written by Asiye Hatun, an Ottoman lady from Skopje, in which she described her dreams to Shaykh Muslihüddin Efendi of Uziçe.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### TRANSLATIONS/ADAPTATIONS OF MEDIEVAL ARABIC DREAMBOOKS INTO EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

- A. Affès, *Le rêve et ses symboles. Une autre façon d'interpréter ses rêves d'après l'ouvrage "L'interprétation des rêves" d'Ibn Sirine, présenté, traduit de l'arabe et réécrit pour l'édition française*, Beirut 1999.
- M. al-Akili, *Ibn Seerin's dictionary of dreams. According to Islamic inner traditions*, Philadelphia 1992.
- A. Bewley (trans.), *The interpretation of dreams [by] Ibn Sirin*, London 1994.
- Y. Gouda, *Dreams and their meanings in the old Arab tradition*, New York 1991.
- M. R. b. M. A. Hathurani (trans.), *Dreams and interpretations by Allamah Muhammad Bin Sireen*, Karachi 1995<sup>2</sup>.
- I. Zilio Grandi (trans.), *Ibn Sirin. Il libro del sogno veritiero*, Turin 1992.
- H. Klopfer (trans.), *Das arabische Traumbuch des Ibn-Sirin*, Munich 1989.
- D. Penot (trans.), *L'interprétation des rêves. Manuel d'oniromancie arabe de Ibn Sirin*, Lyon 1998<sup>4</sup>.
- Y. Seddick (trans.), *Le grand livre de l'interprétation des rêves*, Beirut 1993, 1999<sup>3</sup>.
- M. A. Shahid (ed.) and Shakil A. Monir (trans.), *Interpretation of dreams by Muhammad Bin Sirin*, Lagos [1979?].

## OTHER SOURCES

- Naṣr ibn Ya'qūb al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-tā'bir fī al-rū'yā, aw, al-Qādirī fī al-Tā'bir*, ed. F. Sa'd, 2 vols., Beirut 1997.
- T. Fahd, *La divination arabe. Études religieuses, sociologiques et folkloriques sur le milieu natif d'Islam*, Leiden 1966.
- M. Foucault, *The care of the self*, trans. R. Hurley, New York 1988.
- A. Hatun, *Rüya mektupları*, ed. C. Kafadar, Istanbul 1994.
- Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Morality in the guise of dreams. A critical edition of Kitāb al-Manām, with introduction by Leah Kinberg*, Leiden 1994.
- Khalīl Ibn Shāhīn, *al-Ishārāt fī 'ilm al-'ibārāt*, i, Cairo 1991.
- C. Kafadar, Mütereddīt bir mutasavvıf. Üsküp'lü Asiye Hatun'un rüya defteri 1641-43, in *Yıllık, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi* 5 (1992), 168-222.
- J. Lamoreaux, *The early Muslim tradition of dream interpretation*, Albany, N.Y. 2002.
- H. Lutfi, The construction of gender symbolism in medieval Arabic dream texts, in *Mamluk Studies Review* 9:1 (2005).
- M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine book on dream interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and its Arabic sources*, Leiden 2002.
- S. Oberhelman, Hierarchies of gender, ideology, and power in ancient and medieval Greek and Arabic dream literature, in J. W. Wright Jr. and E. K. Rowson (eds.), *Homoeroticism in classical Arabic literature*, New York 1997, 55-93.
- E. K. Rowson, The categorization of gender and sexual irregularity in medieval Arabic vice lists, in J. Epstein and K. Straub (eds.), *Body guards*, New York 1991, 50-79.
- D. Samb, *L'interprétation des rêves dans la région sénégalaise, suivi de la clef des songes de la Sénégambie, de l'Égypte pharaonique et de la tradition islamique*, Dakar 1998.
- Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, *Tafsīr al-aḥlām al-kabīr*, Cairo 1963.
- J. Winkler, *The constraints of desire*, New York 1990.

MARIA MAVROUDI

# Representations: Erotic Literature

## Arab States

Erotic literature in modern Arabic is conspicuous by its absence. Social, and sometimes political, restrictions continue to inhibit the production and distribution of literary works dealing openly with erotic themes. In most Arab countries, writers have managed to carve a niche for the relatively frank treatment of sexuality as a legitimate part of “serious” literature, which embraces social or political causes. Moreover, discussion of sexual issues in medical (and to a lesser extent religious) books, magazines, and television programs has become almost commonplace. Yet, the expression of sexuality in these areas has to serve a higher purpose – moral, educational (specifically in the context of marriage), or medical. Seldom is erotic pleasure discussed for its own sake, nor does a literary genre exist whose primary purpose is the artistic exploration of sexual desire per se.

This lacuna is the more striking in view of the abundance of erotic works in classical Arabic literature and the general tolerance with which they were presumably met. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba (1985, 142) reminds us that erotological literature in Arabic stretches over a period of almost one thousand years. Sex education manuals began to appear by the third Hijri century (mid-ninth century A.D.), and they continued to be an established branch of Arabic literature well into the nineteenth century. Moreover, popular narrative traditions abound with erotic tales, often of very explicit nature.

However, one should be wary of generalizations about the spirit of “openness” and “candidness” that prevailed in classical Islamic society, and has been extinguished only with the advent of the modern era. It should be remembered that manuscripts of erotic manuals were circulated only within the small coterie of literate, male readers (many of them scholars). Furthermore, they were exclusively written by and addressed to men. Popular tales such as those of *Alf layla wa-layla* (The thousand and one nights) were transmitted in similar conditions – by male authors, redactors, and narrators to male auditors and readers. Thus, the subject of these works was female sexuality and how to cope with it. In a sociopolitical system whose primary concern was to control women’s sexuality, they offered their male readers a way to handle the dangerous

potential of female sexual empowerment by illustrating how to curb truant female desire and keep it within the boundaries of the patriarchal order.

The central image in erotic manuals is what Fatna Sabbah calls “the omnisexual woman” (1982, 25). The prototype can be found in *Al-alfiyya* (The woman of the thousand). This book has not survived, and we know about it through contemporary accounts (Bouhdiba 1985, 142). Recounting the memoirs of a Hindu woman who had sex with a thousand men, it served as a manual to instruct male readers on various sexual techniques and positions (*ibid.*).

The figure of the promiscuous, complicit woman is also central to popular tales, where it is usually bifurcated into two opposing types. The woman of unrestrained (and often subversive) sexuality is a recurrent motif in *Alf layla wa-layla*, but the ultimate example is perhaps ‘Arūs al-‘Arā’is, the heroine of the eponymous tale in *Kitāb al-ḥikayāt al-‘ajība wa-al-akhbār al-gharība* (The book of marvelous tales and fantastic anecdotes), whose prodigious lust wreaks havoc on entire cities. At the other extreme, we find Shahrazād, the complicit narrator of *Alf layla*, who teaches Shahrayār, as well as male readers and auditors, about women, but is the epitome of the virtuous, loyal women of many tales, who defend their husbands and lovers (often against other women), and sacrifice themselves for them when they have to.

In this context we can understand the insistence in these narratives on women’s irresistible power to have their way, despite the disturbing implications of this idea. While the “wiles of women stories” are familiar to many cultures, the separation of male and female domains in most Islamic societies added a new dimension to them. For even as it excluded them from the world of politics and the public sphere dominated by men, women’s seclusion gave them supreme dominion in their own sphere, which was strictly forbidden to men. Popular literature abounds in tales of women using their private domain to flout sexual and social mores with total impunity – admitting men to stay with them in the harem, unbeknownst to their husbands and family, and smuggling lovers in boxes or in disguise. In view of the inviolability of the female space, it becomes unrealistic for men to believe that they can control what goes on inside it. The only thing



that they can do is to rely on women internalizing patriarchal religious and moral codes and obeying them at will.

With the cessation of the strictest forms of the segregation of the sexes, and the emergence of a public space of communication made possible by the spread of literacy, the printing press, and mass media, it became increasingly difficult for an overt erotic literature to flourish in the face of social taboos. Yet, as discussed already, the discourse on sex is generally tolerated when tied to social, educational, or moral causes. Thus, Arab feminist writers have examined sexuality in the context of political and social struggles, focusing on the inhibitions and exploitations that women have been subjected to. Looking at the works of such modern pioneers as Fatima Mernissi, Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī, and Fedwa Malti-Douglas, one is hard-pressed to find explorations of sexual pleasure as an end in itself.

Recent years have seen new developments. Female writers have been increasingly moving beyond the binary tenets of exploitation and resistance. Such writers as Ahlām Mustaghānīmī, Ḥanān al-Shaykh, Hādyā Sa'īd, 'Ālyā Mamdūh, Mirāl al-Ṭahāwī, Layla al-'Uthmān, and others, continue to open up new channels for the expression of their sexuality. A recent issue of *Al-Raida*, a feminist journal published by the American University in Beirut, was dedicated to "Sexuality and Arab Women," with open discussions of lesbianism, extramarital affairs, genital mutilations, and masturbation, among other issues. Another important phenomenon has been the growing attention given to female homosexuality, which remains mostly on the margin of even the most explicit works, but whose very existence is evidence of this continuing stretching of boundaries. The most remarkable of works that treat of lesbian characters are *Misk al-ghazāl* (Deer musk, 1988) by Ḥanān al-Shaykh, *Ḥalat Shaghaf* (Infatuation, 1998) by Nihād Sīrīs, and *Ana hiya anti* (I am you, 2000) by Ilhām Maṣṣūr. The last two novels revolve around lesbian relations as their central themes. In this, and in their unbiased, or even celebratory, depictions of homoeroticism, they can be distinguished from treatments of male homosexuality in modern Arabic fiction, which are typically consigned to subplots and minor characters and associated with social and psychological maladies.

Whether these efforts will lead to the emergence of erotic literature as an acceptable genre remains to be seen. It is evident, however, that women Arab writers have opened new, bold avenues of expression, which can only continue to expand.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- M. M. al-'Adawī, *Bustān al-rāghibīn wa-bughyat al-'ajizīn 'an al-rahz li-al-kāf wa-al-sin*, Cairo 1904.  
 — (ed.), *Alf layla wa-layla*, Bulaq 1835.  
 I. K. Bāsha, *Kitāb rujū' al-shaykh ilā shibāh fi al-quwwa 'alā al-bāb*, Cairo 1876.  
 'U. M. al-Nafzāwī, *al-Rawḍ al-'āṭir fi nuzhat al-khāṭir*, Tunis [1900?].  
 J. A. al-Suyūṭī, *Nawādir al-ayk fi mārīfat al-nayk*, Damascus 2001.  
 H. Wehr and A. von Bulmerincq (eds.), *Kitāb al-ḥikayāt al-'ajība wa-al-akhbār al-gharība*, Damascus 1956.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en Islam*, Paris 1975; trans. A. Sheridan, *Sexuality in Islam*, London 1985.  
 M. Hatem, The politics of sexuality and gender in segregated patriarchal systems. The case of 18th- and 19th-century Egypt, in *Feminist Studies* 12 (1986), 251–74.  
 F. Malti-Douglas, *Woman's body, woman's word. Gender and discourse in Arabo-Islamic writing*, Princeton, N.J. 1991.  
 F. Mernissi, *Le harem politique*, Paris 1987.  
 —, *Sultanes oubliées. Femmes chefs d'état en islam*, Paris 1990.  
 Ṣ. A. al-Munajjid, *al-Ḥayat al-jinsiyya 'inda al-'arab*, Beirut 1958.  
 A. Najmabadi, Reading "wiles of women" stories as fictions of masculinities, in M. Ghousoub and E. Sinclair-Webb (eds.), *Imagined masculinities*, London 2000, 147–68.  
*Al-Raida*, special issue, *Sexuality and Arab women*, 20 (2002–3).  
 F. Sabbah, *La femme dans l'inconscient musulman*, Paris 1982; trans. M. J. Lakeland, *Woman in the Muslim unconscious*, New York 1984.  
 N. al-Sa'dāwī, *Taw'ām al-ṣulta wa-al-jins*, Cairo 1999.  
 —, *Suqūṭ al-imām*, Cairo 1987.

TAREK SHAMMA

## Indonesia

### JAVANESE CULTURAL CONCEPTS OF THE IDEAL WOMAN

Indonesian woman has historically been categorized (by men or by her culture) as a soft and lovely creature, as represented by the ideal Javanese woman, and a literary description of what makes a "good" or "bad" woman became established over time. In Indonesian culture, women are forbidden to use what is regarded as lewd language, a restriction which does not typically apply to men; female writers who explore sensitive issues such as sexuality are thus often considered to be not intellectual and, indeed, unwomanly (Junaidi 2005). This cultural concept was constructed by feudal aristocrats and later authorities through Javanese literature that was considered *adiluhung* (having noble values; displaying cultural values that must be observed) (KBBI 1992) and held to be the

standard of behavior for society. Old Javanese literature was usually written by authors and princes in a royal environment and was thus strongly masculine and gender-biased.

#### JAVANESE LITERATURE AS THE REPRESENTATION OF THE CONCEPTS

The concepts of the ideal woman made women essentially domestic. Old Javanese culture said that a woman could only be said to be perfect if she could cook (*masak*), dress up (*macak*), and give birth (*manak*). As a result, it can be inferred that women's domains were limited to three areas: *sumur*, the well (to wash clothes), *dapur*, the kitchen (to cook), and *kasur*, the bed (to serve their husbands' sexual needs). Teaching manuals for Javanese women were written by Javanese princes and aristocrats in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as *Wulang Putri*, *Wulang Reh Putri*, *Serat Wulang Estri Candrarini*, *Candrarini*, *Centhini*, *Darma Wasita*, *Retna Juwita* (Soedarsono 1986). Ideal women in the Javanese cultural concept (which of course stays "ideal" in men's constructions) were described as being like a *wayang* (puppet) character, namely Sembadra, the wife of Arjuna in *Serat Candrarini* who is depicted as a charming, friendly, simple, graceful, plain, polite, and very forgiving woman who does not talk much and is faithful to her husband. She even considers Arjuna's other wives as sisters, and not rivals.

*Serat Centhini* was written in 1814–15 by three artists: Yasadipura II, Rangga Sutrasno, and Sastra Dipura. The text was written at the order of Paku Buana V, the King of Surakarta Palace. The work actually contains various teachings and philosophies of the Javanese way of life but is remarkable for its open discussion of sex, coming as it does from a period in Javanese culture that was extremely reticent about sex. Chapters 2, 4, 5, and 9 have very erotic sections in which women are portrayed as sexual symbols; in other words, the traits, status, function, and ethics of sex are discussed. Various styles of sexual intercourse are also included. Since the authors are male, no matter how openly vulgar the content of *Serat Centhini* is, it is never held to be pornographic; in fact, it is even regarded as an *adiluhung* work.

Javanese culture does not allow women to make remarks on taboo subjects, such as sexual activities, because they are regarded as lewd, especially if sexual organs are the theme of discussion. Women who breach the taboo are considered amoral and uncivilized since they are breaking the rules of politeness. In Javanese culture, sexual activities are at the behest of men; women's role is only comple-

mentary, and her responsibility is to continue the lineage. Consequently female orgasm – according to feminists, a woman's right – is never considered or talked about in Javanese culture.

#### JAVANESE CULTURAL CONCEPTS OF THE IDEAL WOMAN AND INDONESIAN LITERATURE

The central administration is located in Java; Java's culture thus inevitably became the most prominent and central in Indonesia. Javanese philosophies, including that of the ideal woman, were borrowed nationally; throughout history literary works depicted women idyllically according to the norms of the society, which were Javanese.

In the 1970s, leading feminist literary critics such as H el ene Cixous, Julia Kristeva, and Luce Irigaray encouraged woman worldwide to reject the taboos and bans set for them. At a time when it was still impossible to talk openly about sex in Indonesian culture, Indonesian feminists as well as literary authors borrowed their ideas and poured them into their works. A prominent figure is Ayu Utami, a fiction writer as well as a feminist. Most of her works contain feminist ideas revealed openly in language still considered vulgar in Indonesia. She set a trend and her works inspired other women writers to write in a similar vein. Nowadays, literary works with erotic and vulgar content are found in Indonesia.

With ongoing globalization, nothing can prevent Indonesian women from thinking, learning, and progressing. As women gain the opportunity to learn, they start to realize the oppression in their lives. Budi Darma, a novelist, literary critic and professor at the State University of Surabaya says that Indonesian women are now pointing to the sexual oppression they have suffered as a result of the cultural construction that has shackled them for centuries. When women have the possibility and ability to write, sexual resistance appears unconsciously in their works. The erotic literary works of Indonesian female writers are the manifestation of sexual oppression that has been closely hidden through cultural taboo. They eventually realize that writing about sex is interesting because it challenges the norms of ordinary traditional society. Through this struggle, they want to express the phenomenon of concealed violence toward women, especially in terms of sex in their culture.

Although Indonesia has had female writers since 1933, the era of women's revival only started after 1965, when the country began to grow (Helwig 2003). After the further development of industry, there was not much interest on the part of the male

intelligentsia in engagement with literature, most of them preferring more challenging and interesting areas (Faruk 2005). Women were more involved in literature, not only as readers, but also as writers influential in the development of literature in Indonesia.

Thematically, sexuality is not a new thing in the world of female writers in Indonesia. N. H. Dini is an Indonesian feminist novelist who has “expressed women’s anger toward men” (borrowing Budi Darma’s phrase) since the 1970s. Her novels, which talk extensively about women, have, to a great degree, expressed and explored openness in terms of sexuality. N. H. Dini was seen as somewhat peculiar because of her Western seeming philosophy of life. It is hard to recognize her Eastern identity (*Ensiklopedi Tokoh Indonesia* 2004). Her novel *Pada Sebuah Kapal* (On the ship, 1973) deals with the inner lives of women and the main characters’ scandalous sexual lives, although in a metaphorical way. Sex was a part of the plot’s aesthetic that was not regarded as radical since there were a few male writers who had already done the same in their novels. However, compared to other female writers of her time, N. H. Dini was very brave in breaking sexual taboos. Her courage inspired young female writers in Indonesia with more daring in expressing their ideas. They explored areas formerly prohibited for them, and overcame the psychological blockages they had experienced, especially concerning sexuality, mainly as a result of the patriarchal cultural construction and religious discourse.

Like N. H. Dini, there were other Indonesian female writers who were also born in the environment in which Javanese culture prevailed in Indonesia. In Javanese culture, the role of Javanese women who have not been able to develop independent mentalities and break out from the domination that imprisons them, is in fact still being determined by the autocratic feudal authority. The labeling of women as *kanca wingking* (friends in the back, friends who belong in the kitchen) was one development of *adiluhung* dialectic “soft-rough” culture, which strongly infiltrated the Javanese societal system. The aristocratic feudal system of culture has placed women in the role of “the ‘soft-rough’ and *adiluhung* values keepers” at home (Kayam 1995).

In 1998, the same year as the downfall of former President Suharto – a turbulent social and political climate – Ayu Utami surprised the public with her best-selling novel *Saman*, which won an Indonesian award, in a brave and radical broaching of sexual taboos. Her challenge to tradition proved

that young women had something to say, and that there were plenty of people who wanted to listen (Lipscombe 2003). Ayu’s audacity in *Saman* (1998) and *Larung* (2001) has inspired many Indonesian female writers to become even braver in putting forward their work. In the post-Suharto era, female writers have been setting new trends in Indonesian literature. Not only is the quantity of women’s fiction published in the last few years astounding, but so is the effect these texts have had on the public as well as the readership (Arnez, 2003)

For example, in both of Ayu’s novels, sex becomes the main theme in the parts which tell about the four female characters: Shakuntala, Laila, Yasmin, and Cok. The sexual behavior discussed in the novel is almost completely against (Indonesian) social norms, in terms of not being within legalized heterosexual relationships. Shakuntala has bisexual tendencies; Laila falls in love with a married man but ends up having sex with Shakuntala; Yasmin betrays her husband, makes a priest an apostate, and then realizes her sadomasochist fantasies with that same priest. Meanwhile, Cok is described as a character who likes to change partners. It is not wrong, then, to conclude that in both novels, sexuality is presented provocatively. Terms such as coitus, penis, vagina, clitoris, and orgasm abound.

The representation of such varied sexual behavior and orientation, as well as the challenge to the stereotype of passive women, can easily bring us to the conclusion that Ayu Utami’s novels lie far from hetero-normative and phallogocentric values, or that Ayu has managed to create a representation of sexuality which is different (more womanly) from what has so far been known in Indonesia (Bandel 2005). After Ayu successfully shocked the public with her two novels, in just a short period of time, many more novels of the type were published, creating a huge storm in Indonesian literary circles. Dewi (“Dee”) Lestari followed Ayu in 2001 with her novel *Supernova*, which features an extramarital love story narrated by a gay male couple. Erupting onto the literary scene in 2002 was Djenar Maesa Ayu with the publication of her first collection of short stories, *Mereka Bilang, Saya Monyet!* (They say I’m a monkey). Djenar also produced other sensational works such as *Jangan Main-Main (Dengan Kelaminmu)* (Don’t play [with your genitals]) and *Nayla*. Besides these three writers, there are other well-known female writers such as Nova Rianti Yusuf (*Mahadewa Mahadewi*, The great god, the great goddess), Fira Basuki (*Jendela-Jendela*, The windows), and Herlinantiens (*Garis Tepi Seorang Lesbian*, Lesbian or a lesbianism on the margins).

Richard Oh (2004), in his foreword for Djenar's short story collection *Jangan Main-Main (Dengan Kelaminmu)*, writes that the book shows a world that is filled with humans who are hurt, marginalized, and betrayed. There are commitments that can change at any time, bonds that do not bind, and logic that has no validity. The characters in the short stories are full of paradox; almost all of them are antiheroes, and come from a brutal environment. The sex explored here can be extreme. In a short story entitled "Menyusu Ayah" (Suckling father), the main character, Nayla, who has suckled her father's penis since she was a little girl, does not really question herself when she later suckles her father's friends' penises. However, when one of those friends starts to touch her breasts and vagina, suddenly she feels her integrity being raped. In this story, the writer shows how she wants to express women's struggle against men's sexual oppression.

Nova Rianti Yusuf has other concerns. *Mahadewa Mahadewi*, Nova's first novel, concerns a psychiatric patient who falls in love with his doctor. It also features a gay relationship, with one of the characters struggling to come to terms with her best friend's sexual orientation. The same controversy is also explored in Herlinatien's (Herlina Tien Suhesti) work entitled *Garis Tepi Seorang Lesbian* (2003), a novel about a lesbian couple. This work became the subject of much public concern. For a foreign female writer, such a title would probably not be so surprising. But in Indonesia it was shocking, particularly as it came from a 21-year-old undergraduate who wears the Islamic *jilbab* (headscarf), is outside the Jakarta intellectual set, and whose family has a *pesantren* (school of Koranic studies) background.

In her novel, two modern lesbian women in their late twenties are harassed by their families to perform as dictated by the state and by culture. The lovers are split and one marries a man to please her mother, but the care and concern felt by the young women for their families is not returned. The women believe they can follow their religion and express their lesbian love, but not surprisingly the community rejects their views. They feel betrayed and damaged when they are labeled sick and abnormal (Graham 2003).

Controversy surrounded *Garis Tepi Seorang Lesbian* in Indonesia. The polemic that emerged did not concern the work's literary aesthetic, but rather the phenomenon of the courage of a writer who is young and wears a headscarf (in Indonesia, it is regarded as a symbol of Muslim women's identity, indicating that the woman is obedient and

implements religious duty) and verbally conveys the sexual life of a lesbian couple.

Her questioning of society's view of lesbianism, her concern about God's existence, the lesbian characters' confession of their Muslim faith, and their obedience in observing *sholat* while maintaining a lesbian relationship shocked Indonesian society, being contrary to the common faith, the characters' background, and the author's own background.

In a broad sense, it can be seen that Indonesian women find literature as one way to struggle for their rights to live as men do. Through literature, women represent their ideas for the same rights although this is regarded as deviation from the society's (Javanese) common norms. However, with increasing globalization, there is no way of hindering Indonesian women from accessing improvements in the world. And in literature women echo their own ideas of womanhood, breaking the concepts of the ideal woman they feel formerly harshly imprisoned them.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Amiruddin, Feminine and masculine writing. Vitality, sex, and narration. Death and the body's enthusiasm [in Indonesian], 2003, <<http://www.kompas.com>>.
- M. Arnez, Young, sexy, female. The popularity of Sastra Wangi, paper presented at the 22nd ASEASUK Conference, University of Exeter, 29 April–1 May 2005.
- D. M. Ayu, *Don't play [with your genitals]* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2004.
- , *They say I'm a monkey* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2004.
- , *Nayla* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2005.
- K. Bandel, Heteronormativity and phallocentrism in Ayu Utami [in Indonesian], 2005, <<http://www.kompas.com>>.
- Faruk, The industry of producing new writers [in Indonesian], 2004, <<http://www.kompas.com>>.
- M. N. Garcia, More than just sex. Three women authors take the Indonesian literary world by storm, 2004, <[www.insideindonesia.com](http://www.insideindonesia.com)>.
- D. Graham, Writing at sexuality's margins. A novel by Yogyakarta writer breaks new ground in discussing sexuality, 2003, <[www.insideindonesia.com](http://www.insideindonesia.com)>.
- T. Hellwig, *In the shadow of change. Images of woman in Indonesian literature*, Berkeley 1994.
- M. Humm, *Feminist criticism*, Brighton, U.K. 1986.
- , *Encyclopedia of feminism*, Yogyakarta 2002.
- A. Junaidi, Djenar confronts societal taboos, critics in first novel, 2005, <[www.gramedia.com](http://www.gramedia.com)>.
- U. Kayam, The role of women as determined by the system of power [in Indonesian], in Kompas, 23 October 1995.
- KBBI, *The big dictionary of the Indonesian language* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 1992<sup>2</sup>.
- B. Lipscombe, Chick-lit becomes hip-lit in Indonesia, 10 September 2003, <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/3093038.stm>>.
- R. Oh, Foreword, in D. M. Ayu, *Don't play [with your genitals]* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2004.
- Soedarsono et al., *The value of children and women in Javanese society* [in Indonesian], Java 1986.

- R. Sugiarti, The trend of women's struggle in literature embracing taboos, breaking through hidden violence [in Indonesian], 2003 <<http://www.kompas.com>>.
- A. Swastika, The Islamic mass media in Indonesia [in Indonesian], 2003, <<http://www.kunci.or.id/>>.
- A. Utami, *Saman* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 1998.
- , *Larung* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2000.
- N. R. Yusuf, *The great god, the great goddess* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2002.

CAHYANINGRUM DEWAJATI

## Iran

Erotic representation is present as sub-text or a component in diverse texts in Iranian literature of all periods. In premodern literature, erotic references abound in historical chronicles, courtly narratives, polemical and prescriptive religious prose and poetry on the conduct of self, narrative and lyrical love poetry, and in written and oral folklore. This entry primarily discusses selected modern literature as a general guide and addresses representation as both representations of and representations by.

Kamran Talattof argues that “Persian literary history is not an integrated continuum but a series of distinct episodic movements shaped by shifting ideologies of representation” (Talattof 2000, ix). Marked by repressive political and religious conditions, ideological positions not only color the conditions and forms of literary production and reception, but also deeply influence scholarly analysis and interpretations. Thus, in reading both primary and secondary literature, paying particular attention to the ideological tendencies of the writers must be a key concern. Generally, contemporary Islamic scholars employ an ahistorical exegetical framework where a distinction is made between the letter of the text and its “spirit” and where references to embodied and erotic desire point to metaphysical love. In contrast, secular (mostly diasporic) scholars historicize and politicize literary practices by employing a range of post-structuralist and feminist methodologies and theories where erotic representations are understood to be closely tied to ideological and political discourses of religion and nationality and illuminate modes of governing sexuality.

Amongst the latter group, Afsaneh Najmabadi traces the connections between sexualized representations of women and the formation of Iranian modernity and argues that the notion of *vatan* (homeland) in modern Iranian discourse is itself strongly gendered and eroticized through its linking to concepts such as *nāmūs* (honor) which, “delinked from its religious affiliation (*nāmūs-i Islām*) and

reclaimed as a national concern (*nāmūs-i Īrān*),” at once pointed to the sexual “purity of woman (*ismat*) and integrity of Iran... as subjects both of male possession and protection” (Najmabadi 1997, 444). Elsewhere she argues that “the language of modernity produced its own veiling by removing and replacing sexually marked vocabulary” through a modern education that aimed to prepare women (and men) for the newly heterosocial public spaces of modernity (Najmabadi 1993, 489).

In examining women's modern writings, Farzaneh Milani similarly points to tensions between former concealment (veiling) of the female body and the new social self that is revealed in literature by women. These tensions are not only present in the original writings, such as those of Parvin Itisami (1906–41), but also in the critical literature about them where the dominant patriarchal discourse attempts to conceal the “femininity” of the writers diversely by questioning the authenticity of the female authorship and/or the authority of women writers in addressing female-centered or broader topics (Milani 1992, 100–26). However, toward the middle of the twentieth century, women's literary production enters a new phase where hitherto private female emotional and sexual concerns become women's main literary topics. This is perhaps nowhere more explicit than in poetry by Furūgh Farrukhzād (1935–67), and to lesser degrees in that of Simīn Bihbahānī (b. 1927) and in fiction by Simīn Dānishvar (b. 1921) and Shahrnūsh Pārsīpūr (b. 1946). Apparent in their work are incisive critiques of male-dominated social discourse and newly articulated female claims to social and sexual subjectivity (foreshadowed in premodern literature in Māhsatī Ganjavī's poetry). After the 1979 Revolution, this trend took a sharp reversal in literature produced inside Iran to the effect of erasure of any explicit erotic and sexual references (even in reprints of earlier writers' work), while diasporic writers continue to place a renewed emphasis on gender representation and sexual selfhood; both trends were responses to the Islamic regime's routine regulation and censorship of literary production in accordance with fundamentalist moral codes.

In literature by men, fiction by 'Alī Muḥammad Afghānī, Šādiq Hidāyat, and Hūshang Gulshīrī provide examples of what can be observed in much of high and popular literature. In *Buf-i kur* (Blind Owl, 1937), Hidāyat portrays his unnamed and elusive female character as the idealized woman (*zan-i athīrī*) in her ethereal beauty and discursive silence – thus the perpetual object of male fetishistic obsession – and at the same time an aggressive

lewd wench (*lakkāta*) whose indiscriminate flirtations bring ruin to the desiring men. In Afghānī's *Shawbar-i Āhū khānum* (Āhū's husband, 1961) the main female character is subject to countless sufferings in male-dominated private and public spaces but she also possesses an awareness of her sexual self that makes her vulnerable to unwholesome desires and seductions. In *Shāzda Ihtijāb* (Prince Ihtijāb, 1968), Gulshīrī's female characters portray two stereotypes; the slender, beautiful yet sexually frigid upper-class wife and the voluptuous, earthy, sexually playful maid, both of them objects of the prince's erotic possession. During the two decades before the Revolution, a new stereotype emerged particularly in poetry by leftist writers such as Aḥmad Shāmlū, where the female character stands for ideals of freedom and justice and thus her erotic appeal becomes deeply embedded in her political persona.

Unlike in some other Asian non-Islamic cultures where specific literary genres have existed, more or less openly, for the explicit purpose of readers' erotic pleasure – such as the pillow books, *shunga*, and more current *manga* in Japan – Iranian literature, tempered and/or frequently censored by Islamic ideological apparatuses restricting practices and representations of sexuality (particularly women's), has not produced clearly identifiable “erotica” as a literary genre. Books such as *Liḍdat al-nisā'* (Taking pleasure in women) and similar pieces – while few in number and circulating only in homosocial, primarily male spaces – clearly prove that explicit erotic imaginary and pleasure have not been absent from or always necessarily hidden under the surface in Iranian literature. However, if literary genre is to be understood as continuity of form, style, and subject matter as well as production and circulation, then *Liḍdat al-nisā'* and similar works stand as prototypes and exceptions rather than emblems of a productive erotica. On the other hand, pornographic imaginary is visible in (and is almost always a constituent part of) instructive religious texts such as *Tawzīh al-masā'il* (Clarification of questions, a religious genre written only by the highest ranking clerics) or other popular literature such as accounts of travels to Europe – for example, Mirza Fattāḥ Garmrūdī's *Shab-nāma* (Nocturnal letter) – that not only do not have erotic pleasure as their purpose but also, and most importantly, deploy sexual language and eroticized imaginary toward regulating and governing sexuality and pleasure. In these texts, sexualized and gendered representations serve ideological, moral, and/or political objectives vis-à-vis explicit or implicit erotic enticement and titillation toward religious and/or nationalist goals.

Therefore, the domain of erotic literature in Iran cannot be easily circumscribed by considerations of genre or even historical period. As a nascent field in Iranian scholarship, studies addressing the problematic of sexual and gender representations in erotic imaginary must necessarily take into account as analytic factors the diverse purposes and uses of such representations.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Milani, *Veils and words. The emerging voices of Iranian women writers*, Syracuse, N.Y. 1992.  
 A. Najmabadi, Veiled discourse, unveiled bodies, in *Feminist Studies* 19:3 (1993), 487–518.  
 —, The erotic vatan [homeland] as beloved mother. To love, to possess, and to protect, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39:3 (1997), 442–67.  
 K. Talattof, *The politics of writing in Iran. A history of modern Persian literature*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2000.

GITA HASHEMI AND FATANEH FARAHANI

### Turkey and the Ottoman Empire

Sexuality permeates literary genres – even mystical literature (Schimmel 1979). Popular tales (Nicolaïdès 1906), curses, proverbs, riddles, jokes (Burrill 1970), graffiti, and other ephemera all have erotic dimensions. A broad survey is Ertop (1977).

#### OTTOMAN HIGH LITERATURE

*Bâhnâmes* (books of libido/intercourse) were part medical, part erotic treatises covering taxonomies of genitalia, sexual positions, aphrodisiacs, and risqué anecdotes. The earliest Ottoman example is *Bâhnâme-i paḍiṣâhî* (Imperial book of libido/intercourse), translated by Mûsâ b. Mes'ûd from a text attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Şehsuvaroğlu 1967). Others include *Rujū' al-shaykh ilā ṣībāh fī al-quwwa 'alā al-bāh* (Restoration of the old man to youth through the power of libido/intercourse), translated from Tifāshī by İbn Kemal Paşa (Ḥajjī Khalīfa 1967, 1:835), and again by Mustafâ Âlī as *Râbatü'n-nüfus* (The carnal souls' comfort) (Fleischer 1986, 55); and *Tuhfe-i müte-ehbîlîn* or *Müşevvikü't-tabîa fī emri'l-cimâ'* (Gift for those who are married, or Nature's encourager in the drive for sexual intercourse), translated from Shayzarī by Mustafâ Ebü'l-feyz et-Tabīb (Uzel 2002, 196–203).

Anecdotes in *bâhnâmes* reflect prevalent gender stereotypes: manipulative, materialistic, and unfaithful women, jealous, rowdy, stupid, and violent men. “Scientific” sections, however, approach the sexes symmetrically. While they posit an immutable socio-biological system in which individuals

play roles prescribed by their sex and orientation, gratification is equally due women and men. Sexuality is viewed as healthy and good, if enjoyed in moderation, and *bâhnâmes* present themselves as instruction manuals on how to make best use of the system – for the sake of both partners, and to honor God’s creation.

Erotic tales sometimes drew upon foreign sources, freely embroidered by translators. *Kitâb alf layla wa-layla* (Book of the thousand and one nights) was twice translated into Ottoman during the seventeenth century, and Musli b. Mehmed Beyânî’s version contains significantly more erotic material than the original (Tekin 2001, 79). Some Ottoman prose was mainly homoerotic, for example *Dâfi’ü’l-gumûm ve râfi’ü’l-humûm* (Expeller of sorrows and remover of worries) by Mehmed Gazâlî, known as Deli Birader (Kuru forthcoming), and *Dellâknâme-i dilküşâ* (Joy-giving book of the masseur) by Derviş İsmail, chief of the bathkeepers (Bardaççı 1992, 86–102), which both focus on bathhouses as an all-male erotic world.

High-culture literature called *divan* poetry was intensely preoccupied with love. Its imagery was codified and its tenor more lyrical than erotic, but sensuousness and explicit sexuality were also present, particularly during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. The authorial voice was masculine, but the beloved’s gender could be indeterminate, for example in Nedim (Sılay 1994, 90–107). This ambiguity derives from the ungenderedness of Turkish, and also from a male-dominated homosocial culture in which relationships between males were more likely to involve intellectual peers (Andrews and Kalpaklı 2005). *Divan* poetry generally reflects not two but three genders: men, women, and young boys. This has led to polemics (Eyuboğlu 1991, 107–70), but recent scholarship on the history of sexuality teaches us not to anachronistically project labels like “homosexual” and “heterosexual” onto ages when the choice of sexual partner was fluid and considered a matter of practice, not identity (el-Rouayheb 2005).

Satirical works called *hezeliyyât* (facetiae) had a significant erotic dimension. Rivals were commonly insulted by denigrating their masculinity, that is feminizing them. Sexual penetration was a metaphor for social domination – for example Nefî and particularly Sürûrî, whose obscenity has been likened to Rabelais (Gibb 1900–1909, 4:271).

*Şehrengiz* (“city-thriller”) poems catalogued the beautiful boys of a city (Levend 1958). Some described members of a particular profession or diverse nations, for example Fâzıl Bey’s *Hubân-nâme* (Book of [male] beauties). They were often

erotic, listing youths known as handsome and sexually available. Few described women – for example Tâci-zâde Cafer Çelebi’s *Hevesnâme* (Book of passion), Fâzıl Bey’s *Zenânnâme* (Book of women), and Yedikuleli Mustafa Azizî’s *Şehrengiz-i İstanbul der hubân-ı zenân* or *Nigâr-nâme-i zevk-âmiz der üslûb-ı şehrengiz* (City-thriller of Istanbul on beautiful women, or Pleasurable book of beautiful women in the style of a city-thriller). Likewise, *hammâmiye* or *hammannâme* (book of the bath) poems described beautiful boys rather than women; a rare description of a women’s bath, including references to lesbianism, is in *Zenânnâme*. This relative absence of women was partly due to practical reasons: in gender-segregated Ottoman society, unrelated men and women did not freely intermingle, and when they did, women were veiled; male poets could therefore not credibly claim to have seen women in order to describe them. Besides, violating the sanctity of female space and exposing women to public scrutiny would have been considered dishonorable and in poor taste.

#### OTTOMAN POPULAR LITERATURE

Shadow theater (*zill-ı hayâl*) – known by the name of one of its principal characters, *Karagöz* (Ritter 1924–53, Kudret 1968–70) – was an urban channel for social and political criticism. Frequently erotic, even obscene (until the mid-nineteenth century), it portrays classical “war of the sexes” scenarios personified as clashes between Karagöz, the quintessential “man of the people,” or his acolyte Hacivat, and their wives. Shadow theater also hinted at same-sex relations (between men or women) and gender-bending, but such motifs were more comical than subversive. The popular theater *orta oyunu* was similar in its approach to gender and sexuality, though less graphic (Kudret 1973–5). Public storytellers (*meddah*) also covered erotic subjects.

In largely rural and oral *âşık* (minstrel) poetry, lyrical and sometimes erotic themes featured prominently, for example Karacaoğlan (Aloğlu 2002). The authorial voice was masculine and more focused on women than *divan* poetry – possibly because villages were less gender-segregated than towns. Furthermore, the influence of Islam was weaker among Turkoman tribes where this poetry developed (Başgöz 1992, 44–6). Erotic similes abounded – breasts like oranges, white skin like silver, rolling hair like hyacinths, lips sweeter than fruit. Such imagery objectifies women by highlighting body parts at the expense of total personhood. Although courtly love is the underlying theme, carnal desire is not absent. Yet, much tenderness is

exhibited toward the beloved, and the poet's objective is usually a loving relationship rather than physical possession. While women are prey in an eternal hunt, they possess agency and freely choose among suitors, and are not the powerless victims of social or divine forces. *Manis* ("anonymous" strophes often composed by women) were sometimes exchanged as a dialogue that could be a battle of wits. Although most are lyrical, some are sexually explicit, and women's desire is acknowledged as much as men's.

#### THE MODERN PERIOD

The belated but rapid spread of printing affected erotic literature, which had previously been limited either to manuscripts – few in number and reaching a small audience – or to oral transmission – reaching a broader audience but rapidly changing. Printing gave erotic literature permanence and made it accessible to a larger public, but printed erotica was vulnerable to government suppression.

Under the Hamidian regime, state licencing and censorship restricted publishing. During the Second Constitutional Period, however, publishing surged. Erotic works flourished, and continued to do so through the First World War, the armistice, and the early Republic. Dime novels, pseudo-scientific sexual treatises, books on feminine beauty, love, and the like, proliferated, sometimes with erotic illustrations (Toprak 1987, Bardakçı 1992, 178–203). Some erotic novels were by mainstream authors – for example Mehmed Rauf who was sentenced to prison for *Bir Zambağın Hikâyesi* (Story of a lily, 1910) and also published *Bin Bir Buse* (A thousand and one kisses), an iconoclastic magazine of short stories and cartoons in which men and women freely intermingled, extramarital sex and adultery were commonplace, and women were as hedonistic as men (Birinci 1991, Karakışla 2001, Schick 2005) (Figures 17, 18).

Obscenity was partly the expression of a yearning for freedom, particularly in gender relations. The republican regime also aimed to restructure gender, but from above; the liberal relativism of erotic literature threatened the revolutionary puritanism of the new order. Voicing a long-suppressed longing for freer interaction between the sexes, early twentieth-century popular erotica represents people as individuals, and this-worldly pleasures as worthwhile. Women are unveiled, aware of their bodies and sensuality, and in search of personal fulfillment. This was a "literature of social transformation" (Toprak 1987, 91–2).

Although popular erotica does not "reflect" prevailing sexual mores, it advanced a particular

conception of sexuality and created shared aspirations and fantasies that contributed to reconstructing sexual discourse – and hence sexuality itself. Thus, the qualification of *millî roman* (national novel) claimed by these books is apt, for they created a collective vocabulary that partook in national self-representation in the nascent Republic of Turkey.

During the early Republic, sexuality served critical messages – for example Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Peyami Safa, and Halide Edip Adivar. Such instrumentalization plays an important role in the construction and enforcement of gender. Depicting women as the yardstick of society's virtue and morality invites social and legal measures to control them and to limit their freedom to do with their bodies as they please. The desexualized ideal woman of many revolutionary movements, notably the Kemalists, follows (Kandiyoti 1988).

One form taken by erotic literature in the republican period is popular history, for example Refik Ahmet (Sevengil) and Reşat Ekrem Koçu. By exoticizing the Ottoman past and representing harems, concubines, and polygamy as alien, they bolster relatively egalitarian gender relations.

"Village literature" sometimes represents the clash between landlords and peasants in sexual terms. In a number of explicitly erotic works – for example those of Necati Cumalı and Nevzat Üstün – the underlying theme is the violence of custom: both women and men are sensuous and desirous of each other, willing and able to express themselves emotionally and physically, but they clash with oppressive societal norms. Here too the oppression of women is displaced onto an "other," the peasantry; while a self-image is fostered in the reader that values gender equality, feminism is partly demobilized by making women's oppression someone else's reality.

Other contemporary authors – for example Yusuf Atılgan, Ahmet Altan, and Nedim Gürsel – focus on urban life and alienation. Here, it is not custom that stands in the way of sexual fulfillment, but interpersonal distance. Ranging between unsatisfying and pathological, gender relations in these works articulate a critique of society at large. Gender-bending and fluid sexuality are discussed by Atılâ İlhan, who argues that capitalism and consumerism are eroding sexual dimorphism and leading to gender and sexual indeterminacy. Murathan Mungan focuses on homoerotic themes in stories and novellas.

Some recent works by women authors are highly erotic, for example the influential *Kadının Adı Yok*



(The woman has no name) (1987) by Duygu Asena, as well as books by Pınar Kür, Leyla Erbil, Perihan Mağden, Erendiz Atasü, Şebnem İşigüzel, Adalet Ağaoglu, Tezer Özlü, and Nazlı Eray. Unlike many male authors who construct female characters in terms of “otherness,” as a foil to male characters, they have created female characters that stand on their own and voice recognizable experiences such as childhood sexual abuse, illicit love affairs, violent relationships, sexual desire for other women, and hatred of their own bodies. They use sexual dysfunction to articulate a critique of sexist society at large, for example the impossibility for a woman to achieve independence and preserve selfhood within marriage, the rigidity of social norms, and sexual violence against women.

Only a few contemporary Turkish poets have consistently sought erotic expression. Attilâ İlhan has articulated the same gender-bending themes in his poems as run through his novels. Küçük İskender’s Luddite poetry, composed of word games that stretch language beyond its limits, uses eroticism and obscenity as a weapon against authority.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Ü. Aloğlu, Karac’oğlan’da cinsellik, in *Kebikeç* 13 (2002), 111–34.
- W. G. Andrews and M. Kalpaklı, *The age of beloveds. Love and the beloved in early-modern Ottoman and European culture and society*, Durham, N.C. and London 2005.
- M. Bardakçı, *Osmanlı’da seks. Sarayda gece dersleri*, İstanbul 1992.
- İ. Başgöz, *Karac’oğlan*, rev. 3rd ed., İstanbul 1992.
- A. Birinci, Müstehcenlik tartışmaları tarihinde “Bir Zanağın Hikâyesi,” in *Dergâh* 2:16 (1991), 18–20.
- K. R. F. Burrill, The Nasreddin Hoca stories, I. An early Ottoman manuscript at the University of Groningen, in *Archivum Ottomanicum* 2 (1970), 7–114.
- K. Ertop, *Türk edebiyatında seks*, İstanbul 1977.
- İ. Z. Eyuboğlu, *Divan şiirinde sapık sevgi*, rev. 2nd ed., n.p. 1991.
- C. H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and intellectual in the Ottoman Empire. The historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)*, Princeton, N.J. 1986.
- E. J. W. Gibb, *A history of Ottoman poetry*, ed. E. G. Browne, 6 vols., London, 1900–09.
- D. Kandiyoti, Slave girls, temptresses and comrades. Images of women in the Turkish novel, in *Feminist Issues* 8:1 (1988), 35–50.
- Y. S. Karakişla, Osmanlı imparatorluğu’nda müstehcenlik tartışmaları ve *Bir zanağın hikâyesi*, in *Tarih ve Toplum* 208 (2001): 15–21.
- Muştafa b. ‘Abd Allâh Hâjji Khalîfa (Kâtip Çelebi), *Kashf al-zunûn ‘an asâmi al-kutub wa-al-funûn*, ed. M. Ş. Yalpkaya, 2 vols., repr., Tehran 1967.
- C. Kudret (Solok) (ed.), *Karagöz*, 3 vols., Ankara 1968–70.
- (ed.), *Ortaoyunu*, 2 vols., Ankara, 1973–75.
- S. S. Kuru, Sex in the text. Deli Birader’s *Dâfi’ü’l-gumûm ve Râfi’ü’l-bumûm* and the Ottoman literary canon, in *Journal of Middle Eastern Literatures* (forthcoming).
- A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şeh-erengizler ve şeh-erengizlerde İstanbul*, İstanbul 1958.
- J. Nicolaidès (ed. and trans.), *Contes licencieux de Constantinople et de l’Asie Mineure*, Kleinbronn and Paris 1906.
- H. Ritter (ed.), *Karagös. Türkische Schattenspiele*, 3 vols., Hannover, Leipzig, and Wiesbaden 1924–53.
- F. Rosenthal, Male and female. Described and compared, in J. W. Wright, Jr. and E. K. Rowson (eds.), *Homosexuality in classical Arabic literature*, New York 1997, 24–54.
- K. el-Rouayheb, *Before homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic world, 1500–1800*, Chicago and London 2005.
- İ. C. Schick, Sunuş, in Ö. Türkoğlu (ed.), *Bin Bir Buse. 1923–24 İstanbul’undan erotik bir dergi*, İstanbul 2005, 9–25.
- J. Schmidt, Sünbülzâde Vehbî’s *Şevk-engiz*, an Ottoman pornographic poem, in *Turcica. Revue d’études turques* 25 (1993), 9–37.
- A. Schimmel, Eros – heavenly and not so heavenly – in Sufi literature and life, in A. L. al-Sayyid Marsot (ed.), *Society and the sexes in medieval Islam*, Malibu, Calif. 1979, 119–41.
- B. N. Şehsuvaroğlu, Osmanlı padişahları ve bâhnâmeler, in *VI. Türk Tarih Kongresi. Ankara, 20–26 Ekim 1961. Kongreye sunulan bildiriler*, Ankara 1967, 423–8.
- K. Silay, *Nedim and the poetics of the Ottoman court. Medieval inheritance and the need for change*, Bloomington, Ind. 1994.
- Ş. Tekin, Elf Leyle’nin 17. yüzyıl Osmanlıcası nasıl yayınlanmalı? Bu metin ne kadar müstehcen?, in *Tarih ve Toplum* 208 (2001), 77–80.
- Z. Toprak, Meşrutiyet’ten cumhuriyet’e müstehcen avam edebiyatı, in *Tarih ve Toplum* 38 (1987), 25–8.
- İ. Uzel, Türkçe bâhnâmeler hakkında bir inceleme, in *Kebikeç* 13 (2002), 191–205.

İRVİN CEMİL SCHICK

# Representations: Fiction, Modern

## Argentina

Orientalist discourses – essentialist representations of Arab and Muslim cultures – frequently display a fascination with the sexuality, gender roles, and women of Muslim cultures. In Argentina, not only Orientalist writings, but also texts that attempt to problematize them, participate in this fixation on sexuality and gender. The power dynamics of the representation of the feminine, feminized, and/or sexualized Orient arises within Argentine works that describe either a far-away Orient or the Arab immigrants present in Argentina. The range of representations can be understood according to three historical markers: the Rosas dictatorship of 1835–52; the massive influx of immigrants, among them Arabs, in the late 1800s to early 1900s; and the Menem presidency of 1989–99.

In the mid-1800s, writers used images of the Arab and Muslim world in their nation-building process and in particular to criticize the dictatorship of Juan Manuel de Rosas. Their works portray Arabs as savages, or more specifically, depict those whom they consider to be uncivilized savages – Rosas and his supporters – as Arabs. All of these works either use Arab characters, depicted as barbarians, to symbolize Rosas and his followers or describe Rosas as Arab-like, and most use the figure of a Muslim woman or conceptions of Muslim sexuality to express their condemnation of the Rosas regime. José Mármol, famous for his Romantic anti-Rosas writings, wrote a verse play that takes place in the twelfth-century Near East and centers on the violent passion of Celina, a Muslim woman who kills her Crusader lover when he forsakes her. Mármol uses an alluring yet dangerously passionate Muslim woman, and the desert that is the source of her uncontrollable passion, as the vehicle for criticizing the Rosas dictatorship. Another anti-Rosas text portrays a contemporary historical event – the execution of Camila O’Gorman by the Rosas regime – through stereotypical images of the harem and Arabo-Muslim sexuality. The Franco-Argentine Felisberto Pélissot wrote a novel about O’Gorman that portrays Rosas in the garb and lifestyle of the Arab of Orientalist imagination. Pélissot, by describing Rosas as a sultan with a harem, who wears slippers, moves coquettishly, and gazes into a mirror, criticizes the authoritarian leader as a vain,

effeminate, yet lascivious Arab. These writers adapt European Orientalist archetypes of uncontrollable Arabo-Muslim sexuality in order to criticize Rosas. They were, however, the last Argentines to use such imagery in commenting upon any Argentine leader of European descent. What changed over the following years was the demographic make-up of Argentina.

In the 1860s, Arab immigrants began to arrive in Argentina. Primarily from present-day Syria and Lebanon, the majority of them were Christians, but all of them, in the eyes of Euro-Argentines, were associated with Islam. Once Arabs were physically present in Argentina, and thus were raising questions about the definition of national identity, Argentines no longer used the figure of the Arab to represent Euro-Argentine politicians. Instead, the Orientalist imaginary was employed in the definition of a new, post-immigrant wave national identity, one marked by cultural nationalism, Hispanism, and anti-immigrant sentiment. In the early 1900s, precisely in this period in which immigration policies, the judicial system, and public sentiment were rejecting immigrants, especially Semitic ones (both Jews and Arabs), writers began to employ with particular intensity the literary topos of the Orient, both as a far away place offering enticing difference and as an immigrant group of troubling dissimilarity. In these texts the authors attempt to control the Other and construct the self through their representational strategies.

Twentieth-century Argentine literary Orientalism includes several literary genres and ranges in style from realism to *modernismo* (akin to French Parnassian and symbolist writing) to the avant-garde. The *modernista* and avant-garde works often represent the Muslim world as the site of erotic freedom and excess, through figures ranging from seductive women to sexually aberrant men. One prominent example within *modernismo* is Enrique Larreta’s *La gloria de don Ramiro*. This novel, which attained international popularity and canonical status, takes place in post-Reconquest Spain and mocks the Spanish desire for a Christian, European identity as reflected in the concept of *pureza de sangre* (pure bloodlines, that is with no Muslim or Jewish traces). However, the novel accomplishes this critique through traditional stereotypes of Muslim sexuality: repeated references

to Muslim sensuality and seduction and the main female character, Aixa, a Muslim woman of captivating beauty and lustful ways.

Arab Argentine writings from the early twentieth century reveal an awareness of these Euro-Argentine discourses and attempt to counter them by writing works that present Arabo-Muslim history and culture to a Spanish-speaking audience. During the first half of the twentieth century most Spanish-language Arab Argentine publications were histories of the Arab world or essays defending the Arab immigrants in Argentina. Not coincidentally, many of these efforts focused on women's issues. Emin Arslan, the most prominent and prolific of these writers, historicized the customs surrounding marriage in Muslim societies, the harem, and the veil; however, he also fed the reader's desire for lurid Eastern tales. Thus, his response reinforced images of a voluptuous and sensual East.

The iconoclastic, yet now canonical, *vanguardista* writer Roberto Arlt treated the supposed hypersexuality (eroticism or "deviance") of the East in his Morocco-inspired writings. While traveling as a newspaper correspondent in Morocco in the 1930s, Arlt wrote essays in which he objectifies Muslim women and sneers at homosexual Moroccan men; in contrast, in his collection of Morocco-inspired short stories, Arlt often presents essentializing discourses about an exotic Other with self-conscious irony. Nonetheless, this irony sometimes coexists with a reinscription of fixed conceptions about the Orient, including its excessive sexuality. For instance, in "Los bandidos de Uad-Djuari" (The bandits of Uad-Djuari), a humorous critique of tourism and cultural authenticity is limited by the figure of a feminized Muslim boy: described like a coquettish schoolgirl, this duplicitous boy embodies the stereotype of the Arab male who displays feminine guile.

In the literature depicting Syro-Lebanese immigrants in Argentina, while some works (such as the popular theater pieces of the *sainete*) do not associate the struggling immigrant merchant with any sumptuous sensuality and only maintain the stereotype of the submissive Eastern woman, others present different versions of Muslim hypersexuality. From the 1970s on, the well-known Arab Argentine novelist, Jorge Asís, published a series of novels that portray Syro-Lebanese immigrants and their descendants in Buenos Aires. Asís's novels present, albeit with a picaresque tone, female Syro-Lebanese characters who are passive in the face of patriarchal power, or even actively supportive of it, and male Syro-Lebanese characters who boast exceptional sex drives and powers of seduction.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Euro-Argentines have taken up Orientalist imagery as they react to the political career of Carlos Menem, the son of Syrian Muslim immigrants (he converted to Catholicism) who became president of Argentina. Anti-Arab bigotry resurfaced once Menem won the presidential nomination in 1988. Since then, the press, the populace, and popular culture (from Vegas-style revues to humor magazines) have often linked Menem's shortcomings as president to his ethnic origins. One strand within this phenomenon, seen in the popular non-fiction works of Morandini and Walger, employs the Western image of the harem to criticize Menem and associated Muslim Argentines.

Argentine writers, of both Arab and European descent, have attempted to critique and unravel essentialist representations of Muslim women, but these problematic representations continue.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- R. Arlt, *Aguafuertes españolas*, Buenos Aires 1936.  
 —, *El criador de gorillas*, Buenos Aires 1969 (1941).  
 E. Arslan, *La verdad sobre el harem*, Buenos Aires 1916.  
 —, *Misterios de Oriente*, Buenos Aires 1932.  
 J. Asís, *Don Abdel Zalim. El burlador de Domínico*, Buenos Aires 1986 (1972).  
 —, *Flores robadas en los jardines de Quilmes*, Buenos Aires 1980.  
 C. Civantos, *Between Argentines and Arabs. Argentine Orientalism, Arab immigrants, and the writing of identity*, Albany, N.Y. 2006.  
 E. Larreta, *La gloria de don Ramiro*, Madrid 1960 (1908).  
 J. Mármol, *El cruzado*, Buenos Aires 1851, repr. in *Textos dramáticos*, Buenos Aires 1926.  
 N. Morandini, *El harén. Menem, Zulema, Seineldín. Los árabes y el poder político en la Argentina*, Buenos Aires 1998.  
 F. Péliot, *Camila O'Gorman*, trans. H. Fajardo, Buenos Aires 1856.  
 S. Walger, *Pizza con champán. Crónica de la fiesta menemista*, Buenos Aires 1994.

CHRISTINA E. CIVANTOS

### The Caucasus

Compared to other world literatures, representations of women in the Caucasus are scarce, and when they do exist they tend to adhere to rather stereotypical patterns. Perhaps this can be traced to the fact that the cult of masculinity (Georgian, *vazhkatsoba*) has dominated representations of Caucasian culture. This of course is not to say that there are no women in Caucasian fiction, but rather that when they figure as protagonists in Georgian fiction – the focus of the present entry – it is almost

always in the roles of mothers, wives, and caretakers of the main male hero, rather than as the primary character. For example, Mikheil Javakhishvili's *White Face* (1926) is an account of an urban intellectual who leaves his young feminist wife in the city for an even younger girl of the mountains who possesses the virtues of traditional womanhood. The hero's "escape" to the mountains is determined in part by his quest for a purer example of femininity than he can find in the city.

Konstantine Gamsaxurdia's novel, *The Right Hand of a Great Master* (1938), contains perhaps the most canonical representation of a woman in Georgian literature: a girl named Shorena betrothed to the eleventh-century Georgian King Giorgi III. Shorena is both a strong character in that she hunts as well as any man, and a classically feminine woman, in that her actions throughout the novel are determined by the love she feels for the architect Saakadze. Shorena functions in the novel as a muse for Saakadze; she is explicitly figured not as someone who creates in her own right, but as someone who inspires men to make masterpieces. In nearly all Gamsaxurdia's texts, women have a clearly strategic function of helping the male protagonists clarify their own identity as artists. Rarely do we encounter them outside the male gaze, or sense that Gamsaxurdia as an author is attempting to understand their experiences in their own terms.

Javakhishvili's representations of women are more nuanced than Gamsaxurdia's, but with both writers there is a strong sense not only of a male voice but of a male perspective that dominates the field of representation. Margo, the heroine of *Jaqo's Guests* (1938), figures in the novel as a marker of feminine fragility and faithlessness. The novel begins with her as the wife of the aristocratic owner of an estate and ends with her as the wife of their former servant Jaqo, who uses his power as a representative of the new Bolshevik order to appropriate Teimuraz's estate. Margo is attracted to whichever man appears to be in power, whether such power assumes the form of money or physical strength.

Arguably, the most intriguing female heroine in Caucasian literature is the heroine of Važa-Pšavela's *Host and Guest* (1893), Aghaza. When there is a conflict between the Chechen community of which they are a part and their Georgian guest, Aghaza defies the community and takes the side of the guest. She watches their Georgian guest Zviadauri sacrificed by her fellow villagers and the readers is told that she, a Muslim woman "sheds tears" for the death of Zviadauri. Aghaza's compassion for the Christian guest is portrayed as an act of moral courage, in this text penned by a Chris-

tian Georgian author with deep sympathies for the Muslim mountaineers to the north.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- K. Gamsaxurdia, *The hand of the great master* [in Georgian], Moscow 1955.  
 ———, *Collected works in eight volumes* [in Georgian], Tbilisi 1958–67.  
 M. Javakhishvili, *Collected works in six volumes* [in Georgian], Tbilisi 1958.  
 D. Rayfield, *The literature of Georgia*, Oxford 1994, 2nd rev. ed., Surrey, England 2000.  
 Važa-Pšavela, *Three poems*, trans. D. Rayfield, Tbilisi 1981.

REBECCA GOULD

### Iran

There are differences between female and male writers' approaches to the concept of woman in Iranian fiction, and they express their points of view based on historical, political, and social circumstances. The last quarter of the nineteenth century is often considered to be a renaissance era in Iranian literature. Modernism, which was the result of extensive relations between Iran and European countries, was marked by the use of simple, plain language and new subject matters. The Constitutional Revolution of 1905–11 brought to the fore issues of freedom, mass education, presence of women in society, and women's rights. Short stories, drama, and social historical novels emerged as new genres (Mahmudi 2002).

In the first modern stories, woman was portrayed as unable to know her own good or to change herself or her surrounding world, submitting to what she had, and knowing no feelings of rebellion. There is not much psychological depth to the characters and the emphasis is on routine daily life. Even this much is not reflected with insightful details; hence, female characters are types rather than individuals, even in the short stories of one of the earliest and most famous novelists, Jamāl-zāda (1892–1997) (Yāḥaqqī 1995).

Šādiq Hidāyat (1903–51), the best-known fiction writer of his generation, also offered stereotypical portrayals of women, along with most of his contemporaries. Women are shown as either mean, immoral, and scapegoats of circumstances, or completely innocent, passive, romantic, ideal, and unreachable. They are sacrificing mothers or wives, the only positive roles for female characters.

Women began to find more distinct identities in the fiction of female writers. A decade later, Sīmīn Dānishvar (b. 1921), the first Iranian female fiction writer, as well as others who followed her,

portrayed women in search of their true identity, positive social activities, and political awareness. These female characters were more realistic and life-like than the previous types.

In the 1960s and 1970s, women flourished as fiction writers. Sīmīn Dānīshvar, Mahshīd Amīrshāhī, Gulī Taraqqī, Mīhan Bahrāmī, Farīda Lāshāyī, Shahrnūsh Pārsīpūr, Shahrzād ‘Alīzāda, and Ghazāla ‘Alīzāda are the most famous. The important common point in their fiction is the patient female narrator (Sipānlū 1995).

Among the male fiction writers of the post-1979 period, Muḥsin Makhmalbāf (b. 1957) is one of the best known. In his early war novels, woman is a paradigm of sacrifice: she becomes a hero through the sacrifice of her own self, and turns love into a moral and religious ideal. However, later, as he develops into a social reformer, his female heroines experience an existence of multi-layered sufferings – women whose destiny is out of their own hands (Mīr ‘Ābidīnī 1998).

The female writers of this period, such as Dānīshvar, Taraqqī, Pārsīpūr, ‘Alīzāda, Farkhunda Āqā’ī, and Firishta Mawlavī, illustrate the Iranian woman’s problem of identity and her position in a period of social changes, mixing women’s attempts at self-recognition with the criticism of patriarchal society, which imprisons women in a shell made of musts and must-nots (Mīr ‘Ābidīnī 1998). They often portray women from a feminist perspective and with modern views: characters who attempt to discover their individuality and identity find a noticeable position in this literature.

In these feminist novels, articulation of women’s problems and position in society becomes social critique. Their asking for equality with men shows itself in an opposition to male dominance in family and is a revolt against this dominance in both emotional and social life. Men are often guilty because they do not know love or companionship. In most cases, the crisis comes to a head in the conflict between a male-dominated social world and an insecure female. In such novels as *Tubā and the Meaning of Night* by Shahrnūsh Pārsīpūr, a kind of self-awareness mixed with a feeling of confusion, isolation, exile to a dream-world, and melancholic moods is noticeable.

Rāziya Tujjār, Maṣūra Sharīfzāda, Samīrā Aṣlānpūr, Maryam Jamshīdī, and Zahra Zavarīan are fiction writers who believe in the Islamic Revolution and its religious tenets. They depict an insecure and stressed familial atmosphere, portraying innocent women and problematic men in their writings. Women do not receive the necessary friendship and companionship from men, and

men are not faithful to their wives or are so much involved in work and business that they forget them (Mīr ‘Ābidīnī 1998).

Between 1995 and 2005, both male and female writers have created either liberated heroines, or protagonists dissatisfied with their married lives – or even temporary relationships with men – who wish to become liberated. These characters are women who participate in the routines of ordinary life, in the social atmosphere of work, social get-togethers, and serious gatherings, yet are bored and desperate. They are usually confused, they escape into idealism, suffer seriously from identity crisis, are inconsistent in their relations with either men or other women, do not feel responsible toward society, are seriously captivated in their own individuality, and are, on the whole, representatives of Iran’s cultivated women’s self-alienation.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- H. Maḥmūdī, *Naqd va taḥlīl va guzīda-i dāstān’hā-yi Sādiq Chūbak*, Tehran 2002, 38.  
 H. Mīr ‘Ābidīnī, *Sad sal-i dāstān’nivīsī dar Īrān*, iii, Tehran 1998, 1109–10, 1154.  
 S. Parsīpur, *Tubā and the meaning of night*, Tehran 1998.  
 M. ‘A. Sipānlū, *Nivīsandīgān-i pīshraw-i Īrān*, Tehran 1995, 126–7.  
 M. J. Yāḥaqqī, *Chūn sabūy-i tishna*, Tehran 1995, 192.

FARAH YEGANEH AND MOHAMMAD FULADI

### Southeast Europe

Representations of gender in Southeast Europe, mainly in the Western Balkans and especially in areas that symbolize new political constructs more than geographical or cultural units, have retained images from previous cultural and historical periods while adding new features, thus creating a multifaceted image of Balkan women. Although portrayals of Muslim women in the public arena and in literature continue to reflect old-fashioned styles, they also draw upon new representations of Muslim women, particularly in the context of nationalist discourses that first appeared in the 1980s.

The poetic stereotype of the traditional Muslim woman originated in oral medieval lyric poetry known as *sevdalinka*. *Sevdalinka* (possibly from Arabic *sawdā*, one of the four humors of ancient medicine controlling feelings and emotions, or Turkish *savda*, passionate love) preserved an idealized image of Muslim women from medieval, urban Bosnia, where, according to Islamic practice, women were hidden from the public eye. Within

the city quarters known as *mahala*, architectural features including hidden small windows, exotic gardens behind high walls, unreachable houses, and beautiful features such as colorful springs, along with the distinctive Ottoman Turkish women's clothing and jewelry became favored sources of metaphors. The depiction of the woman in these texts dedicated to tragic love creates in the *sevda* a catalyst for emotional release and melancholic romanticism. *Sevdalinka* images often served as a source of popular inspiration in the region and were further developed in the seventeenth to early twentieth centuries as literary representations of Muslim women by a number of authors from different religious and ethnic backgrounds. The literary, cultural, and popular representations of exoticized Muslim women that arose from such imaginings reveal a stereotypical male gaze and objectified women's nature.

Alternative images of Muslim women came from lesser-known, nearly forgotten texts. Two women travel writers from the region wrote about Muslim women in a manner that differed from that of their Orientalist peers. The first, known as Dora d'Istria (born Princess Elena Gjika), was a writer and feminist born in Romania to a Romanian Albanian family. In her two-volume tract, *Women in the Orient* (1859), she spoke out for the emancipation of Middle Eastern women in the Levant. The second, Serbian writer Jelena Dimitrijević, challenged one of the most stereotypical representations of Muslim women by presenting an "insider's view" of Muslim women's life in a Turkish harem. She was surprised by the fact that the harem women, although isolated from the outside world, enjoyed and exhibited various talents and knowledge. For example, many spoke several foreign languages, employing their multilingualism in different daily situations as well as translating their cultural knowledge into new social settings. Languages represented included Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Serbian, Albanian and Bosnian, Ladino (the language of Seferdim, Spanish Jewish merchants), Romani (the language of "Gypsy" musicians and dancers), and several Western European languages. The ethnographic significance of Dimitrijević's work is emphasized by anthropologist Svetlana Slapšak (2000) who proposed that the Balkan women whom Dimitrijević observed in the harem were practicing their intellectual skills, exercising power, showing an appreciation of different cultures through language learning, and also playing a "game" that subverted the aversion of the male public to women's creativity and to unknown cultures.

Fictional works from Balkan writers began to appear in the early twentieth century and reveal two common tendencies regarding the development of female characters. The first device draws upon the traditional expectations of patriarchal society and the gender roles of good wife, mother, daughter, and sister – a literary construction that could be developed in either a positive or a negative manner, or somewhere in between. The second theme privileges male desire and the supposedly scientific biological differences between men and women. It ascribes stereotypical "feminine" characteristics, for example attractiveness, adorability, charm, beauty, idealism, passivity, and the like as being "natural" to women. These two types of representation are combined in a variety of ways, depending on the requirements of the authors. Within this context of well-known and widely used images, the representations of overtly Muslim women added additional stereotypes fashioned by exoticism, mysticism, and imagination; an "Otherness" that was often exaggerated by nationality, foreigner status, and marginalized social position.

Despite the emancipation of Muslim women after the Second World War, initially in the urban areas of Yugoslavia, and in spite of official proclamations of gender equality, the literary canon that was structured during the "golden years" of Yugoslav socialism remained biased toward men and a male perspective. During the socialist period, from 1945 through the 1970s, representations of women based on religion and ethnicity were allowed only insofar as they served to deconstruct outdated cultural categories in favor of new national ones based on an ideology of "brotherhood and unity" as Muslim women acquired a new identity, that of being Yugoslavian. Responding to the new demands of socialist society, literature was required to be politically correct, with few exceptions pertaining to particular cultural settings. After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, gender, class, and ethnicity again became the markers of renewed national identities that arose from transitional reversals and nationalist discourse. In addition, stereotypical representations of Muslim woman were again warped, this time to be used in war propaganda.

Beginning in the 1980s, women's bodies were symbolically used by the media to mark ethnic territory within nationalist discourse. Women were publicly characterized by ethnicity and gender roles, for example "Serbian mothers burdened with modernity" and Muslim Albanian women as "machines" for reproduction according to their "primitive" traditional and religious backgrounds. The Serbian state authorities and makers of public

culture such as journalists, poets, and other writers drew upon longstanding stereotypical notions. In the 1990s, for example, stories appeared in the media depicting Muslim women as less able to defend themselves than Croatian women, due to their passive traditional upbringing, a representation which eventually led to them being constructed as collective victims in Bosnia. Ethnonationalist discourse based on the rapes of Muslim women by Serbian national soldiers was characterized by its uses in war propaganda and the construction of a victimized national identity.

Similar ideologically-charged representations of Muslim women in the Bosnian war appeared in Western accounts as information about atrocities against women in the war was spread around the world by sensational articles and books, and even by academic publications repeating hackneyed stereotypes. For example, according to Pulitzer Prize journalist Roy Gutman, who reported on the genocide in Bosnia, Muslim women raped in the Bosnian war continued to live in fear of rejection and ostracism, a condition that was most likely due to their traditional way of living in silence, which was “conservative and primitive.” Feminist writer Catherine MacKinnon used the war rapes of Muslim women in Bosnia as an illustrative argument for her campaign against pornography in America, claiming that Serbs raped women during the Bosnia war because the Serbian market was overrun by pornography before the war. Nor are those from the region immune to potential misrepresentations. For example, a work of fiction written by Croatian author Slavenka Drakulić in the late 1990s, published in English as *S.: A Novel about the Balkans*, raises difficult questions about the commercial uses of history – in this case, the actual testimonies of raped Bosnian women – as well as the dangers of oversimplifying complex issues. Critical attention, therefore, still needs to be applied to the role of literature and other forms of writing as sources of popular images that continue to affect the lives of Muslim women in the Balkans.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bibliography of books by women writers in Yugoslavia pisaca* [in Serbo-Croatian], Beograd, Ljubljana, and Zagreb 1936.
- E. Duraković, *Bosnian Muslim authors* [in Bosnian], Zenica 2003.
- J. Dimitrijević, *Letters from Niš about the harem* [in Serbo-Croatian], Beograd 1897; repr. 1986.
- , *New women* [in Serbo-Croatian], Beograd 1912.
- , *Letters from Salonika* [in Serbo-Croatian], Sarajevo 1918.
- R. Gutman, Foreword, in A. Stiglmyer (ed.), *Mass rape. The war against women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Lincoln, Nebr. 1994, ix–xvi.

- C. Hawkesworth, *Voices in the shadows. Women and verbal art in Serbia and Bosnia*, Budapest and New York 2000.
- D. d'Istria, *Les femmes en orient*, 2 vols., Zürich 1859.
- C. A. MacKinnon, Turning rape into pornography. Post-modern genocide and rape, genocide, and women's human rights, in A. Stiglmyer (ed.), *Mass rape. The war against women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Lincoln, Nebr. 1994; repr. in C. A. MacKinnon, *Are women human? And other international dialogues*, Cambridge, Mass. 2006, 160–8.
- M. Maglajlić, *101 love lyrics* [in Serbian], Mostar 1978.
- J. Mostov, “Our women”/“their women.” Symbolic boundaries, territorial markers and violence in the Balkans, in *Pro Femina. Časopis za žensku književnost i kulturu* [Beograd] 3 (1995), 210–19.
- M. Rizvić *Panorama of Bosnian literature* [in Bosnian], Sarajevo 1994.
- , *Review of folk literature in Bosnia-Herzegovina* [in Bosnian], Sarajevo 1985.
- S. Slapšak, Harems, nomads. Jelena Dimitrijević, in B. Arsić (ed.), *Women, images, imaginaries* [in Serbian], Beograd 2000.
- , *Women icons of the twentieth century* [in Serbian], Beograd 2001.
- War Discourse, Women Discourse, TOPOS* 2:1/2, Ljubljana 2000.

JELENA PETROVIĆ

#### Turkey

In the second half of the nineteenth century, when the modernizing elites of the Ottoman Empire appointed themselves as the pioneers of a wholesale cultural transformation, a reassessment of gender roles became an important item on their agenda. Since then, gender construction in modern Turkish fiction has been homologous to cultural constructions of gender that ran parallel to definitions of cultural identity, invariably attempted within the problematic of the East–West encounter. Given the prerogatives of an Islamic, patriarchal society in formulating the desired male and female roles, the polarity on which sexual identities were structured did not change much for a whole century between 1880 and 1980, until there emerged a serious demand from the feminist movements, following 1970s, for a re-evaluation of gender roles and deconstruction of gender binaries. Accordingly, male-female roles which had been defined along rules of decorum proper to each sex in the domestic and public spheres were reviewed by feminist writers who sought to redefine the rather mechanical reduction of their functions to domestic space and privatized that space by introspection, reflection, reassessment of their social status, and re-examination of the relation between the sexes. The settings of their novels, such as Adalet Ağaoglu's *Ölmeye Yatmak* (Lying down to die, 1970), no longer map

the areas of domestic duties but are privatized into intimate, confessional spaces harboring the heightened consciousness of the novels' protagonists, which leads them to question gender definitions in a patriarchal society.

In the Tanzimat novels written between 1880 and 1910, the figure of the ideal woman was the domestic wife and mother, content in her segregated confinement. Any transgression of domestic space was perceived as a moral transgression, a threat to private happiness and public morality. This formulation of gender was internalized by women themselves. The first woman novelist, Fatma Aliye, shows her complicity with male guardianship not only by publishing under the protection and surveillance of the most patriarchal novelist of the time, Ahmet Mithat Efendi, but also by essentializing gender roles in a rather misogynist fashion when she associates the male with truth and female with dream, male with reason and female with hysterical emotion in her co-authored novel, *Hayal ve hakikat* (Dream and reality, 1891). The anti-heroines of the Tanzimat novels were shown to degrade themselves and bring tragedy upon the house when they transgressed the domestic-public boundaries and aspired to over-Westernization by giving free rein to their passions, or letting themselves be over-affected by the novels they read (Mardin 1974, Parla 1990, Gürbilek 2004).

The decades that followed the Tanzimat until the founding of the Republic in 1923 testify to a confusion in gender roles as they were represented by the leading novelist of the era, Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil. Uşaklıgil's male characters encounter their female counterparts in domestic (*Aşk-ı memnu*, Forbidden love, 1922) or public (*Mai ve siyah*, The blue and the black, 1916 or 1917) spheres as weak, emasculated men confused by the changing times and overwhelmed by passionate women characters stronger than they are. This blurring of gender roles initiated a thin vein of gender ambiguity in the Turkish novel, represented by Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar's *Mahur beste* (The Mahur composition, 1975), Yusuf Atılgan's *Anayurt Otel* (Motherland Hotel, 1973), and Oğuz Atay's *Tutunamayanlar* (The disconnected, 1971) where the theme of identity crisis is rendered in terms of anxiety-ridden, passive male protagonists rather than complacent, self-assertive male heroes. The dominant vein, however, continued to be represented by clearcut gender differentiation in the novels of prominent early Republican novelists such as Halide Edip Adıvar, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Peyami Sefa, and Reşat Nuri Güntekin. In these novels, men and women act in the public sphere in solidaristic camaraderie, resolved

to contribute to the newly founded nation's progress. The Republican novelists allowed their female protagonists to appear outside the home by clothing them in the garbs of modest asexuality and making them work in the respectable feminine professions of nurse and teacher (Kandiyoti 1988, Durakbaşa 2000, Saraçgil 2005). The paradigm did not change much when women sallied once again into the public sphere following the 1960 military coup, this time as leftist activists. In the novels that recorded the idealistic rebellion of the leftist youth, women were still portrayed as the modest sisters, albeit masculinized so that they could stand side by side with their brothers in the struggle for socialist patriotism which replaced the nationalist patriotism of their mothers (Berktaş 1990). Latife Tekin's novel *Gece dersleri* (Evening classes, 1986) is a retrospective commentary on Turkish leftists' gendering, which she believed was not immune to the cultural devaluation of women by the patriarchy.

The reinscription of gender roles in modern Turkish fiction necessitated serious soul-searching and was recorded by women writers following the 1970s. The leading figure is Adalet Ağaoğlu, who, in her trilogy *Dar zamanlar* (Narrow times) investigated the consequences for women of trading the domestic sphere for the public in return for the illusion of social, economic, and sexual autonomy. The hotel room in which Ağaoğlu's heroine, Aysel, lies down to die is symbolic of women's need to deny both the public and the private spheres allotted to them by the patriarchy and the requisite to create an alternative, privatized space from which they could speak in their own voices (Parla 2004). Therefore, when at the end of Latife Tekin's novel *Sevgili arsız ölüm* (Dear shameless death, 1983), the pages written by the novel's protagonist, Dirmiş, escape from the roof of the house where she is confined as punishment for writing poetry, the "new woman" of modern Turkish fiction emerges. She is the writer-protagonist in quest of a new space to dig and a new tongue to find in order to debunk the patriarchal gendering of a still patriarchal society.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- F. Berktaş, Türkiye solu'nun kadına bakışı. Değişen bir şey var mı?, in 1980'ler Türkiye'sinde kadın bakış açısından kadımlar, İstanbul 1990.
- A. Durakbaşa, *Halide Edib. Türk modernleşmesi ve feminizm*, İstanbul 2000.
- N. Gürbilek, Erkek Yazar, Kadın Okur, in S. Irzık and J. Parla (eds.), *Kadımlar dile düşünce*, İstanbul 2004, 275-307.
- S. Irzık, Latife Tekin'de beden ve yazı, in S. Irzık and J. Parla (eds.), *Kadımlar dile düşünce*, İstanbul 2004, 201-23.
- D. Kandiyoti, Slaves girls, temptresses and comrades, in *Feminist Issues* (Spring 1988), 35-50.



- Ş. Mardin, Superwesternization in urban life in the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the 19th century, in R. Benedict and E. Tümertekin (eds.), *Turkey. Geographical and social perspectives*, Leiden 1974, 403-46.
- J. Parla, *Babalar ve oğullar. Tanzimat romanının epistemolojik temelleri*, İstanbul 1990.
- , Tarihçem kâbusumdur! Kadın romancılarda rüya, kâbus, oda, yazı, in S. Irzık and J. Parla (eds.), *Kadınlar dile düşünce*, İstanbul 2004, 179-200.
- A. Saraçgil, *Bukalemun erkek*, İstanbul 2005.

JALE PARLA

# Representations: Film

## Arab States

In general, representations of gender and sexuality in film in the Arab world differ according to the type, be it popular mainstream, socially committed realism, individual *cinéma d'auteur*, or experimental avant garde, which are distinguished primarily through their funding (commercial/cultural) and their audiences (inclusive to lower classes/elite). *Cinéma d'auteur* and avant garde films are rather elitist in form and marginal in distribution. Their approach may be innovative, deconstructive, or even subversive in nature, giving voice to individual, subjective, local, and historical-particular experiences – unlike realism, which is often rhetorical and committed to a unifying and dominant (political) discourse. Realism is commonly concerned with the “real”ization of its contents, facilitating the confusion of a message about reality with reality itself. Its representation of gender tends to be affirmative if not pessimistic.

In contrast, popular cinema output negotiates gender roles in a contradictory and ambivalent (but not necessarily conservative) way, letting subconscious material surface and enabling utopian transgression as much as penalizing repression. It may foster the coexistence of conservative, traditional, and progressive concepts in one and the same text; and it therefore includes traditional Muslim-dominated as well as modern, partly occidental understandings of women.

According to traditional Muslim perceptions, a woman is not the victim of her sex, “bearing in pain” (Rotter 1997), but a powerful being, able to unleash chaos or *fitna* (Mernissi 1987). Thus, women are seen to embody uncontrollable sexuality and also *kayd* (guile), the latter often put in the service of the former (Malti-Douglas 1992). Fatima Mernissi believes that these notions have not been replaced but remain active in an implicit manner, while the new theory of woman as *al-jins al-nā'im* or *al-laṭīf* (the gentle sex) has come more explicitly to the fore (Mernissi 1987). Indeed, in mainstream cinema, notions of femininity have developed along these two lines – mixed at times, distinct at others – basically coming down to an opposition between passivity versus activity or objectification versus subjectivity, oppositions that inform not only film

characters but also narrative developments, the handling of cinematic space, male gazing, and star personas.

Mainstream cinema in the Arab world since the late 1920s has been dominated by Egypt, in addition to some Lebanese and Syrian films between 1955 and 1975 and some Moroccan works since the 1990s. Early Egyptian film was characterized by its melodramatic stance, which often cast women in the role of victim. Numerous films of the time expressed class differences and social-ascent aspirations in metaphors of cross-class sexual exploitation and rape. However, with the introduction of one of its most topical issues, love versus arranged marriage, in the adaptation of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal's educational novel *Zaynab* in 1930, there was not only room for emotional (melodramatic) transgression but also for concepts of modern bourgeois marriage and individual freedom. The problem of female labor and its repercussions on spouses was also debated: either dramatically, starting with *Lu'bat al-sitt* (The lady's game, 1946), starring dancer Taḥiyya Kāriyūkā, or in a comic way, such as in the conservative *al-Ustādha Fāṭima* (Professor Fatima, 1952) and the more progressive *Mirati mudir 'ām* (My wife general director, 1966).

The star personas of popular melodramatic actresses, for example that of Fāṭin Ḥamāma, in films such as *Laḥn al-khulūd* (Song of eternity, 1952), helped to embellish the idea of disobedience or even separation and divorce because of true love. While early films favored romance, in the 1960s and 1970s an increasing “libertinage,” not only in dress but also in sexual deportment, characterized films produced or shot in Lebanon. *Imra'a likull al-rijāl* (A woman for all men, 1971) and productions such as *Dhī'āb la ta'kull al-laḥm* (Wolves don't eat flesh, 1973) are, however, partly sexist in their visual exploitation of the female body and their insistence on the virgin-whore dichotomy. Although this “libertine” development was eventually stalled by a new morality that resulted from Egyptian media exports to the Gulf states, with the introduction of action and particularly espionage films in the 1980s, stars like Nādiya al-Gindī, often dismissed as trivial, had the economic power to shape their own personas. She introduced the armed avenger

and woman trickster by drawing on traditional notions of female guile and sexual power.

In recent Egyptian and Moroccan popular films, woman's access to labor and public space has not been dramatized, yet moralism, emotional deprivation, and family authority (*al-Nisā'* [Women], Morocco, 1998) are still debated, as is the issue of virginity, particularly in recent youth-oriented Egyptian shopping-mall films (*Ouija*, 2006). Female bonding as a source of empowerment has also surfaced in the last decades, for example in the Egyptian *Ahlām Hind wā Kāmiliyya* (Dreams of Hind and Camelia, 1988) and *Ya dunyā yā gharāmī* (My life, my passion, 1996) and the Tunisian *Halfaouine* (1989).

Concepts of femininity are not only negotiated through the extent to which women function as basic narratological bearers but also in their visual positioning through editing and their submission to male gazing. The visual isolation of female body parts similar to "cut-outs" (particularly overt in belly-dance scenes) and the use of point-of-view shots enhance women's subjection to the male gaze. These may be regarded as by-products of the explicit theory underlining passive female sexuality, but they have been simultaneously qualified by the concept of female seductive power. The Egyptian femmes fatales Hudā Sulṭān, in *Imra'a fī-al-tariq* (A woman on the road, 1958), Hind Rustum, in *Dimā' 'ala al-Nīl* (Blood on the Nile, 1961), and Nādiya al-Gindi's recent star persona and film plots, such as *Kalām al-layl* (Night talk, 1999), have created an affinity with the traditional Arab Muslim concept by overstating the omnipotent seductive (yet not phallic) aspect of femininity. This representation was even juxtaposed with an overtly active female gazing in some films by the Egyptian woman director, Inās al-Dighidī.

Iranian cinema after the Islamic Revolution has covered the female body and developed the "averted gaze" (Naficy 1991) as a means to accommodate itself with fundamentalism. Popular Arab cinema has, however, remained tied to moral binarisms that express, on the one hand, the ambivalent perception of the female entertainer, resulting in the religious retreat of Egyptian actresses in the 1990s and, on the other hand, narratives of the virgin-whore dichotomy. The morally weak or threatened woman was a big theme for melodrama, as in the lavish *Shafīqa al-Qibṭiyya* (Shafīqa the Copt, 1963) and the box office hit *Khallī ballak min Zūzū* (Take care of Zuzu, 1971), yet it was often counterbalanced by references to social pressures.

In general, cinematic genres have created gender-specific spatial divisions partly informed by moral

binarisms. While early melodrama and women's films are centered on family and home, male action-dominated genres (adventure films, police films, and thrillers) favor landscape and public spaces. This division also applies to Arab mainstream films and does not necessarily have moral implications or signify a high degree of gender segregation. Such a spatial codification is likewise present in realist and *auteur* films, where it refers even more strongly to Arab Muslim cultural particularities. Separation along gender lines between outside and inside, or between public and private space, has been most visible in North African films, particularly in revolutionary Algerian cinema but also in *sinimā jadīd* since the 1970s. While North African films rarely included plots involving love and romance, meeting points between the so-called male and female realms – namely, doors and windows – have become extraordinarily emotionally and symbolically charged.

Post-independence cinema expressed itself at first through realism, but with different colorings: through melodrama in Egypt, Lebanon, and Tunisia; through socialism and anti-colonialism in Algeria; and through naturalism in Tunisia and Morocco. Except for naturalism, these film expressions took a rhetorical stance, put in the service of nation formation and advocating modernist, socialist, nationalist, and Third-World ideas. Representations of women were largely bound to modernist development discourse, often expressed in national allegories that left little space for individual visions or self-defined female sexuality.

*Layla al-Badāwiyya* (Layla the Beduin, Egypt, 1937) was one of the first films to picture an Arab girl threatened with being raped by a foreign tyrant, a motif that resurfaced in the 1970s in regard to Palestine (*al-Sikkīn* [The knife], Syria, 1972). Colonial oppression was additionally mirrored in patriarchal family organization that traded off girls to the more powerful and prosperous, as in *Sejnane* (Tunisia, 1974) and *Bass yā baḥr* (Cruel sea, Kuwait, 1971).

Female emancipation and labor was advocated for the sake of the nation (*al-Bāb al-maftūh* [The open door], Egypt, 1963) and industrial progress (*al-Shabaka* [The net], Algeria, 1976 and *'Azīzā*, Tunisia, 1980) while mothers were often seen to embody ignorance and superstition, which were detrimental to modernity (*Qandīl Umm Hāshim* [Umm Hashim's lamp], Egypt, 1968). Realism also gave way to affirmative "misery feminism" that put women in an almost irrevocably victimized position and that has proved to be strongly persistent (*Abwāb mughlaqqa* [Closed doors], Egypt, 1999).

This type of film focuses on unfavorable legislation and hostile traditions, such as *Urīdu hallān* (I want a solution, Egypt, 1975), *Arā'iss minn qaṣab* (Sugar dolls, Morocco, 1981), and *Lammā hikyit Maryam* (When Maryam spoke out, Lebanon, 1999).

During the 1980s, a European-funded *cinéma d'auteur* developed that paid attention to diversity and subjective local experiences and deconstructed earlier ideological positions. It was later complemented by a wave of independent short films using electronic and digital formats, starting most notably with Palestinian Mona Hattoum's *Measures of Distance* (United Kingdom, 1988). Detaching female liberation from the national cause was one of the first steps initiated by the Palestinian documentary *al-Dhākirra al-khiṣba* (Fertile memory, 1980) and two fiction films: *Urs al-Jalīl* (Wedding in Galilee, Palestine, 1987) and *Ṣamt al-quṣūr* (Silence of the palaces, Tunisia, 1994). In addition, recent women directors started moving away from earlier feminist rhetoric, providing narrative and formal diversity and asserting subjective female experiences (*Kiswa al-khayṭ al-dā'i* [Kiswa or the lost thread, Tunisia, 1997 and *Mā'arik ḥubb* [In the battlefields], Lebanon, 2004).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Abu-Lughod, Movie stars and Islamic moralism in Egypt, in R. Lancaster and M. di Leonardo (eds.), *The gender/sexuality reader*, New York 1997, 502–12.
- M. Franken, Farida Fahmi and the dancer's image in Egyptian film, in S. Zuhur (ed.), *Images of enchantment*, Cairo 1998, 265–81.
- M. Hadīdī, *Dirāsa taḥlīliyya li-ṣūrat al-mar'a al-miṣriyya fi al-film al-miṣrī*, Ph.D. diss., Cairo University 1977.
- R. Hadj-Moussa, *Le corps, l'histoire, le territoire. Les rapports de genre dans le cinéma algérien*, Paris 1994.
- R. Hillauer, *Encyclopedia of Arab women filmmakers*, Cairo 2006.
- F. Malti-Douglas, *Woman's body, woman's word*, Cairo 1992.
- F. Mernissi, *Geschlecht Ideologie Islam*, Munich 1987.
- H. Naficy, The averted gaze in Iranian postrevolutionary cinema, in *Public Culture* 3:2 (1991), 29–40.
- E. and G. Rotter, *Venus, Maria, Fatima*, Zurich 1996.
- V. Shafik, *Arab cinema. History and cultural identity*, Cairo 1998.
- , Women, national liberation, and melodrama in Arab countries, in *Al-Raida* 17:2/3 (1999), 12–18.
- , *Popular Egyptian cinema. Gender, class and nation* Cairo 2007.
- E. Shohat, Post-Third Worldist culture, in J. Friedlander (ed.), *Gender, nation and diaspora in Middle Eastern film/video*, Los Angeles 1995; repr. in J. Alexander and C. T. Mohanty (eds.), *Feminist genealogies, colonial legacies, democratic futures*, London and New York 1996, 183–209; and in E. Ezra and T. Rowden (eds.), *Transnational cinema. The film reader*, London and New York 2006; and elsewhere.

## Central Asia

Mirroring the myriad confused cultural endeavors surfacing since the fall of the Soviet Union, filmic images of Central Asian women defy easy categorization. The mother figure, the prostitute, and the veiled recluse coexist in discord as Central Asian filmmakers search for their own historical and cultural identities between Islam and post-socialist postmodernism.

Typical of Soviet attitudes toward equal gender participation in the workforce, efforts were made during the burgeoning Central Asian film industry of the 1960s and 1970s to convey modernity by depicting Central Asian women in Western dress and in the new urban spaces of the region. However, cinematic images of a woman's self-reliance were less common than a persistent view of submission and of loyalty for Central Asian women that undermined the Soviet notion of progress as well as efforts to incorporate women into the workplace. Films, such as *Competition* (Bolat Mansurov, 1964), *My Name is Kozha* (Abdulla Karsakbaev, 1964), *Field of Mother* (Gennadi Bazarov, 1967), *Kyz Zhibek* (Sultan Khodzhikov, 1970), and *Cruel* (Tolomush Okeev, 1972), continued to focus on traditional social roles for women. The intention to draw a contrast between the historical and a more progressive Soviet era unwittingly served to reinforce these traditional images.

The key exception to this trend was the image of female heroism set during the Second World War. Part of a larger Soviet phenomenon beginning in the 1940s, certain Central Asian films, *Song of Manshuk* (Majit Bagalin, 1970), *Daughter-in-Law* (Khodzhakuli Narliev, 1972), *Alone Among People* (Kamil Iarmatov, 1974), and *Alia the Sniper* (Bolotbek Shamshiev, 1982), demonstrated the sharing of Central Asian women in the defense of the Soviet motherland and in the suffering of the war.

In the late 1980s, the groundbreaking film movement known as the Kazakh “New Wave” opened viewers to a radical cynicism regarding the Soviet experience. In particular, women were the frequent filmic victims of this social experiment gone awry. Negative images of society were most often revealed through and acted upon women. Women became prostitutes and drug users as filmmakers eroded other positive images of women in the name of national allegory in *The Needle* (Rashid Nugmanov, 1988) and *Last Stop* (Serik Aprymov, 1989). Aprymov rejected moral binaries and revealed a complex array of corrupted feminine values in *Last Stop*. His nuanced depiction of the

social degradation of women between the conventions of nobility and of lost virtue earned him a particularly harsh public response. Films continued to depict women suffering chronic indifference and sexual abuse during the early independent period: *Homewrecker* (Amir Karakulov, 1991), *Until Daybreak* (Yusuf Azimov, 1993), *Kosh Ba Kosh* (Bakhtiar Khudoinazarov, 1993, winner of the Venice Silver Lion), and *The Younger* (Rano Kubaeva, 1994). In general, the films confronted the crisis of modernity rather than questions more particular to the Islamic world. This was a result of directors feeling more a part of the Soviet sphere than the Islamic world.

There has been a significant paradigm shift since the late 1990s. After many years of domestic indifference and a complete lack of state funding, film studios in Central Asia have recently recovered. Locally produced films are now enjoying a larger domestic audience in addition to their earlier success on the international film festival circuit. A change in the film image of women has coincided with this. Newer Central Asian films tend to have male protagonists, while women are limited to supporting or maternal roles. Since national cinemas in Central Asia have developed independently, it is useful to consider them individually.

In Kazakhstan, a diverse array of films and styles has emerged within an environment subject to inconsistent national and international funding. While auteur cinema supported by European cultural funds occasionally provides a positive light on gender representation, the national film studio has demonstrated a recent preference for historical epics that marginalize women, such as *Nomad* (Sergei Bodrov, Ivan Passer, Talgat Temenov, 2006). Even the critically acclaimed *The Hunter* (Serik Aprymov, 2004) presents a dubious image in the central female lead: an unwed mother without respect in the community, dressed as a prostitute, practically dies alone. A more sympathetic account is rendered in *Schizo* (Gulshat Omarova, 2005) where a widow takes on a poignant role of surrogate mother to an orphan in the midst of cultural despair. The film most affirmative of women's dignity in Kazakhstan, however, is *Zhylama* (Amir Karakulov, 2003): three generations of women struggle against hardship to protect themselves. Karakulov describes his film as a "hymn to Kazakh women."

The film industry in Kyrgyzstan has produced few films; they have been largely internationally funded and esteemed. *Beshkempir* (Aktan Abdykalykov, 1998) relates the story of "five grandmothers" (from the title) who take on the role of mother for

an orphaned boy. The first scene of the film captures the system of communal responsibility and respects the authority elderly women have in village life. Two more recent films, *Village Authorities* (Ernest Abdyzhaparov, 2004) and *The Wedding Chest* (Nurbek Egen, 2006) contradict this sentiment by portraying village life as a world of men.

This tension exists in Tajik film as well, where few films have been made since independence and the onset of civil war. The most important Tajik filmmakers, Djamshed Usmonov, Bakhtiar Khudoinazarov, and Mairam Yusupova, all live abroad. Women are disgraced, abused, or hidden in *Flight of the Bee* (Djamshed Usmonov and Min Bong Hun, 1998) and *Luna Papa* (Bakhtiar Khudoinazarov, 1999). In contrast, the grandmother emerges as a noble and stabilizing influence in *Angel on the Right* (Djamshed Usmonov, 2002).

There has been a profound dearth of Turkmen films resulting from the control of artistic life there. Since the film industries of this region continue to rely greatly on state funding, the complete lack of state support has halted film development in Turkmenistan. The recent paving of a major highway over the former site of the Turkmen Film Studios underlines its lack of authority in Turkmenistan today. There was a brief but real renaissance in the early 1990s that played on a variety of gender roles: centrality of the authoritarian male archetype in *Legend* (Kerim Annanov, 1990), the collective sense of humanity for men, women, and children in the midst of German deportations in *Little Angel, Make Me Happy* (Usman Saparov, 1992), and the re-evaluation of one man's indifference to his wife and mother after a tragedy in *Repentance* (Khalamed Kakabaev, 1996).

The most prolific film studio in the region is in Uzbekistan. Human interest stories and pulp fiction satisfy a domestic audience that is largely unexposed to international and Russian films. The most important contemporary filmmaker, Yusup Razykov, is also the director of Uzbek Film Studios. In his films, he is particularly interested in gender relations. *Orator* (Yusup Razykov, 1998) addresses the controversial issue of de-veiling during the early Soviet era. This historical film offers a sympathetic view of the incredible social transformation caused by hard-line Soviet policies in the late 1920s to force women to remove their veils in public. *Women's Kingdom* (Yusup Razykov, 1999) is cast through the frame of impressionistic fantasies where women counterpoise images of communal autonomy and markets with the harem. Lastly, *The Shepherd* (Yusup Razykov, 2005) describes the central and unresolved question of a young bride's shame when

she allows a lascivious glance in public to begin her downfall. Razykov manipulates stereotypes and images of the veil to challenge traditional views of women and to problematize gender dichotomies.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Abikeeva, *The heart of the world. Films from Central Asia*, Almaty 2003.  
 G. Dönmez-Colin, *Women, Islam and cinema*, London 2004.  
 L. Micciche, The cinema of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian Soviet Republics, in A. Lawton (ed.), *The red screen. Politics, society, art in Soviet cinema*, London 1992, 291–302.  
 J. Radvanyi, *Le cinéma d'Asie centrale soviétique*, Paris 1991.  
 D. Tasbulatova, The “women of the East.” The portrayal of women in Kazakh cinema, in L. Attwood (ed.), *Red women on the silver screen*, London 1993, 186–97.

MICHAEL ROULAND

### Iran

Iranian cinema, dating from 1900, is among the oldest cinemas in the Middle East. While its representation of sexualities and gender on screen has always been controversial, this has been most contentious since the early 1980s when establishing an “Islamic cinema” became a point of concern for the new ruling elite in Iran. That is, whereas in pre-revolutionary cinema, especially in the commercial and popular *luti* genre of films, there were charges that women were often cast in roles that were either passive or overly-sexualized (Lahiji 2002, Naficy 2001), the new post-revolutionary cinema has been subject to certain rules of modesty, especially with regard to the question of women.

In the early years of the revolution, when the concept of an Islamic cinema was being defined, an area that was left vague and unclear was the question of the portrayal of women. According to the regulations in 1982, for example, women had to be shown to be chaste and to serve as good role models in society (Naficy 2001). While this was generally taken to mean that women had to be modest and to observe Islamic dress, it was not clear what women could and could not do on screen. The fact that the guidelines regarding the depiction of women were left general and ambiguous meant that in the first years of the revolution there was great confusion and anxiety about casting women in films. In the first decade of the revolution, therefore, most directors just did away with women altogether, avoided all scripts that involved women; in these early years, there were no women to be seen in Iranian cinema. With time, however, women started appearing in films, with small parts as housewives

or mothers, reflecting the acceptable roles that had been stipulated in the regulations; rarely were they important bearers of the plot. But even in the early 2000s many restrictions still remain in place with regard to the depiction of women. So, for example, in addition to being modest and observing Islamic dress, women cannot be shown to have any physical contact with men, demonstrate any public affection, or engage in dialogues that could in some way encourage immoral acts in society. Filmmakers have learnt to manipulate the restrictions and, depending on the political atmosphere and degree of censorship, even interpret them to their advantage. As a result, women are not only ever-present in films today, but also the roles that they are cast in often serve as critiques of traditional attitudes toward women.

In the words of Naficy, the depiction of women has “evolved from almost total absence (in the early 1980s) to pale presence (in the late 1980s) to powerful presence (in the late 1990s)” (Naficy 2001, 188). This tendency is apparent in the films of both women and men filmmakers. There have been films featuring women ranging from outcasts on the margins of society, prisoners, and prostitutes, to single mothers giving birth out of wedlock and urban intellectual women in search of romantic love and a meaning in life. They have of course had varying degrees of success, but cinema, in general, has become a domain in which women and women’s issues are enacted and given a voice. Women here are rarely passive stereotypes; rather they are active agents whose stories often challenge conventional wisdom.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Dönmez-Colin, *Women, Islam and cinema*, London 2004.  
 S. Lahiji, Chaste dolls and unchaste dolls. Women in Iranian cinema since 1979, in R. Tapper (ed.), *The new Iranian cinema. Politics, representation and identity*, London 2002, 215–26.  
 H. Naficy, Iranian cinema, in O. Leaman (ed.), *Companion encyclopedia of Middle Eastern and North African film*, London 2001, 130–222.

NEGIN NABAVI

### Sub-Saharan Africa

Early film making took place in anglophone Ghana and Nigeria and their current pre-eminence as producers of the new “video-movies” is assured, and although there are more films emerging from East and southern Africa, it is West African francophone filmmakers who dominate the African film industry. Key among these is Sembene Ousmane

whose complex representations of sexuality and gender in film have influenced several generations of filmgoers and filmmakers.

#### SEMBENE OUSMANE

In his first film, *Borom Sarret* (1963), the pioneer Senegalese filmmaker Sembene Ousmane began and ended it with a woman on screen. Set in Dakar, in the morning, the woman sees her husband off to his work as a cart driver. We do not see her again until his return in the evening, having had his cart confiscated. Rapidly assessing the situation, the woman hands their baby to him and, leaving the compound, says that they will eat tonight. We do not know what her intentions are but we recognize her determination. Will she borrow, beg, or prostitute herself for the sake of her family?

In *Xala* (1974) the central character is a man who is about to marry his third wife but finds himself sexually impotent as the result of a curse, the *xala*. His first wife accepts his remarriage, but the second, a lively woman fully aware that her mature sexuality is her only economic currency, abandons him as his fortunes falter. The intended third wife is a young woman, seen only through her bridal veil or lying on the marital bed, her naked back to the camera, a symbol of passive sexual accessibility, illustrating the powerlessness of young women. The film shows no direct sexual, physical interaction between the man and any of the women, yet to place the man's sexual potency as the central metaphor of Senegal elevates its physicality to primacy in real life and demeans men by defining them as mere sexual beings. Two other strong characters in *Xala* are a daughter by the first wife who symbolizes resistance to ill-considered change in Senegal, and a marvelous shopkeeper whose lively resistance to the unwanted overtures of an energetic suitor never lapses into slapstick or farce but successfully demonstrates how women, even when able to put up resistance, are subjected to persistent verbal and social sexual harassment. These five women present different standpoints in both marital and social relationships within a predominantly Islamic cultural milieu.

Sembene's emphatic focus on women continues in subsequent films. *Ceddo* (1976), with its gracious long shots of the beautiful Princess Dior, attributes political agency to women. Dior is determined to resist the imposition of Islam on her people and, after being held hostage by the equally rebellious villagers, the *ceddo*, returns to her village where, in the closing scene, she shoots the *imam* in the groin, an act which articulates resistance on more than one level. Another well-known scene

when the princess slowly undresses and lies down on her hammock and gazes coldly – almost sternly – at the camera, is a moment of unadulterated scopophilia. The prolonged moment operates as an indicator of mutual political resistance by the Princess Dior and the *ceddo* guards, as well as of the sexual tension between them. Read aesthetically, the beautiful image of the woman lying still but tense, is sensitively balanced visually, but nevertheless unequivocally also feeds the sexual pleasure of the viewer.

While *Ceddo* presents Islam as a foreign import to Africa, in his later film *Guelwaar* (1992), Sembene is conciliatory. The late, eponymous Guelwaar was a lively character whose resistance to so-called development aid wins him the hostility of the local governing bodies who eventually have him killed. He leaves behind a widow, who, when the body of the Christian Guelwaar is wrongly interred in the Muslim cemetery, works with the *imam* to bring about a harmonious resolution of the situation and have him re-interred in the Christian cemetery.

In a wonderful scene addressed to his clothes, which have been laid out ceremonially on their marital bed, she rounds on this reminder of her late husband for his sexual infidelity and warns him that when they next meet, she will not spare him. Sembene also includes a scene of two younger women, Guelwaar's Christian daughter and her Muslim friend who make it plain that it is only through the use of their sexuality as a commercial commodity that they have been able to pay for their fathers to go on their respective religious pilgrimages. In flashback, Guelwaar controversially even insinuates that he prefers his daughter to earn money as a commercial sex worker rather than rely on foreign aid.

Sembene's later films, *Faat Kine* (2001) and the beautifully shot *Moolaade* (2005), again show women as individuals responding to their situations. In *Faat Kine* the context is urban and the central character, Faat Kine, is a woman whose adult children have two different, long absent, fathers. On the occasion of her children's graduation party, she is enjoying well-deserved plaudits from friends and neighbors when the two fathers arrive to bask in some undeserved glory. Both men are unceremoniously seen off by her friends and her children, before she affectionately links arms with the widowed father of her son's friend, a relationship the young people had long tried to engineer for their respective parents.

Funded by aid agencies, *Moolaade* – denoting a protective, encircling “taboo” area – describes the crisis in one village when four young girls refuse

circumcision, a sexually repressive practice which is shown to biologically determine the fate and standing of women from childhood to adulthood. Delightfully filmed and acted, the celebratory ending contrasts with the scene where the men, fearing gender-challenging ideas from outside the village, force each woman to throw her radio onto a flaming pyre.

#### OTHER FILMMAKERS AND NEW FILMED MEDIA

Acclaimed filmmaker Idrissa Ouedraogo of Burkina Faso often deals with gender inequalities in his movies. In *Yaaba* (1989), he shows an old woman whose whole life is affected and whose tragic death is brought about by hostile male beliefs and actions, while in his subsequent film *Tilai* (1990) a father marries his son's fiancée during the son's absence. The Senegalese filmmaker, the late Djibril Diop-Mambety, addressed the theme of emigration in his 1973 work *Touki-Bouki*, in which an independent young woman, Anta, opts for a life in Paris rather than Dakar.

In his 1986 film *Sarraounia*, Mauritanian-born Med Hondo tells the story of a great warrior queen, based on the legendary life of Queen Amina of Zazzau, in present-day Nigeria. Although Hondo aims to put this woman at the center of the story, she is in fact only on screen for a fraction of the time that men are. Her appearances are limited and she is not shown in action, which is in contrast to the men around her. It is emphasized in the film that Sarraounia was unusual from birth, being fed on mare's milk, not that of her mother or a wet nurse. Raised by men who recommend at her puberty that Sarraounia not modestly cover her breasts in typical adult female dress, she is again separated from ordinary women. Although she is taught male skills – with the insinuation that these are superior to the skills of ordinary women – Sarraounia's military prowess is disparagingly attributed by her enemies to witchcraft, a frequently encountered denigration of women who possess gender-challenging abilities and knowledge.

The newest genre is video-movies shot on inexpensive video cameras and available on DVD and CD. These hasty productions represent women in highly stereotypical ways: as model mothers, wronged by lustful husbands who are invariably seen in pursuit of the other type of women portrayed, the evil siren who lures men into wrongdoing. Although neither stereotype reflects the complex reality of women, the popularity and widespread availability of these new forms warrant further investigation, and well as raising important

questions about contemporary gender representations in Sub-Saharan Africa.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. Bakari and M. Cham (eds.), *African experiences of cinema*, London 1996.
- O. Barlet (ed.), *Nollywood*, Paris, Budapest, and Torino 2005.
- M. Diawara, *African cinema*, Bloomington, Ind. 1992.
- M. N. Eke, K. W. Harrow, and E. Yewah (eds.), *African images. Recent studies and text in cinema*, Lawrenceville, N.J. 2000.
- T. Gabriel, Teaching Third World cinema, in *Screen* 24:2 (March/April 1983), 60–6.
- J. Gugler, *African film. Re-imagining a continent*, Bloomington, Ind. 2003.
- F. Harding, Africa and the moving image. Television, film and video, in *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 16:1 (June 2003), 69–84.
- , From tender romance to horrifying sex, in O. Barlet (ed.), *Nollywood*, Paris 2005, 143–59.
- K. Harrow (ed.), *Women in African cinema*, special issue of *Matatu* 19 (1997).
- , *African cinema. Postcolonial and feminist readings*, Trenton, N.J. 1999.
- J. Haynes (ed.), *Nigerian video films*, Jos, Nigeria 1997.
- M. Hondo, African dossier, in *Framework* 7/8 (1978), 20–30.
- L. Malkmus and R. Armes, *Arab and African filmmaking*, London 1991.
- D. Murphy, *Sembene. Imagining alternatives in film and fiction*, Oxford 2000.
- O. Okome and J. Haynes, *Cinema and social change in West Africa*, Jos, Nigeria 1995.
- J. Z. Okwori, A dramatized society. Representing rituals of human sacrifice as efficacious action in Nigerian home-videos, in *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 16:1 (June 2003), 7–24.
- F. Pfaff, *The cinema of Ousmane Sembene*, Westport, Conn. 1984.
- , Sembene, in F. Pfaff, *Twenty-five Black African filmmakers*, New York 1988.
- (ed.), *Focus on African films*, Bloomington, Ind. 2004.
- M. Thackway, *Africa shoots back*, Oxford 2003.
- N. F. Ukadike, *Black African cinema*, Berkeley 1994.

FRANCES HARDING

### Turkey

Many authors, including Dorsay (2000), Özön (1995), and Scognamillo (2003), have dealt with representations of women in Turkish cinema. However, Dönmez-Colin's *Women, Islam and Cinema* (2004), gives the most complete overview. Much of the information in this entry comes from this source.

#### THE VAMP

From the start of commercial Turkish cinema, representations of women have been prominent. In the early years numerous films were made in which a "bad" woman seduces an urban middle-class



man. His life is completely destroyed by his passion. However, in the end honorable society wins. The bad woman gets her punishment, often by being killed or by committing suicide. These women were depicted as seductresses with a great lust for sex, adventurers, nymphomaniacs, and vamps. In the early movies they were not prostitutes; later on they were women having sex to earn their living. Fate – loss of virginity through rape or weakness, widowhood or desertion – made them so; in order to survive they had to turn “bad.” Modeled on early Hollywood films, these movies – mainly watched by a male audience – worked on the contrast with family values, which needed to be preserved. Vamp and prostitute movies stayed popular until the 1980s (Dönmez-Colin 2004, 20–5).

#### THE FAMILY WOMAN

At first family women were absent. However, from the 1950s onwards urban bourgeois family women were introduced in contrast to the vamps. They represented respectable, faithful wives, self-sacrificing mothers and young women who kept their virginity until their wedding day. These characters were located in the lower classes of society, whereas women from the upper class were associated with decadence and indecent behavior (Dönmez-Colin 2004, 34).

#### THE VILLAGE WOMAN

The rural woman appeared for the first time in Turkish cinema in the 1930s, depicted as an honest, chaste unmarried woman who encounters all kinds of problems trying to live alone in a closed, traditionalist, anti-feminine Muslim society. The first films were made in a folkloristic style by urban intellectuals without any knowledge of rural life. The image provided of women’s life in the village is very negative. They were obliged to serve and blindly obey their husbands, fathers, brothers, and mothers-in-law. They had no defense against poverty, violent rape, and indecent assaults by feudal landlords, bandits, and any other males who crossed their path; they had to endure their fate and stay silent. During the late 1970s, the high days of cheap commercial Turkish cinema, the representation of rural women was misused for showing violence and sex. With the entrance of the social realistic cinema of directors such as Yılmaz Güney (1937–84) and Atıf Yılmaz (1926–2006) the depiction of rural women became more realistic and gained more distinction, although they were still exposed as passive creatures dominated by males. In the 1980s and 1990s, issues such as male-child fanaticism, polygyny, and marrying off became the major focus point.

Next to rural women living in villages, migrated women were depicted trying to survive in the slums (Dönmez-Colin 2004, 30–3, 43–56, 76–80, 131–45).

#### LIBERATED WOMEN

It took Turkish cinema until the 1980s, with the rise of feminism and female directors, to depict women as individuals with their own personal problems. Cinema focused on the liberation from oppressed female sexuality and relational problems. Only with the revival of Turkish cinema in the 1990s did a more international and less emotionally charged representation become fashionable (Dönmez-Colin 2004, 56–7, 63–8).

#### MARGINAL REPRESENTATIONS

Several other representations of women, not as prominent as the ones discussed so far, can be found in Turkish cinema. In the early 1960s, several films were made on the subject of a woman working as a taxi driver. Although this representation ran counter to the dominant types of women depicted and only a few were made, these films were popular (Dönmez-Colin 2004, 35, Scognamillo 2003, 132). For a short period, from the end of the 1980s until the beginning of the 1990s, Turkish religious cinema (White cinema) flowered. Women in these films were stereotyped: secular, wearing mini skirts, partying and using drugs or very religious, wearing veils and long overcoats and living up to all their religious duties (Dönmez-Colin 2004, 87–93).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Dorsay, *Sinema ve kadın*, Istanbul 2000.  
 G. Dönmez-Colin, *Women, Islam and cinema*, London 2004.  
 N. Özön, *Karağözden sinemaya. Türk sineması ve sorunları*, Ankara 1995.  
 S. R. Öztürk, *Sinemanın “dişil” yüzü. Türkiye’de kadın yönetmenler*, Istanbul 2004.  
 G. Scognamillo, *Türk sinema tarihi*, Çağaloğlu, Istanbul 1987, repr. Istanbul 2003.

PETRA DE BRUIJN

# Representations: Humorous Depictions

## The Ottoman Empire

Ottoman humor is covered by various literary genres, such as jocular stories or anecdotes (*hikaye*, *latife*), satirical classical poetry (*hicviye*, *hezeliyat*), popular theater (the shadow theater *karagöz*, and *orta oyunu*), and early twentieth-century satirical press. However, the supreme protagonist of Ottoman humor is the trickster and/or folk philosopher, Nasreddin Hoca, described by Marzolph (1992) as “a point of crystallisation for an otherwise amorphous popular tradition of aphorisms, witticisms, jokes, jests, and anecdotes of various origins.”

From the sixteenth century onwards, the corpus attributed to Nasreddin Hoca increasingly enlarged while, simultaneously, sanitizing changes and replacements occurred. The most comprehensive edition of Nasreddin Hoca stories, drawn from the earliest manuscripts up to Bahai's 1323/1907 collection, is Boratav (1996). Başgöz (1998) offers a thorough and most interesting thematic analysis of the sixteenth-century stories, as well as comments on the later development. Other interpretative approaches can be found in Karabaş (1990) and Petzen (1996).

As the Nasreddin Hoca repertoire changes over the centuries, the depiction of women and gender roles changes as well. The main female characters are the Hoca's wife and his daughter. Early Nasreddin Hoca stories abound with obscenities – true for more than one quarter of the sixteenth-century stories – and use graphic language, similar to that found in contemporary Middle Eastern and European jocular literature (many studies point to a comparison with Rabelais). Characters are not fully developed but act according to primal human instincts. Thus, encounters between the sexes often refer to or end in sexual intercourse, pointedly illustrated by this more abstract sixteenth-century anecdote: “They told the Hoca: ‘There's a vulva flying.’ The Hoca looked up, grabbed his penis and said: ‘Let it fly! In the end it will land here.’” The hoca's wife and (unmarried) daughter are almost equally sexually aggressive and demanding.

According to Başgöz (1998), frequent sexual references symbolize the power struggle between the sexes. Genitals are used as a means of putting another person in an inferior position. In the early manuscripts, the Hoca does not hold a position of

authority in the family yet. His wife is disrespectful, independent and often more reasonable than him. When she forces him to play the role of mother by having him babysit their young son, he shows by his reaction that because of his penis he is not able to take on the mother role (he gives the boy his penis to play with, or lets him suck yoghurt from his penis).

After the seventeenth century and the adaptation of the stories to the educated urban milieu (Başgöz 1998), style and language begin to change. Obscenities along with references to bestiality (the various stories of the Hoca having sex with his or others' donkeys were reportedly well-known and famous by the early sixteenth century) are removed. Male authority within the family is established, so the Hoca's attitude to his wife changes. He now patronizingly calls her “My (dear) wife,” instead of the angry, “You, whom I screw,” while she addresses him with the honorific “Efendi.”

At the same time, this process brings a degradation of the Hoca's wife and women in general, most manifest in Bahai's 1907 collection. Stories depicting the wife as stupid emerge: “When the Hoca was told that his wife has lost her wisdom, the Hoca said: ‘She does not have wisdom anyhow, I wonder what she lost?’” This is an adaptation of a sixteenth-century story in which the protagonist losing his mind is the Hoca's son. Now, we also find a few stories featuring two wives of the Hoca constantly pressing him to tell which of them he loves more. Other stories characterize the wife as ugly or nagging about the fact that the Hoca is not able to offer her a comfortable life.

Ceaselessly nagging women are also a common stereotype among the female stock characters (*zenne*) in the Karagöz shadow plays. Furthermore, women indulge in the gossip of their neighborhood (*mahalle*), and are often depicted as silly and ugly. The climatic phrase of the play *The Big Wedding* is identical to that of a Nasreddin Hoca story, the final punch line delivered as the new ugly (elderly) wife asks her husband to which of his relatives she may show her unveiled face. He curtly responds: “To whomever you want, as long as you don't show it to me.” Young girls and women in the street are subjected to constant verbal harassment, especially if they are not veiled properly. Some women are victims of drinking and abusive husbands. A

perfect match to her rude husband, Karagöz's wife is a cunning woman, and therefore never becomes a real victim. She manages to manipulate simple-minded Karagöz, and in *The Big Wedding* even leaves him after a fight.

Throughout the plays, the morality of Karagöz's wife and the other women is questionable. Particularly the courtesans, who are always recognizable on stage by their half or fully exposed breasts, and the daughter of Hacivad (the second important male protagonist) are portrayed as having frequently changing lovers (for example, *The Fountain of Kütabya*, *The Pleasure Trip to Yalova*). Again, in *The Big Wedding*, Karagöz is tricked into a marriage with a woman who gives birth on the wedding night. In both *Hamam* and *The Big Wedding*, there is also actual reference to lesbian (*zendost*) love, which the neighborhood residents readily approve of.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. And, Karagöz ve orta oyununda kişiler ve kişileştirme, ii, in *Türk Dili* 185 (1967), 356–63.  
 —, *Karagöz. Turkish shadow theater. With an appendix on the history of Turkish puppet theater*, Istanbul 1987.  
 Bahai [V. İzbudak] (comp.), *Letâ'if-i Hoca Nasreddin*, ed. M. Arslan and B. Paçacıoğlu, Dersaadet 1323/1907, 1325/1909<sup>2</sup>, Sivas 1996.  
 İ. Başgöz and P. N. Boratav, *Hoca Nasreddin, never shall I die. A thematic analysis of Hoca stories*, Bloomington, Ind. 1998.  
 P. N. Boratav, *Nasreddin Hoca*, Ankara 1996.  
 K. R. F. Burrill, The Nasreddin Hoca stories. An Early Ottoman manuscript at the University of Groningen, in *Archivum Ottomanicum* 2 (1970), 7–114.  
 S. Karabaş, The use of eroticism in Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes, in *Western Folklore* 49 (1990), 299–305.  
 U. Marzolph, Naşr al-Din Khodjiah, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* 7 (1992), 1018–20.  
 J. Petzen, Nasreddin Hoca fıkralarında güç, beden ve toplumsal cinsiyet kavramları, in *Kebikeç* 4 (1996), 7–12.  
 H. Ritter (ed.), *Karagös. Türkische Schattenspiele*, 3 vols., Hannover 1924–53.  
 S. E. Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz. Its history, its characters, its mystic and satiric spirit*, [Ankara] 1955.

HELGA ANETSHOFER

### Southeast Europe

Joke telling, by both men and women, occupies an important place in everyday social interaction amongst kin, friends, and even strangers in the Balkans. Though there is very little written on Balkan joke telling, the joking relationship has been an important object of study in psychology (Freud 1960), anthropology (Apte 1985, Douglas 1975, Radcliffe-Brown 1952), and folklore (Davies 1982,

Dundes 1983). Stock character jokes, which convey stereotypes of ethnic, religious, or gendered identity, are the most prevalent in the Balkans, especially those about the Bosnian Muslim characters Mujo, Haso, Suljo, and Fata. Normally called “Mujo and Haso” jokes, these jokes are recited all over the Balkans. Mujo, Haso, Suljo, and Fata – or Muhamed, Hasan, Sulejman and Fatima – perpetuate a defined stereotype: they occupy the lower economic rung, and are portrayed as sexually promiscuous, violent, lacking intelligence, or with any other deviant characteristic. Fata is a lazy, sexually promiscuous and stupid woman. While Vučetić (2003) points out that the joking relationships indicate discursive formations that highlight those assumed to be “superior” and “inferior,” there is also a parallel celebration of the ignorance and primitiveness of the Bosnian stock characters who often get the better of others by the end of the joke. It is important to note, however, that stereotypes are often deployed in particular contexts in strategic ways by a joke teller. In an unfamiliar social setting, joking stereotypes are frequently used not to degrade the members of another identity group. Rather, they are tools for increasing familiarity, particularly by people deploying stereotypes about their own identifications. “Dethawing” occurs when Croats tell jokes about Croats, Montenegrins about Montenegrins, women about other women, and so on.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a typical Yugoslav joke might have assumed the following form: A Bosnian and his family decide that life is intolerable in Bosnia, and so they set out to swim to Slovenia. The husband arrives first and steps out on shore. His wife, behind him, calls out, “Give me a drink!” He turns and says “Get lost, Bosnian!” (Brown 1995, 202).

The world of the Balkan joke was quite different before the recent war in the 1990s – it was a world attuned to a Yugoslav reality. Yugoslav humor “divided the country into type A and type B republics. In the former category were Slovenia and Croatia; in the latter, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro and, perhaps, quintessentially, Bosnia” (Brown 1995, 202). The majority of jokes opposed the type A countries in the west to the type B countries in the east. The relation between them was one of development: the type A countries were considered more “civilized” than the “primitive” type B countries. In the joke just mentioned, a geographical move by a couple – from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Slovenia – was also seen to entail a cosmological shift. The Bosnian man, arriving in Slovenia, became more “evolved” and no longer needed his “primitive” Bosnian wife. The wife consistently shows herself

to be incapable of evolving in these jokes, relegated to varying categories of ignorance and immobility. The structural opposition between the western and eastern Yugoslav republics that defined these types of jokes is no longer salient, and the jokes are no longer told. Since the reality of Yugoslavia has been replaced by the reality of war (and the post-war), Balkan stock characters find themselves in a different landscape: one that is war-ravaged. Old formulations of jokes are changed to fit new political circumstances. The characters in the jokes told now have also been reduced: the world of the joke is populated mostly by Bosniaks, Croats, and Serbs. Macedonians, Albanians, and Slovenes do not have as much contact with the Balkan black humor reality. A postwar joke may assume the following form: Q: What nationality are Adam and Eve? A: They are [fill in with Bosniak, Croat, or Serb]. Hungry, no clothes to wear, expelled from their home. And they still think they are living in Paradise.

The interchangeability of the characters suggests a cross-ethnic understanding of a particular experience: war. Women in this new landscape remain ignorant, objectified, and even expendable – their role is now carved out by the conflicting interests of war, gender, and religious identity: Mujo is walking through Sarajevo with his wife Fata, who is four steps in front of Mujo. Haso calls out: “Mujo, what are you doing? Don’t you know that according to the Qur’ān, the wife has to walk four steps behind her husband?” Mujo shakes his head and calls back, “Yes, Haso, but when the Qur’ān was written, there were no landmines in Sarajevo.”

This postwar landscape is also populated by international observers, who assume their own negative stereotypes: Q: What is the difference between UNPROFOR and testicles? A: None. They are always simply innocent bystanders in “the act.” UNPROFOR, the United Nations Protection Force, had a mandate to support humanitarian relief and to monitor “safe areas” in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A common local critique of the UNPROFOR project in Bosnia and Herzegovina is precisely the ambiguity of their “bystander” status – though they are sent to monitor areas, they are not charged with direct intervention in the conflict situation. The event most associated with UNPROFOR’s failure is the massacre of around 8,000 Muslim men and boys in the UN “safe area” of Srebrenica in 1995. Though this is one particular incident portraying one particular ethnic group as victim, similar criticism has been leveled by all ethnic groups.

The cross-ethnic intimacy fostered by the telling of these kinds of jokes, then, is based on a deep suspicion of outsiders to the conflict. Imagery of

the war also involves an implicit masculinization of war as a penetrative entity and treatment of the female body invokes two particular images: first, the body as object; second, the grotesque body. Fata is released from a concentration camp by the Serbs. She is surrounded by reporters, all asking the same question: Q: Were you raped? A: Yes, but there were worse things that happened. Q: What could be worse than rape? A: They insulted my nationality!! They told me my c--t looked like a *šajkača*. In this joke, female genitalia are likened to an object – a *šajkača*, a hat originally worn by the Serbian river fleet in the service of the Habsburg Empire in the eighteenth century. It was also commonly worn among Bosnian Serb military commanders during the wars in the 1990s. The *šajkača* here serves two functions: it both inscribes a visible marker of ethnicity (which is not Fata’s own) on the enemy’s body, but it also lends the physical characteristics of the object – the hat – to Fata’s genitalia. The *šajkača* is a floppy hat, with many folds. The implication of paralleling genitalia with a hat of this sort is to demonstrate looseness. Fata is therefore not only being raped and marked by the enemy, but the assumption before anything begins is that she is a loose woman. Her rape, however, is a secondary act: “nationalizing” her body remains primary and the worst insult possible. Her female identity is reduced to her female physicality, and her nationality is seen to be the main constituent of her identity. Jokes portraying woman as sexualized or penetrated objects in wartime are told by men of all ethnicities, and across all ethnicities, but rarely by women.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Apte, *Humor and laughter. An anthropological approach*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1985.
- K. S. Brown, Political realities and cultural specificities in contemporary Macedonian jokes, in *Western Folklore* 54 (1995), 197–211.
- C. Davies, Ethnic jokes, moral values and social boundaries, in *British Journal of Sociology*, 33 (1982), 383–403.
- A. Dundes, Auschwitz jokes, in *Western Folklore* 42 (1983), 249–60.
- M. Douglas, *Implicit meanings. Selected essays in anthropology*, New York 1975.
- S. Freud, *Jokes and their relation to the unconscious*, trans. J. Strachey, New York 1960.
- A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and function in primitive society*, New York 1965.
- S. Vučetić, Identity is a joking matter. Intergroup humor in Bosnia, paper presented at Sixth International Seminar, “Democracy and Human Rights in Multiethnic Societies,” Konjic 2003.

# Representations: Legends and Epics

## The Caucasus

The region of the Caucasus is ethnically diverse, and representations of women and gender in legends and epics are extremely varied. Nonetheless, commonalities can be found in the importance of legends and epics in the resistance to cultural and linguistic assimilation by colonial powers, and the central place of female images in those narratives. Still actively negotiated in fairy tales, school textbooks, movies, music, and arts, images from legends and epics combine with religious and political identities in the ongoing production of national and personal identity. As childcare givers and school teachers, women are primary agents in the transmissions of legends and epics, which in turn contribute to the shaping of their own gendered selves.

Legends and epics drawn from thousands of years of folklore often provide contradictory images. The foundational legends of many Caucasian societies focus on powerful fertility and hunting goddesses such as Satanaya (northern Caucasus) and Dali (Georgia), whose symbols are embedded in women's life-cycle ceremonies even when they are forgotten in official culture. Medieval epics feature heroic women as warriors and martyrs, as in the *Book of Dede Korkut* (Azerbaijan), which includes a pantheon of noblewomen who fight alongside their husbands and sons. Images from these legends, which show women as flag bearers and defenders, are recycled in times of conflict as powerful images of resistance.

Often images of women are divided into married mothers and unmarried maidens. The role of the mother is saintly, and mothers have miraculous powers to heal and protect their children. Models for maidens are still drawn from early modern epics told throughout the Caucasus, such as "Asli and Kerem." While the heroes go mad with love, the heroines are faced with the practical challenge of avoiding being married to another. Perceived by the lover as *nazli* (flirtatiously capricious), the heroine's true nature is revealed as faithful and pure.

Images of women in legends and epics can provide the contemporary woman with strategies for attracting a husband while remaining pure by using *naz*, after which she can be reborn into the deified category of wife-mother, where she can courageously raise and protect the children of the nation

while simultaneously being an active participant in professional and social life. Thus the contradictory gendered identities in legends and epics provide models and roadmaps for women who are expected to live out these multiple roles in their own lives.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- E. Akhunov, *Azerbaijani folk epics* [in Azerbaijani] 2 vols., Baku 1961.  
J. Colarusso (trans.), *Nart sagas from the Caucasus. Myths and legends from the Circassians, Abazas, Abkhaz, and Ubyks*, Princeton, N.J. 2002.  
M. Gabulov (comp.), *Folk tales of the peoples of the Caucasus* [in Russian], Tbilisi 1987.  
D. Hunt, The association of the lady and the unicorn, and the hunting mythology of the Caucasus, in *Folklore* 114 (2003), 75–90.  
G. Lewis (trans.), *The book of Dede Korkut*, New York 1974.

ANNA OLDFIELD SENARSLAN

## Central Asia

Central Asia is rich with a wide range of oral epics and legends in which women appear as leading figures and play significant roles. The Kyrgyz epic *Manas*, the Karakalpak epic *Kırk Kız*, the Kazakh epic *Kamber Batır*, and *Alpanış*, which exists in a variety of versions and is popular among Uzbeks, Kazaks, Karakalpaks, and Bashkurts, are only a few examples of Central Asian epics. Although their origin goes back to earlier periods of Central Asian history, and their narratives are often set in some distant nomadic past, versions of these oral epics were first put into written form only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, they reflect elements of the gender ideologies of the period in which they were produced as much as those of the distant past.

Written mainly in verse, although sometimes combining verse and prose forms, and traditionally performed by male singers, Central Asian epics and legends share a certain style, motif sequence, and narrative structure. However, there are also significant differences among these epics and their variants in their depiction of women and gender relations. Therefore, it is only through an in-depth analysis of various versions of these epics in their historical and regional contexts that a full understanding of the diverse views of women and gender relations found within them can be achieved.

However, despite these differences, women are generally portrayed in Central Asian epics as resourceful strong-willed characters who play significant roles in both family affairs and social life. While it should be noted that, with the exception of the Karakalpak epic *Kırk Kız*, the central heroes in these epics are men, women characters play essential roles within them. They make important decisions and actively participate in political events. Kanıkey in *Manas*, Barçın in *Alpamiş*, and Nazım in *Kamber Batır* are three such female characters. As the lovers and wives of the male heroes they help them participate in their struggles, exhibiting wisdom, generosity, intelligence, and common sense as well as physical prowess; they are portrayed as equal partners with the heroes. They are generally depicted as autonomous figures who do not refrain from expressing their views or initiating independent action when they deem it necessary.

The theme of the wedding of a hero and a heroine has an important place in all the epics and their variants. Although details vary depending on the epic and the variant, a common motif is that it is ultimately the bride who chooses her groom. For example, in an Uzbek variant of *Alpamiş*, when suitors come to Barçın's father to ask for his daughter's hand in marriage, he sends them directly to her tent where she lives apart from her family. There the suitors have to perform a series of tasks and contests in order to be chosen by the bride. In some versions, this process takes the form of a direct contest between the bride and the groom. In *Manas*, although the marriage of Manas and Kanıkey does not involve such explicit contests there are a series of conflicts and confrontations between the bride and the groom, which must first be resolved. Through these narratives the hero and the heroine are established as equal partners.

The motif of the warrior woman – sometimes standing alone and sometimes alongside other warrior women companions – figures centrally in these epics. This is most evident in the Karakalpak epic *Kırk Kız*, where the main character is the female heroine Gülayım. Gülayım and her 40 women warriors take center stage, carrying out heroic deeds and defeating their enemies. In *Alpamiş*, Barçın, the wife of the hero Alpamiş, is described as having 40 women (*kırk kız*) warriors as her companions. In one episode of *Alpamiş*, Barçın tells Alpamiş that she along with her 40 maidens will go and attack the Kalmaks and rescue her father, if he does not go. Similarly, Kanıkey in *Manas* and Nazım in *Kamber Batır* have *kırk kız* who stand alongside them.

In Central Asian epics, women often play a significant role in the protection of their immediate family and its autonomy. This is especially true

in episodes within the narrative where the hero is absent, taken prisoner by an enemy or killed, and in his absence the heroine protects her family without help from other family members. This happens in *Manas*, for example, where Kanıkey acts independently to protect her son and kill his enemies after Manas's death. She also rejects an offer of marriage from Manas's brother, thus maintaining her and her children's autonomy. In *Kırk Kız*, Gülayım, in the face of the incompetence of her father and brother, takes charge and defeats the enemy attacking her family and town.

The ideal woman should possess a wide range of virtues and qualities. Although the bride's explicitly feminine qualities, in particular her beauty, are mentioned in the epics, other universal qualities are also emphasized. For example, in one variant of *Manas*, Kanıkey's generosity, wisdom, tolerance, common sense, and physical prowess are mentioned along with her pearl-like teeth and long curly hair. From the standpoint of the epic these qualities are ungendered, equally valuable to men or women and possessed by both the hero and the heroine. While the ungendered virtues they share with the hero are seen as universally positive, explicitly gendered power is understood more ambiguously. In some variants of the epics, women's femininity and sexuality is not seen as threatening, while in others, women who use their femininity to deceive men are portrayed in distinctly negative terms.

Some versions of these epics, even those from similar historical periods, tend to be more patriarchal in tone than others. However, in general women are seen as powerful actors. Central Asian epics provide a window into a complex and changing understanding of gender that never completely rejects the power of women characters.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Galime, *Women warriors of Turan* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1997.
- T. Mirzaev, *Uzbek variants of the Epic of Alpamiş* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1968.
- W. Radloff, *Manas destanı*, trans. E. Gürsoy-Naskali, Ankara 1995.
- V. V. Radlov, *Manas*, in V. V. Radlov (ed.), *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen türkischen Stämme. V. Theil. Dialect der Kara-Kirgisen*, St. Petersburg 1985, 1–68.
- K. Reichl, *Turkic oral poetry. Traditions, forms, poetic structure*, New York and London 1992.
- G. M. H. Shoolbraid, *The oral epic of Siberia and Central Asia*, Bloomington, Ind. 1975.
- K. Tajiyev, *The epic of Kırk Kız* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1956.
- I. Togan, Kanıkey'in düğünü, in O. A. Budak (ed.), *Manas 1000 Bişkek bildirileri*, Ankara 1995, 187–23.
- H. Zarifov and H. T. Mirzaev (eds.), *The epic of Alpamiş* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1979.

## East Africa

Islam is widespread in East Africa, especially on the coast and on adjacent islands, where it is the dominant religion. Before the coming of Islam, however, the people of East Africa had their own system of values and beliefs, in which women played prominent roles. The Zaramo of Tanzania, for example, revered Nyalutanga, a mythological creature, said to be the mother of all the people in the world. She symbolized the reproductive life force and gave people plants and explained their use as food (Swantz 1985, 26).

When Islam came, beginning in the tenth century, with traders from the Arabian Peninsula and across the Indian Ocean, new legends and epics were brought to the region, narratives with specific Islamic themes and modalities of representing women and gender. Islam also influenced the indigenous traditions, as is attested by the Zaramo origin myth, which now exists in various versions. Swantz points out that the Zaramo myths changed as the people took on more Islamic traits and new characters emerged or were borrowed from or blended with myths of nearby peoples. For example, in later versions of the origin myth, the female creator is called Hawa or Nahawa, a name borrowed from Islamic texts. She and Adam are sometimes cast as co-creators, a diminishing of the female role that is an obvious influence of the patriarchal worldview of Islam (Swantz 1995, 62).

Before the coming of Islam, the East African peoples had initiation rituals for boys and girls, which prepared young adolescents for adulthood, marriage, and parenthood. The girls' rites, known as *unyago* and widely practiced throughout the region, continued as Islam spread along the coastal areas and inland. In the face of their marginalization in the new religious system, women retained their traditional practices as a form of self-assertion and self-empowerment, aided by the very exclusiveness and secrecy of their rituals. The *makungwi*, women who conducted the rituals, had much social power stemming from this role.

Women's initiation rites are woven with myths and legends. There is, for example, the legend that the founder of the women's initiation rites, Nyakanga, learned these secrets from a man, Ngariba. She ran away to the forest, to learn the secrets from Ngariba (Abdala 1989). It is truly interesting that the *makungwi*'s knowledge should have originated with a man. The ritual itself is organized and conceptualized according to a hierarchy of relations based on this legend: Ngariba is at the top, then Nyakanga, and at the bottom is the child

who is initiated. Conventional wisdom holds that the *unyago* rituals taught the girls to be completely docile and obedient to their husbands, which is also very much in keeping with the pervasive stereotype of the East African Muslim woman as passive and silenced. This view is problematical. Behaviors associated with *unyago* appear to promote subtle as well as overt resistance and defiance. Studying the *unyago* songs of Muslim women in western Kenya, Wangari Mwai noted critiques of, and resistance to, gender inequality. She observed that women's songs convey the pains and agonies of being a married woman (Mwai 1998, 4). In addition, *unyago* events promote female solidarity and self-worth.

Women feature prominently in East African Swahili legends about founding dynasties; examples include Mwana Mkisi of Mombasa (Kenya), Mwana Aziz of Zanzibar (Tanzania), and Mwana Masuru of Siu on Pate Island (Kenya). On the Comoro Islands, there is a legend of a ruler who did not have a child and was told to go under the Manhaza Rock where he would find a woman to marry. He went and found a woman, who was a *jinn* (supernatural spirit). He took her and married her, and had two children with her. Eventually, the man and the wife quarreled, and she took one child and threw herself and the child into the ocean, leaving the other child, who was female. The man gave his daughter the land, arranged a marriage for her and the dynasty continued from there (Bakari Bin Sultan Ahmed 1977, 13).

Scholars and readers refer to the nineteenth-century Swahili poem, *Utendi wa Mwana Kupona*, as a classic work that teaches a woman complete submission to her husband. On closer inspection, however, it is possible that the woman who composed this poem for her daughter advising her to be such a submissive wife may have been speaking ironically. In addition, even if she advises her daughter to be obedient to her husband, it is for a different and higher reason than the automatic acceptance of male supremacy, namely, to maintain harmony in the family and in the community. This same independent spirit is evident in another Swahili poem authored by a woman, *Wimbo wa Miti*, which depicts male warlike virtues typically expressed in the epic tradition (Mbele 1996). Women's protest in East Africa, however, tends not to be the kind that rejects men; rather it is rooted in the acceptance of the mutual dependence between men and women.

With the long history of interaction between the peoples of East Africa and the Arabian Peninsula, many epics and legends stemming from Arabic and Persian oral traditions were incorporated into Swahili lore. These are mostly connected with the rise and

spread of Islam, which involved battles between the early Muslims and non-Muslims, although some of them are about the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and members of his family. East African Muslims recount these legends in both poetry and narrative. Female characters appear in many Swahili legends and hagiographic stories including Aisha (ʿĀʾisha) and Fatuma (Fāṭima), favored wife and daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad. The women in these legends accept and endorse the fundamental idea that family is the cornerstone and foundation of society, and they look forward to being wives and mothers. In this way they are conventional. However, there are many legends and epics that bring a dramatic element into the picture and raise interesting questions of female agency, for example in how the women choose their spouses. When men come to woo them, some demand that the man engage them in a battle and will only marry the man who defeats them. This plot device appears, for example, in both the *Epic of Ras il Ghuli* and the *Epic of Miqdad and Mayasa*.

In the Arabic literary traditions that Muslim East African societies adopted, often both women and men fight and the women fight like men, or urge the men to fight. This contrasts with indigenous, pre-Islamic traditions in which the women act as a restraining influence on men's warlike tendencies. Likewise, the theme of the woman as temptress first appears in the Arabic traditions that came with the Muslims. There does not seem to be an indigenous African representation of the theme of woman as temptress. She may have vices, but they are of a different sort, not sexual. This theme eventually took hold in Swahili Islamic culture and poetry, and was fully exploited in such classical poems as *Utenzi wa Kadhi Kassim bin Jaafar* (Bin Said 1972).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Abdala, The life history of Mishi wa Abdala, a Swahili kungwi from Mombasa, Kenya, in *African Review* 11:1 (1984), 68–80; repr. in S. Mirza and M. Strobel (eds. and trans.), *Three Swahili women. Life histories from Mombasa, Kenya*, Bloomington, Ind. 1989.
- H. A. Bin Said, *Utenzi wa Kadhi Kassim bin Jaafar*, ed. M. Burhan Mkelle, Dar es Salaam 1972.
- S. Bakari Bin Sultan Ahmed, *Swahili chronicle of Ngazija*, ed. L. Harries, Bloomington, Ind. 1977.
- J. Knappert, *Myths and legends of the Swahili*, London 1970.
- J. L. Mbele, "Wimbo wa miti." An example of Swahili women's poetry, in *African Languages and Cultures* 9:1 (1966), 71–82.
- W. Mwai, Songs as a protest tool for the women in the Swahili speaking Muslim community. A case study of two interior settlements in Kisumu municipality, Gender Issues Report Series, OSSREA, Addis Ababa 1998, <<http://www.ossrea.net/girl/no6/no6.htm>>.

- M.-L. Swantz, *Women in development. A creative role denied?*, London 1985.
- , *Blood, milk and death. Body symbols and the power of regeneration among the Zaramo of Tanzania*, Westport, Conn. 1995.

JOSEPH L. MBELE

## The Ottoman Empire

Women and gender issues in Ottoman legends and epics have not yet been monographically studied. Rare remarks usually refer to exceptional cases such as warrior women. A good deal has been written on women in the *Book of Dede Korkut*, the central epic of the Oghuz Turks, when showing that the pre-Islamic nomadic Turkish woman was much less restricted and more equal than her Islamized successor.

Works, especially from early Ottoman literature, that fit into the genre of legends and epics are numerous and often lengthy. The present survey is based on (semi) prose epic narratives written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: *The Book of Dede Korkut*, which reflects the Oghuz's pre-Islamic past with a thin Ottoman Islamic layer; a cycle of epic romances on the Islamic conquest of Anatolia and the Balkans (*Battalname*, *Danişmendname*, and *Saltıkname*); and the lives of two Bektashi saints (*Vilayetnames* of Hacı Bektaş and Hacım Sultan). More epic prose narratives, like *Hamzaname*, *Ebu Muslim-name*, *Oğuzname(s)* or *Köroğlu*, and other vitae, illustrate a similar picture.

A male warrior(-saint) (*gazi* or *eren*), the central hero in such tales, is often depicted fighting endless battles with infidels, occasionally performing miracles, and/or fighting evil sorcerers and demons. Women generally appear in relationship to male protagonists, as their wives, daughters, mothers, or slave girls/concubines.

In the conversion narratives, the most common topos is the hero conquering a Byzantine castle (or monastery), killing the castellan and his people (or all the monks), then taking the castellan's daughter (or the ladies in the monastery) as part of the booty as his bride or offering her (them) as a prize to a fellow *gazi* (*gazis*). Sometimes love stories between the Christian lady and the *gazi* are involved (for example Battal and Gülendäm). Another popular motif is the abduction of brides before their wedding night (*Battalname*, *Danişmendname*, *Saltıkname*). Also, fathers offer their daughters as prizes to political allies or through marriage contracts (for example nine-year-old Nefise Banu to Saltık in *Saltıkname*). Polygamy is found in *Battalname* (Battal's wives are Zeynep, Fatıma, the



daughter of the caliph, and converts Mahpiruz and Gülendâm, and concubine Beyza), *Saltıkname* (Saltık's wives are Nefise Banu, and converts Huma Banu and Gülşehre); and the *Book of Dede Korkut* (Beyrek's wives are Banı Çiçek and the daughter of the castellan of Bayburd).

Throughout the texts the primary role for women is parturition. Most often, we only learn of wives when they have born a son to the hero. Indeed, many women seek the miraculous power of the two Bektashi saints, Hacı Bektaş and Hacım Sultan, amongst others, to bear children, especially to have sons, although Hacı Bektaş and Hacım Sultan themselves are depicted as asexual and without desire. The significance of the mother role can be seen in the *Book of Dede Korkut*, and, to a lesser extent, in *Battalname*. Here we find loving, caring, and brave – albeit mostly nameless – mothers whose sage advice is heard by both their husbands and their sons (for example Boğaç's mother, Uruz's mother Burla Hatun, and Battal's mother).

An element found in all epic narratives to varying degrees is that of the warrior woman. The most fully developed martial-heroine character is Greek-born Efromiya. Present throughout the *Danişmendname*, she is virtually equal with the eponymous hero and her future husband, convert Artuhı. Efromiya is compared to a lion and a dragon and, like her male counterparts, wears armor and utilizes all modes of weaponry while commanding troops and battling in duels.

Other women who engage in physical combat appear episodically: Greek princess Selcan Hatun, and Muslim Banı Çiçek, in the *Book of Dede Korkut*; Greek princess Mahpiruz and Muslim Zeynep in *Battalname*; and non-Muslim Mahpiruz and Greek Kide Banu, who is described as *kuvvetlü peblevan* (mighty warrior), in *Saltıkname*. However, all warrior women, including Efromiya, eventually surrender to their husbands. It is striking that – as in Arabic popular romance – most warrior women are not born Muslims, while in contemporary Italian and French epics these women are of Saracen origin. A notion of otherness plays a role here.

Other characters reserved for non-Muslim women are sovereign rulers (*beg*, *padişah*) or witches (*cazu*) (*Battalname*, *Saltıkname*). Although *cazu* is traditionally a genderless concept, depictions as an ugly old woman or a Frankish queen who is the mistress of a giant demon (*div*), are found.

“Normal” women, while typically depicted as passive and restricted to the family as their primary social arena, do show some independent activities. In the *Book of Dede Korkut* they speak eloquently

and wisely and set out on horseback without a male relative guarding them. In the *Vilayetname* of Hacı Bektaş, unmarried Kadınçik Ana (also known as Fatıma Bacı or Fatıma Ana) who is present and speaks in the gatherings of the Anatolian holy men (while serving them food) is the first person to spiritually see and welcome Hacı Bektaş's advance to Anatolia. Once married, she hosts Hacı Bektaş and entertains dervishes in her home for many years. Against his will, Mahpiruz follows her husband Battal in the *gazi*'s encampment (*Battalname*). Convert Meryem Hatun loves to engage in scientific disputes with her husband Karategin (*Danişmendname*).

However, *Saltıkname*, which most heavily conveys Ottoman Sunni state propaganda, fosters the seclusion of women when Saltık advises Tapdık (Emre) not to allow women to participate in his mystical recitals (*dhikr*). Formulaic references to the beauty of the female protagonists are inevitable, rare references to women as temptresses/betrayers (*Battalname*) or prattlers (Nasreddin Hoca's “wise” wife, *Saltıkname*) are also found.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Y. Dedes (ed.), *Battalname. Introduction, English translation, Turkish transcription, commentary and facsimile*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 1996.
- N. Demir (ed.), *Dânişmendnâme. Tenkidli metin, Türkiye Türkçesine aktarılış, dil özellikleri, sözlük, tipkibasım*, 4 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 2002.
- Ebü'l-Hayr Rûmî (comp.), *Saltuk-name*, ed. H. Ş. Akalın, 3 vols., Ankara 1987. [Ottoman Turkish transcription.]
- E. Groß (trans.), *Das Vilâjet-Nâme des Hâggî Bektaşch. Ein türkisches Derwischevangelium*, Leipzig 1927.
- G. Lewis (trans.), *The book of Dede Korkut*, Harmondsworth 1974.
- I. Mélikoff (ed.), *La geste de Melik Dânişmend. Etude critique du Dânişmendnâme*, 2 vols., Paris 1960. [With French translation.]
- F. Sümer, A. E. Uysal, and W. S. Walker (trans.), *The book of Dede Korkut. A Turkish epic*, Austin (Tex.) 1972.
- S. Tezcan and H. Boeschoten (eds.), *Dede Korkut Oğuznameleri*, Istanbul 2001. [Ottoman Turkish transcription.]
- R. Tschudi (trans.), *Das Vilâjet-nâme des Hâdschim Sultan. Eine türkische Heiligenlegende*, Berlin 1914.

##### SECONDARY SOURCES

- Ş. Güngör, Women who save their husbands from difficult situations in *The Book of Dede Korkut*, in *Kadın/Woman 2000* 2:2 (2001), 25–47.
- K. Hopwood, Byzantine princesses and lustful Turks, in S. Deacy and K. F. Peirce (eds.), *Rape in antiquity*, London 1997, 231–42.
- M. Kaplan, Dede Korkut kitabında kadın, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 9 (1946–51), 99–112.
- H. Köksal, *Battalnâmelerde tip ve motif yapısı*, Ankara 1984. [Kadın tipleri, 110–18; Kız kaçırma ve evlenme motif, 157–60.]

E. Olson with K. Öztöpcü, Images of women in the poetry of early Turkish mystics and the status of women in Turkish society, in H. W. Lowry and D. Quataert (eds.), *Humanist and scholar. Essays in honor of Andreas Tietze*, Istanbul 1993, 113. [Remarks on the *Book of Dede Korkut*.]

HELGA ANETSHOFER

## Southeast Asia

### INTRODUCTION

#### *Intellectual impact of Islam in Southeast Asia*

Hinduism and Buddhism are among the earliest religions practiced by the Malays in Southeast Asia. Neither religion, however, has been able to penetrate deeply into the intellectual activities of the Malays: no thinker or philosopher of note emerged during periods of Hinduism and Buddhism in the Malay world. Although Buddhism made its appearance from the fifth to the eleventh centuries in Sumatra, the influence of the Buddhist clergy does not seem to have made itself felt in the intellectual realm of the people. Very little is known about the great local philosophers and admirable scholars during these periods (Al-Attas 1969, 3–4, Coomaswamy 1985, 198). But when Islam and Muslims began to dominate the intellectual domains of the Malays, several learning centers were established and flourished. Beginning with Samudra-Pasai (1280–1400), followed by Malacca (1400–1511), Aceh (1511–1650), and finally Johore-Riau (1650–1800), each of these centers produced innumerable excellent scholars, thinkers, and philosophers. The intellectual interest in Pasai was led by King Malik al-Zahir who was surrounded by several prominent scholars who hailed from Persia and Isfahan (Hamid 1983, 18–22). In Malacca, intellectual interest was pioneered by a number of scholars as mentioned in the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay annals), including Sayyid Abdul Aziz, Kadhi Yusof, and Mawlana Abu Bakar. A number of scholars and intelligentsia emerged when Aceh became a learning center for the Malays and other international Islamic communities. The most excellent among them are Hamzah Fansuri, Shams al-Din al-Sumatrani, and Nur al-Din al-Raniri. There were also many court literati and scholars originating from Johore kingdom, including Tun Seri Lanang, the author of *Sejarah Melayu*. In Riau, royal family members were seen actively producing the Malay corpuses and the best and most prominent among them is Raja Ali Haji (Hooker 1986, 225).

#### *The language revolution*

With the coming of Islam to this region, the Malay language was established and flourished as an intellectual language as well as a *lingua franca*. The Malay language in ancient times and throughout the periods of Hinduism and Buddhism was not regarded as an aesthetic religious and intellectual language (Al-Attas 1969, 23). Practically, Sanskrit was the language of the noble class and was not used or even understood by the masses at large. However, with the introduction of Islam, the Arabic alphabet replaced and dislodged Sanskrit language in many cases, including in writing and daily practices (Yegar 1979, 7). Although there are some Sanskrit religious words remaining within the Malay language such as *puasa*, *neraka*, *shurga*, and *agama*, they are semantically “Islamic” in meaning. Islamic tolerance has made it possible for many Sanskrit words to remain in the Malay language written in Arabic-Persian scripts. As late as the sixteenth century, the Malay language attained its highest level as the language of literature and religion and overthrew the Javanese language. Very soon, Malay literature became firmly established through the fine writing activities pioneered mostly by Malay Muslim scholars and court literati (Osman 1985, 45, Riddle 2001, 101).

#### *The beginning of writing activities*

A vast number of intellectual works were grafted onto the literary expression of Malay society, including the adaptation of works from the Indian legacy. These works enabled Malay Islamic intellectuals to flourish at a higher level than had ever been achieved before. Numerous types of literary works were produced by Malay scholars, including religious and poetic treatises. In religious treatises, for instance, a Malay translation of ‘*Aqā'id al-Nasafī*, written in 1590, was considered to be the oldest known Malay manuscript discovered in its original form (Al-Attas 1988, 6–8). There were, however, numerous other Malay textual works prior to 1590, especially those produced and scattered around the Malay courts. The *Sejarah Melayu* indicates that even before 1511 there were a number of Malay works written and admired by the Malays. Among them are *Dur al-Manzum*, a theological work, and *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* and *Hikayat Hamzah*, both historical books (Brown 1952, 100–28). While religious treatises flourished, historical writings developed simultaneously, especially during the early seventeenth century when Malay scholars began to compose a number of historical treatises, including *Sejarah Melayu*, *Hikayat Aceh*, and *Bustan al-Salatin* (Iskandar 1967, 38).

In addition to that, another form of Malay literature, poetry (*sha'ir*), became increasingly popular, and was a predominant major attraction to Sufis. Hamzah Fansuri, for instance, is a Sufi scholar who deals seriously with *sha'ir* and is also considered to be the founder of this new kind of Malay literature. In his *Ruba'i*, he composed a collection of mystical poems expressing his own mystical experiences (Al-Attas 1968, 24). Apart from the development of an Islamic Malay literature, the legacy of Indian literature existing prior to the coming of Islam was also revived.

#### *Indian legacy in the Malay Islamic epics*

Islamic intellectual activities were also responsible for the revival of Indian legendary and epic stories. Some of the stories were adapted on a large scale and some in selected portions and reformed according to the new Malay Islamic understanding. *Hikayat Seri Rama*, for instance, is a large adaptation of the Indian epic of *Ramayana* in Malay (Noriah 2004, 83–6, Muniandy 2004, 108–28). Other Malay literature brings together selected portions of Indian epics in such a way that a number of similarities exist between them. For instance, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and *Ramayana* share the stories of Puteri Betung (Princess Bamboo) and the killing of Tun Abdul Jalil by his own father. The selection of a ruler by a sagacious elephant in this *Hikayat* was also comparable to the Buddhist work of *Katha Sarit Sagara*. Stories in *Sejarah Melayu* were also claimed to be copied from Indian sources. For instance, there is similarity between the story of Hang Tuah in *Sejarah Melayu* and the story of Laksamana in *Ramayana*. According to Winstedt, the story of Hang Tuah being hidden by Bendahara instead of executed is comparable to the story of Laksamana in *Ramayana*. Winstedt also claimed that the story about the Malay warriors requesting that their Sultan let them hear the tale of *Hikayat Muhammad Hanafiah* before going to battle with the Portuguese was copied from the story of Krishna reciting the *Bhagavad Gita* to Arjuna before the great battle between Pandavas and Kauravas (Winstedt 1961, 128–31). There are of course numerous Indian legacies within the Islamic Malay *jawi* writings, including Indian legends and epics such as *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. However, the Malays did not just copy and borrow the stories without adding their own understanding and perspectives. In fact, the stories were given new titles and new perceptions based on Islamic world-views and teaching. *Sejarah Melayu*, *Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Pasai chronicles), and *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Kedah annals) are among the most celebrated

Malay epics of all time and they were considered the *Karya-karya Agung Melayu* (Great books) of Malay literature. *Hikayat Raja Pasai* is the oldest known work on Malay history and greatly influenced later literature, including *Sejarah Melayu* and *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Winstedt 1960, 127 and Hill 1960, 27). *Sejarah Melayu* is believed to be the second oldest text on Malay history and is among the most often studied by Western as well as local scholars; it is among the most influential historical works of the Malays (Salleh 1997, xvii). The epic journey in *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* was considered by most Western scholars as only a pseudo-historical story (Winstedt 1961, 133, Maier 1988, 29–30).

#### WOMEN IN THE MALAY EPICS

##### *Women of the royal family*

There are at least three groups of women who often made their appearance in the Malay historical and legendary epics: royal, ordinary, and mythical women. Often the royal women are depicted in a glamorous manner, especially when it comes to their beauty and conduct. The epic of *Sejarah Melayu*, for instance, depicts the beauty and cunning of Puteri Shahrul-Bariyah, a princess of Raja Kida Hindi, in an impressive manner: “Now Raja Kida Hindi had a daughter, Shahrul-Bariyah by name, whose beauty was such that she had no peer at that time: brilliant as the light of the sun was the light of her countenance, and she was endowed moreover with great wisdom and understanding” (Winstedt 1938, 43). Describing the beauty of this princess is not the end purpose of the Malay author; what is more important is how this beauty was won by the great conqueror of the world, Iskandar Zulkarnain (Alexander the Great). Puteri Shahrul-Bariyah was of Muslim Abrahamic religion and she was given to marry Iskandar Zulkarnain soon after he conquered her father. It seems that the conquest of Iskandar Zulkarnain was incomplete unless he possessed the beauty of Puteri Shahrul-Bariyah. For the Malays, the holy link between Puteri Shahrul-Bariyah and Iskandar Zulkarnain is of the greatest moment since it is from this marriage that the Malay royal family descended.

Most of the kingdoms in Southeast Asia during ancient times were male-dominated but occasionally women were also appointed as the rulers of the kingdoms. Unfortunately, the appointments were not based on their ability but rather came about through the absence of men from the royal lineage. *Sejarah Melayu* relates such a story. Princess Nai Kesuma was a princess of Majapahit kingdom in

Java who, after the death of her father, had to rule the kingdom as a result of the lack of men in her family. She was assisted by Pateh Aria Gajah Mada, the prime minister or *mangkubumi*. Nevertheless, after successfully selecting a suitable prince to be her husband, her power was handed over to her husband who was then appointed as *batara* or king of Majapahit. Her important role here is no more than as a mother to the descendants of the Majapahit royal family (Winstedt 1938, 100–3). There is, however, a Malay woman ruler who is well regarded and *Sejarah Melayu* also mentions her contribution in ruling her own kingdom. She is Wan Seri Benian, or Queen Sakidar Shah, the ruler of Bentan during the period of Sri Tri Buana. She was a great ruler who first introduced the *nobat* (the drum of sovereignty), a practice which was followed by other Malay kings (Winstedt 1938, 59). Other than these two important women rulers, Malay royal women were rarely able to reach the highest status in the kingdom. No matter how beautiful and clever they were, they had to remain a motherly symbol next to the rulers of the kingdoms. Among them are Princess Onang Kiu, Princess Chendana Wasis, Princess Mahtabul Bahri, and Princess Talai Puchudi. Their chief function was mainly biological, giving birth to the descendants of the kings (Hill 1960, 121–3). If these women had played a more important role in the society, they would have brought troubles and chaos to the kingdom and the people. A story in *Sejarah Melayu* concerns the Princess of Rekan, the wife of Sultan Muhammad Shah, ruler of Malacca. She insisted that her own son Raja Ibrahim be appointed as the new king after Sultan Muhammad Shah passed away. The people rose in opposition, wanting Raja Kassim, the son of the ruler from another wife, to be their king, and a bloody battle ensued in Malacca (Winstedt 1938, 90–2).

Women of the royal family as depicted in the epic of *Hikayat Raja Pasai* share certain basic characteristics described in *Sejarah Melayu*. Beauty is always among the most important characteristics of a princess who is to be selected to marry the king. The text of *Hikayat Raja Pasai* fascinatingly describes the beauty of the Princess Ganggang, who was selected by Sultan Malikul Salleh to be his wife and queen. With their biological role, women are weak and always victimized by men – this is the theme that is often represented by the epic of *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. A story related to this theme is that of two princesses, Tun Medam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara, and the story of Princess Gemenchang. The princesses Tun Medam Peria and Tun Takiah Dara are the daughters of Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal, who passionately desires to sexually

abuse them; their mighty brother Tun Beraim Bapa tries to rescue them but they die after eating poisoned food given to their brother by their father. Puteri Gemenchang is the princess of Majapahit who falls in love with Prince Tun Abdul Jalil, the son of Sultan Ahmad. Out of jealousy Sultan Ahmad murders his own son in order to obtain the princess. He fails to do so when she drowns herself in the sea (Russell Jones 1999, 57).

The epic of *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* also contains interesting stories related to the women of the royal family. There are royal women whose role is simply biological and there are also royal women whose role is essential in contributing to the good and bad fortunes of the kingdom. One of the king's children, a princess, is appointed as the ruler of Pattani and she rules the kingdom wisely, without oppressing her subjects (Siti Hawa 1998, 36). Another important woman in the history of ancient Kedah is Raja Perempuan, the queen who corrects the mistakes of her husband who ruled the kingdom inhumanly by killing his people and drinking their blood to satisfy his own lust (Siti Hawa 1998, 50). In contrast, there was also a royal woman whose presence destroyed the relationship between the king and his son; she was also blamed for the birth of a tyrant king, Raja Bersiong (Tusked King) (Hawa 1998, 46–60).

#### *Ordinary Malay women*

As well as the many stories of royal women, the Malay epics also provide numerous stories of ordinary Malay women. Some are highly inspiring and others are somewhat miserable. The story of two hardworking and dedicated widows, Wan Empok and Wan Malini, has inspired Malays in the struggle for their own survival. Luck has changed their life but their dedication is most encouraging to the Malays (Winstedt 1938, 54–5). Another inspiring woman is Wan Sendari, the daughter of a local leader by the name of Demang Lebar Daun. She survives the most challenging test by marrying Sri Tri Buana who was responsible for the sickness called *kerdal* (chloasma) suffered already by 39 other women who failed to have Sri Tri Buana as their husband. Wan Sendari is a symbol of a courageous woman who dares to face a great hazard in order to fulfill her father's will (Winstedt 1938, 57).

The life of a concubine or mistress to the king is not always pleasant and such women usually face miserable times. They are frequently subjected to difficult social circumstances and manipulation by the ruling group and are often victimized. *Sejarah Melayu* narrates the story of the daughter of Sang

Rajuna Tapa, the mistress of the Singaporean king who is wrongly accused of misconduct in the palace. She is publicly exposed and humiliated at one end of the market. Deeply humiliated by this treatment of his daughter, Sang Rajuna Tapa invites and assists Majapahit to attack and conquer Singapore (Winstedt 1938, 81). A similar fate of the mistress of the king is also reported in *Hikayat Raja Pasai*. A beautiful mistress of Sultan Malikul Mahmud is abducted by his brother Sultan Malikul Mansur and this event causes problems between two brothers and also causes Sultan Malikul Mansur to lose his kingdom and his life (Hill 1960, 129–30). Tun Fatimah Lempau, the mistress of Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal, was accused of having sexual relations with his son, Tun Beraim Bapa. The Sultan takes the accusation seriously and he decides that his son should be killed (Russell Jones 1999, 45).

Ordinary Malay women are also involved in a number of scandalous events. Tun Ali Sendang, who is seen visiting Tun Dewi, a beautiful woman admired by the king, is put to death because of his visit (Winstedt 1938, 151–2). Tun Teja, the daughter of a nobleman of Pahang who is engaged and about to marry the king of Pahang, is abducted by the Malaccan king. The event brings about a serious conflict between Malacca and Pahang (Winstedt 1938, 169–76). In another instance, the king's desire for Tun Fatimah costs the life of her family members including her father Bendahara Seri Maharaja and husband Tun Ali (Winstedt 1938, 182–9). In *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, a mistress also plays an important role in giving advice to the king. Unfortunately, Dara Zulaikha Tingkap, who is the chief of the court mistresses of Sultan Ahmad Perumudal Perumal in *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, has backed the wrong side by supporting a cruel and tyrant king (Russell Jones 1999, 40).

### *Mythical Malay women*

The most interesting Malay epics tell the stories of mythical Malay women. These are among the specialties of Malay epic writing and usually they have been blamed for promoting non-historical values. Whatever the accusations, they do indeed exist among the epic texts. In *Sejarah Melayu*, several mythical Malay women are depicted and among the most important is the Puteri Gunung Ledang (Princess of Mount Ledang). The King of Malacca's greatest wish is to have this princess as his wife, since according to him, "what I desire is a bride such as no other King possesses" (Winstedt 1938, 129). In reality, this princess does not physically exist and the *Sejarah Melayu* narrates the story in order to

describe the great lust of the king to have the most beautiful woman in his possession. Obviously, the classical Malay authors tend to associate the character of women in their works with lust and desire. Some figures of mythical women encountered in Indian epics such as *Mahabharata* and *Jataka*, and to some degree their characteristics, also appear in *Hikayat Raja Pasai* and *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*. The story of Puteri Betung (Princess Bamboo), who was discovered by Raja Muhammad in a clump of bamboo in the middle of the jungle in *Hikayat Raja Pasai*, brings us to understand that the lust of a man always bring disaster to the woman (Hill 1969, 109–12). In *Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa*, a baby girl is discovered by the queen during a flood; she is adopted by the royal family and named Puteri Seluang (Princess Carp). Again, this mythical woman represents a story of betrayal and lust; the princess betrays her husband as a result of her inability to control her passion and desire (Siti Hawa 1998, 81–116).

The superiority of men over women is always among the major themes in Malay epics. There are many circumstances that caused the wide dissemination of this theme in the epics, including the male-dominated religious outlook at the time. The idea that man is superior is a common view shared by Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam. Once these religions were accepted by rulers as the state religions, male domination was then officially imposed on the society through texts patronized by the royal families. The court of the king was a scriptorium, which produced a vast number of Malay epics (Harun 1993, 53). In this scriptorium, the sultan patronized every single epic composed by the court literati. The court literati, although anonymous, were undeniably male (Siti Hawa, 1994, 20–35). They therefore composed the epics based on the religious understanding of the Sultan and describing the life of the society in which men were superior to women.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

#### PRIMARY SOURCES

- C. C. Brown, *Sejarah Melayu or Malay annals*. A translation of Raffles MS 18, in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 25 (1952), 1–276.
- A. H. Hill (ed.), *Hikayat raja-raja pasai*, in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 33:2 (1960), 1–215.
- R. Jones (ed.), *Hikayat raja-raja pasai*, Kuala Lumpur 1999.
- M. H. Salleh (ed.), *Sulalat al-salatin ya'ni perteturan segala raja-raja (sejarah Melayu)*, Kuala Lumpur 1997.
- S. H. H. Salleh (ed.), *Hikayat merong mahawangsa*, Kuala Lumpur 1998.
- R. O. Winstedt (ed.), *The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu*, in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 16 (1938), 1–225.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- S. M. N. Al-Attas, *Some aspects of Sufism as understood and practised among the Malays*, Singapore 1963.
- , *The origin of Malay sha'ir*, Kuala Lumpur 1968.
- , *Preliminary statement on a general theory of the Islamization of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago*, Kuala Lumpur 1969.
- , *The oldest known Malay manuscript. A 16th century translation of the 'Aqā'id of al-Nasafi*, Kuala Lumpur 1988.
- , *Islam dalam sejarah dan kebudayaan Melayu*, Petaling Jaya 1990.
- A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian art*, New York 1985.
- I. Hamid, *The Malay Islamic hikayat*, Bangi 1983.
- V. M. Hooker, Tuhfat al-nafis. Struktur dan sumbernya, in Z. Ibrahim (ed.), *Sastera sejarah. Interpretasi dan penilaian*, Kuala Lumpur 1986, 223–46.
- T. Iskandar, Three Malay historical writings in the first half of the 17th century, in *Journal of Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society* 40 (1967), 38–53.
- H. M. J. Maier, *In the center of authority*, New York 1988.
- R. Muniandy, Hikayat seri rama. Satu penilaian kritis, in R. A. Hamid and M. Salim (eds.), *Epik Melayu. Suatu kajian naskhab*, Kuala Lumpur 2004, 108–28.
- M. T. Osman, Islamization of the Malays. A transformation of culture, in A. Ibrahim et al. (comp.), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore 1985.
- , Islamization of the Malays. A transformation of culture, in A. Ibrahim, S. Siddique, and Y. Hussain et al. (eds.), *Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia*, Singapore 1985, 44–7.
- H. M. Piah, *Kesusasteraan Melayu tradisional*, Kuala Lumpur 1993.
- P. Riddle, *Islam and the Malay-Indonesian world*, Singapore 2001.
- S. H. H. Salleh, Teks Melayu tradisional. Interpretasi dan penilaian dalam pengkajian kesusasteraan Melayu, in O. Puteh (ed.), *Teks cerminan nilai budaya bangsa*, Kuala Lumpur 1994, 200–17.
- N. Taslim, Penyenggaraan satu tradisi. Hikayat seri rama dan sistem sokongan budaya di utara tanah Melayu, in R. A. Hamid and M. Salim (eds.), *Epik Melayu. Suatu kajian naskhab*, Kuala Lumpur 2004, 82–107.
- R. O. Winstedt, A history of classical Malay literature, in *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 31 (1961), 1–261.
- M. Yegar, *Islam and Islamic institutions in British Malaya. Policies and implementation*, Jerusalem 1979.

HUSSAIN OTHMAN

## Turkey

Women are represented as much as men in both oral and written sources in Turkish folk literature. They are especially depicted in legends, romances and folktales – maybe the best creations in Turkish folk literature. Beginning with Oğuz Kağan and the Dede Korkut legend, woman is represented not only as a woman but also as a family member mediating between women and men. She is also the mother and the lover.

Corresponding with three major periods in Turkish history, the representations of women can in general be classified in three different aspects.

In the pre-Islamic period, Turkish society was nomadic. Thus women are depicted as heroic types who rode horses and used arrows. They sometimes fought with enemies just like men. For example, the Manas legend contains some of the best traditions of Turkish legends and myths. It originates with the Kırız Turks. It is about the relationship between the Kalmuklar and the Chinese and the fights between them. In the Manas legend, women have equal rights with men in the society. They are depicted as very brave. They are able to speak courageously of the mistakes of men and give advice to men about their tasks. They are also logical, realistic, and extremely clever and can predict the future with the help of stars and numbers.

In the second period, the Turks were settled and had started to live in an urban social setting. With the spread of Islam, women became less active than men in urban life. The Koroğlu legend is one of the finest epics in Turkish folk literature. In all versions of the narrative, the women are represented as very active and lively. Different narrators of the legend claim that the main character, Koroğlu, abandons his home for three different reasons: a horse, another hero, or a woman. However, in general in all versions the women are of three different types: women whom Koroğlu and his heroes want to marry; women who want to help Koroğlu and his heroes; and women who try to harm Koroğlu and his heroes. However, there are not many women in the last category.

In the second period, when Turks settled down, women became the subject of love and affection. Like the folk romances *Tahir ile Zühre* and *Aşık Garip*, there are many folk romances that describe the deep passion of love for women. In these romances, men and women fall in love with each other in four different ways: at first sight; by seeing the picture of a lover; when they find out that they are not siblings; or when the main male character has a dream about his love.

In the third period, with the impact of European influences, women became equal with men in literature. Later, they became more social and active in life.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. B. Alptekin, *Halk hikayelerinin motif yapısı*, Ankara 1997.
- M. Ekici, Anadolu sahası koroğlu anlatmalarında kadın tipleri, paper presented at the International Folk Cultures and Koroğlu Symposium, Bolu 1997.
- M. Kaplan, *Türk edebiyatı üzerinde araştırmalar 1*, İstanbul 1979.
- N. Yıldız, *Manas destanı (W. Radloff) ve Kırız kültürü ile ilgili tespit ve tabliller*, Ankara 1995.

# Representations: Legends, Epics, and Performance

## West Africa

### EPICS AS GENRE

In her pioneering work, *Oral Literature in Africa*, Finnegan (1970, 110) concludes that epic rarely seems to occur in Sub-Saharan Africa. This statement raised enormous protests and incited Indiana University Press to launch the *African Epic Series*. Epics are poetic narratives of substantial length on a heroic theme; they are multigeneric (they are composed of smaller generic forms, such as legend, genealogy recitation, songs, and praise-poems) and multifunctional (referring to the various roles epics play in society); and they are delivered in public by a specialized performer (cf. Johnson et al. 1997, xviii, Belcher 1999, xiv, Johnson 2003, 30–57). The existence of a Sub-Saharan African epic belt stretching from the Senegambia region down into Central Africa has subsequently been postulated. The epics within this region have features that link them with each other and set them apart from the widely documented panegyric (praise poetry) tradition of eastern and southern Africa, as well as from the Arabic traditions of North Africa (Johnson et al. 1997, xv). However, while the West African epic tradition has been overlaid with Islam in recent years, the religious dimension is usually not a distinguishing feature of the Central African epics (Belcher 1999, 31). This entry focuses on the representation of Islam, women, and gender relations in the West African epic traditions, and the role of female performers in the transmission of these epics.

Since the time of Finnegan's argument scholars have recorded, transcribed, translated, and published many epic texts, of which the story of Sunjata Keita – the thirteenth-century founder of the Mali empire – is probably the most famous. This epic constitutes a social and political charter of Mande culture, embodying deep-rooted aspects of its cosmology and world-view. "Mande" refers to an area inhabited by various West African ethnic groups that show similarities in language, social organization, and oral tradition. Although the Sunjata epic takes place before the large-scale proselytization of Islam in West Africa and is full of references to non-Islamic beliefs and practices, Islamic elements are found in it. Some versions speak of God, Adam, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, and many refer to the

time of the Prophet Muḥammad and the African servant Bilāl, whom various Mande lineages consider their ancestor. Several Islamic tenets, such as belief in *jimns* and sacrifice to God, are easily integrated by non-Muslims, since a parallel belief in spirits and sacrifice as a means to manipulate occult power exists in local faiths (Johnson 2003, 20–1).

Sunjata's destiny is to become ruler by defeating his archenemy Sumanguru Kante. In order to reach his destiny, Sunjata needs the help of his mother and sister. The social importance of women – who are often associated with magic and sorcery – is a theme that resonates throughout the Sunjata epic (Van Hoven and Oosten 1994, Conrad 1999). The mother–son relationship is of central significance in Mande culture and it is believed that Sunjata derived his power from his mother. In a later episode Sunjata's sister seduces her brother's main rival to reveal the secret of his totem. When she divulges the secret to Sunjata, he is able to defeat Sumanguru. Thus women are represented as both beneficial mothers and *femmes fatales* in the Sunjata epic. It is striking that in the more Islamicized versions, the role of women is less prominent. In a version recorded by Jansen (2000, 139–40), Sunjata is able to beat Sumanguru because he is helped not by his sister but by *marabouts*, local Muslim clerics. Furthermore, in some versions Sunjata uses his father's cane rather than a token from his mother when rising after a period of paralysis (Belcher 1999, 99, 107).

Along with Sunjata, other notable epic forms include the Soninke legends of the Wagadu Empire; Dama Ngile and Maren Jagu, the epic cycle dealing with the Bamana state of Segou; the hunters' traditions of Fara Maka, Moussa Gname, Fanta Maa, Siramori, Famori, Kambili, Maghan Jan, and Mambi; the Songhay-Zarma epics of Askia Mohammed and Mali Bero; the Wolof epics of Njaajaan Njay and Lat Dior; the adventures of the Fulbe heroes Hambodedio, Silamaka, Poullori, and Samba Gueladio; and the exploits of the Gambian warriors Kelefa Saane and Janke Wali. As in the Sunjata epic, Islamic history has found its way into several of these epics. By elaborating and transforming elements of Islamic scripture, the performers play out broad issues of Muslim identity in relation to distinct local and regional concerns. Islamic leaders such as al-Hajj Umar Tall, for example, now appear in some traditions and bring with

them a new vision of the past in which Islam plays a greater role (Belcher 1999, 161–2, 189).

The West African hunters' epics reflect a concern for the social aspects of everyday life. Virtually every hunter's story deals with the husband's relations with his wife, or the domestic relations among co-wives. It is an interesting feature of these epics that the gender roles offer greater scope for gynocracy, that is female rule, or at least a greater balance between the genders (cf. Belcher 1999, 74, Traoré 2000, 214–29). Besides, these epics focus on the occult lore of the hunter and often contain just a slight veneer of Islamic piety (Belcher 1999, 64, Traoré 2000, 88). This seems to support Jansen's hypothesis (2000, 140) that an increased prestige of Islamic actors goes along with a declining power of female agents. The connection between the Islamization of the epic genre and the representation of women and gender relations is a topic that requires further research.

#### THE EPIC PERFORMANCE

Epics are performed at social gatherings such as naming ceremonies, weddings, funerals, the inauguration of local notables, or any other festive occasion or community event. In West Africa epics are transmitted by *griots*, who, with the exception of the performers of hunters' epics, are defined by birth: they are members of an endogamous status group. The important role of women in West African epics may raise questions concerning the role of female performers in their transmission. It has been generally assumed that the male performer – or *griot* – narrates the epic and plays musical instruments, while female performers – or *griottes* – contribute songs at the appropriate points during the same performance. However, there is a growing debate over this apparent gender division in the epic performance. Durán (1995) argues that women will sing an epic if no man is available for the task, and she reports that some songs by female performers go on for hours and contain in essence all of the elements of epic (see the epic of Sara in Johnson et al. 1997, 114–23). Ethnographic data collected by the author during field research in The Gambia indicate that elderly female performers indeed recount epics in informal contexts (Janson 2004).

The performers' gender has influence on their narratives. During this author's ethnographic fieldwork in The Gambia a *griot* explained the origin of his profession by narrating a passage from the Sunjata epic featuring Balafasiki Kuyateh, Sunjata's *griot*. It was striking that his wife's account stressed different episodes and emphasized the origin of the *griotte* Tumu Maniyang Kuyateh (Janson 2004, 83).

It is commonly accepted that Balafasiki Kuyateh is considered the *griots'* ancestor. It has been documented less often that Tumu Maniyang Kuyateh is the first *griotte* in Mande. The female performer's account informs us about marriage patterns: the first *griot* married the first *griotte* on earth so that they could perform as a couple. Tumu Maniyang accompanied her husband by singing praise songs. However, she did not only accompany Balafasiki, but also performed independently of him: she acted as a kind of commentator by broadcasting the good and bad deeds of people. This illustrates that *griottes* hold positions independent of *griots*, while in the literature on Mande the role of *griottes* is usually reduced to that of supporting their husbands (Janson 2004, 84).

*Griottes* appear to be somewhat in a predicament: they are mostly Muslims and Islamic ethics prescribe that they should behave in a modest way, while conversely their very profession implies that they stand out by their behavior and also the way they dress. So how do these women reconcile their identity as female performers with Islamic values? *Griottes* respond by punctuating their performances with Qur'anic verses and blessings. Furthermore, when performing in public, *griottes* often cover their heads with a shawl, and they normally perform in groups because, as pious Muslims, they believe that they are not allowed to perform individually. By performing individually, a *griotte* runs the risk of being depicted as "wanton." It seems that *griottes* single out specific elements of their traditional cultural background and integrate and reinterpret them in the light of Muslim norms in order not to subvert their position as respectable Muslim women (Janson 2002, 182–6). They also employ other strategies to adjust themselves to the new situation in West Africa in which Islam plays a greater role. One category of Mande *griots*, the *finoos*, for example, have concentrated on reciting Qur'anic verses and *hadith* and chanting the Prophet Muḥammad's praise names, and they attach themselves to *marabouts*. Future research will provide more evidence of the role of Muslim women performers in relation to epics.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. Belcher, *Epic traditions of Africa*, Bloomington, Ind. 1999.  
 D. C. Conrad, Islam in the oral traditions of Mali. Bilali and Surakata, in *Journal of African History* 26 (1985), 33–49.  
 —, Mooning armies and mothering heroes. Female power in Mande epic tradition, in R. A. Austen (ed.), *In search of Sunjata. The Mande oral epic as history, literature, and performance*, Bloomington, Ind. 1999, 189–229.  
 L. Durán, *Jelimusow*, the superwomen of Malian music,



- in G. Furniss and L. Gunner (eds.), *Power, marginality, and African oral literature*, Cambridge 1995, 197–207.
- R. Finnegan, *Oral literature in Africa*, Oxford 1970.
- E. van Hoven and J. Oosten, The mother-son and the brother-sister relationships in the Sunjata epic, in J. G. Oosten (ed.), *Text and tales. Studies in oral tradition*, Leiden 1994, 96–106.
- J. Jansen, Masking Sunjata. A hermeneutical critique, in *History in Africa* 27 (2000), 131–41.
- M. Janson, *The best hand is the hand that always gives. Griottes and their profession in Eastern Gambia*, Leiden 2002.
- , The narration of the Sunjata epic as a gendered activity, in J. Jansen and H. M. J. Maier (eds.), *Epic adventures. Heroic narrative in the oral performance traditions of four continents*, Münster 2004.
- J. W. Johnson, *Son-Jara. The Mande epic. Mandekan/English edition with notes and commentary, text by Jeli Fa-Digi Sisòkò*, Bloomington, Ind. 1986, 2003<sup>3</sup>.
- , T. A. Hale, and S. Belcher (eds.), *Oral epics from Africa. Vibrant voices from a vast continent*, Bloomington, Ind. 1997.
- L. Kesteloot and B. Dieng, *Les épopées d'Afrique noire*, Paris 1997.
- D. T. Niane, *Soundiata, ou l'épopée mandingue*, Paris 1960; trans. G. D. Pickett, *Sunjata. An epic of Old Mali*, London 1965.
- I. Okpewho, *The epic in Africa. Toward a poetics of the oral performance*, New York 1979.
- K. Traoré, *Le jeu et le sérieux. Essai d'anthropologie littéraire sur la poésie épique des chasseurs du Mande (Afrique de l'Ouest)*, Cologne 2000.
- D. Westley, A bibliography of African epic, in *Research in African Literatures* 22:4 (1991), 99–115.

MARLOES JANSON

# Representations: Metaphors of the Female Body

## Overview

In Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* the feminine is associated with Africa, and the sexualized female body functions as a simile for the darkness and the relative obscurity of the "dark continent."

In contrast, the Egyptian feminist writer Nawal El Saadawi gives Africa pride of place: "our eyes and faces were always facing the Mediterranean, Europe, and America, with our backs towards Africa, towards ourselves." For her, the rejection of Africa stands for the rejection of a person's brown or black complexion and the attempt to hide it behind white powder. The touched-up skin of the female becomes, in her work, the metaphor for a colonized mind.

Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks*, calls this psychic act of epidermal whitening, "a kind of lactification." He saw the female body as the site of Africa's liberation from the shackles of colonial oppression. In his psychoanalytically informed intervention in the Algerian war of independence, *A Dying Colonialism*, that body gives shape to a new Algeria, free from French rule. Metaphorically using the image of the impenetrable veil of the Algerian woman, he wrote in French about the seamless front that stood for an Algerian nation that was boldly claiming its liberation from France. In Gillo Pontecorvo's film *The Battle of Algiers*, which was in part inspired by Fanon's famous treatise on the anti-colonial struggle, the unveiled hair of the Algerian freedom fighters, the process of its bleaching and cutting according to French fashion in front of a mirror, comes to signify the promise of liberation, as the Algerian women transform their bodies one by one into bodies that can move about unrecognized by the colonial troops. Disguised as French bodies they penetrate the border between Algiers' Casbah and the city's French quarters in order to plant bombs. The Muslim female bodies hold an ambivalent position in both texts. The female bodies impregnate Algeria with the explosive seeds of the nation's liberation, while simultaneously carrying the unborn nation to term. In the intertext, the female body represents the contradictory logic of the impregnating body, the expectant body, and the emergent body of the modern nation itself.

To start on this paradoxical metaphoric trail of the sexualized female body in contemporary psy-

choanalytic theory, anticolonial polemic, and Third Cinema is only to emphasize the degree to which the female body as a whole and its dismembered parts in particular stand in metaphorical relation to modern nation-states and nationalist narratives. Like the Greek root word for metaphor (*meta* + *pherein*, to carry, to transfer, or to give birth, in the sense of transporting from one space to the next) they bear, unite, and make whole communities and national spaces. Indeed, in many Third Cinema films primarily focused on the anticolonial and anti-imperialist struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, the colonized female body stands as a promise for the independent modern nation.

This imbrication of gender and nationhood in colonial discourses must be understood in the greater context of nationalist movements from the turn of the twentieth century onward. Chatterjee (1993) argues, for example, that the discourses of nationalism in colonial India aimed to maintain the spiritual distinctiveness and independence of India by sectioning off the female-home from the colonized profane male-public sphere. The overdetermination of the home, at once the domain of tradition, the feminine, and the national spirit, endowed the metaphoric female body with the reinvigorating spirit of the nation – a body capable of rebuilding Indian independence after the fall of British rule. This recurrent construction of the nation as a female body in Indian nationalist discourse generally (the bifurcated "mother India"), and in Hindu nationalist folklore in particular, has supported the projection of highly politicized and sexualized images of Muslims as predators on the feminized Indian national body and has been used as justification for Partition.

While, as Tavakoli-Targhi (2001) explains, early nineteenth-century Indian and Iranian Persianate literatures (or "homeless texts") constructed the body of the Western woman as the site of sexual and political imagination, masculine and feminine traits in the early twentieth century gave meaning to concepts that were central to the imaging of the modern nation in the context of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution. As Najmabadi (1998) concludes, the Iranian nation (*millat*) was conceived as a brotherhood until the early twentieth century. The landed concept or geobody, *vatan*, was by contrast "envisaged as female – as a beloved and as

a mother.” Both the honor and the purity of the female *vatan* were “subjects of male responsibility and protection”; thus sexual and national honor “forever slipped back and forth in the literature of the time.” Wail Hassan (2003) explains that the trope of the female body has been the ancient site of the palimpsestic inscription of “the narrative of ethnic, cultural and civilizational sovereignty honor, and masculine pride of ownership.” In classical descriptions of the Trojan War, for example, Helen’s body stands “in metonymic relationship to Troy as the city to be defended or sacked and destroyed by men, while the content itself assumes the archetypal form of organized masculine violence.”

But if the maternal, traditional, and archetypal female body is the metaphorical figure of the native soil in need of protection and rescue in most nationalist and anticolonialist discourses, we find evidence of a differing embodiment in singular examples and exceptions. This is especially true of the texts and the visual media that think through the destructive potential of a postcolonial culture and discourse that continues and reifies the subordination of the previously colonized nation by reinforcing hegemonic and traditional notions of masculinity. In Sembene Ousmane’s film *Xala*, based on the novel of the same title, for example, Rama’s modern female body sits before the map of the Senegalese nation. Her body is repeatedly drawn upon as the liberated marker of a modern nation that refuses to speak in the language of the French colonizer. But if her body is the metaphorical body of Senegal, it is utopian, unshackled from both colonial domination and outdated indigenous traditions. Sembene writes Rama’s body as the body of a nation that is not swayed by the traditional misogynist practices endorsed by her duplicitous French-speaking father. Her body emerges as a national body that stands as a critique of the postcolonial recuperation of polygamy.

Metaphors of the body as native soil are clearly not exclusive to twentieth-century colonial and postcolonial discourse. In classical Persian poetry, the hair that spells ringlets across the beloved’s face in a thousand letters of J and L, represents and figures as both India and China. The beloved’s eyes are charging Turks and the eyelashes the mirror bearers of Hindustan. The lips are the dwellers of Samarkand. The beauty spot on the corner of the beloved’s mouth is the Ethiopian slave who stands patiently guarding the waters of life, an indentured servant lost in the land of the guardian. While the beloved is often represented by young male and female bodies in this poetry, the female body in par-

ticular is the carrier of multiple meanings in Islamic cultures and an emblem of abstract conditions that, even in the body’s dismembered form, makes whole and binds together, connecting the human and the divine. In the words of the minstrel and slave girl whom Jāmi’s *Nafahāt al-uns* calls Tuhfa (856 AH): “Though you dismember me and tear me//Limb from limb/I will never cease to contemplate You.” As Ibn ‘Arabī suggests, woman is the place of the manifestation of divine names associated with forming and creating, the words *kbāliq*, *musawwir*, and *muqaddir*.

It would be impossible to collect the multiple ways in which the distinct parts of the female body, her forehead, eyes, nose, lips, breasts, hands, and feet, give shape to abstractions across disciplines in all media and in the multiplicity of cultures and nations that make up the world of Islam. But if there is one way to summarize the multiplicity of meanings ascribed to female parts, it would be to appeal to the metaphors enshrined in the Qur’ān to which so many Sufis, poets, and painters have referred. In the Qur’ān, the female beloveds are often the houris of Paradise. The suras represent them by way of synecdoches of skin and eyes. The houris are referred to as “the fair skinned, those with wide, lustrous, and lovely eyes,” “like unto hidden pearls” (Smoke, 44:54, The Event, 56:23). Women’s metaphorical representation in the suras are retooled often as similes and given new meaning in other texts and media. If in the Qur’ān wives are men’s garments, in the poet’s words they are revived with additional meanings (The Cow, 2:168). Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, for example, ascribes to women (not only wives), the metaphor of a garment on which a man can wipe his hands. For emphasis he adds that enduring them cleanses men’s impurities. Of course not all Sufis and poets had a misogynistic attitude to women’s bodies, even if only in the form of metaphors and similes. Some, like Bahā’ al-Dīn Walad (Ibn Khaṭībī) have crafted the female body in their words as a site and an object of worship. Ibn Khaṭībī wrote, “Looking at the legs and backs of women was like enjoying God’s wine which makes man unconscious and enables him to praise God more effectively.” “The... of a lustful woman,” he maintains, “is the highest mosque of obedience to the Lord” (Schimmel 1997, 272). We will never know exactly to what part of the body the metaphor of the mosque refers, but clearly here as elsewhere in the classical tradition, the female body stands at the site of liminality and ambivalence. Even in its partial form, the enjoyment of the body represents an experience of the spirit while, like the attached eyebrows of

the female beloved, it stands in for human attachments to the material world.

Because of the taboos represented by the female body and the “jugs of wine,” Ibn Khaṭībī humorously considered it quite an achievement by literary men to describe both. The Persian poet Sa’dī seemingly took up this challenge. In one poem he is said to have used over 30 figurative and metaphorical words to describe the face and the physique of the beloved. But before reviewing at least some of them, it should be noted, as both B. W. Robinson (1958) and Najmabadi (2001) have remarked, that the male artist’s beloved, whether in literary or visual form, until the late nineteenth century could be represented by a youthful woman or a young beardless man. In written and visual form, the narrow-waisted and the cypress-statured beauty with crescent eyebrows and black scented hair, was as often a young man (*ghilmān*) as it was a paradisiacal female (*hūrī*). Their eternally youthful bodies stand as metaphors for the paradisiacal pleasures described in the sura of Smoke (Q. 44).

A good example of the indeterminacy of these metaphors for male and female bodies and their parts is a poem by a female mid-nineteenth-century Sufi, Bibī Ḥayātī, directed at an obviously male God:

Is this then the Night of Power  
Or merely your hair?  
Is this dawnbreak or your own face?  
  
In the Divan of Beauty  
Is this an immortal first line?  
Or a mere phrase,  
Inscribed in your eyebrow?  
...  
Is this Mongolian musk,  
Or unadulterated ambergris?  
Is it your hyacinth curl  
Or your braided tress?

The metaphors of the body and for the body in this poem are drawn from a long tradition of male poetry in which the body takes on a representational form and bears a metaphoric role. The face of the beloved in Persian poetry is described with reference to the moon, a candle, a living flame, the sun, myrtle, a flower, a poppy, or a halved apple. His or her figure is described with reference to the palace and pussy willows. Its beauty takes the representational form of the cypress tree. The four corners of the beloved’s forehead are the lucky stars. And Venus sometimes takes their place. The beloved’s eyelashes are arrows, swords, razors, thorns, lancets, and an army of ants. They frame the eyes described as almonds, narcissus, sleepy, tactful, bewitching, shy, drunk, infirm, and deceitful. The eyebrows of the beloved are like horseshoes, bows,

and the sign of Sagittarius, the archer. In Arabic, the eyebrows are known as the doorkeepers. The beloved’s nose are like the letter *alif*, a razor, or Aḥmad in the Qur’ān who comes to represent the straight line of the nose that splits the face in two. Ivory is a metaphor for a woman’s neck; also a bobbin about which her hair coils. The beloved’s waist marks the long reach of her lengthy hair. The beautiful waist is measured in relation to the width of a single strand of that hair. The beloved’s breasts are flowerpots and pomegranates. A silken bosom wounds and damages her shirt. But it is perhaps the allure of the beloved’s beauty spot, the mouth, the teeth, and the hair that compel poets to create a myriad metaphors for each. The beauty spot is represented by the star, pepper, musk, the raven, and the quince seed. Encompassing the beloved’s face, it is the source of the lover’s grief and blood, the reflection of the lover’s heart and the pivot around which all being circles. The female beloved’s hair is associated with the smell of amber, the color and the smell of musk. It is compared to the color of the night, to night itself, the longest night, the moonless night. It is a swallow’s feather, the bower, the shady place, the curtain, the veil, the harp or lyre. It twists and turns like a snake, restless like a long long life. As crown and treasure, the female beloved’s hair breaks the heart of the lover. Indeed, al-Mutanabbī puts it best when he says that the female beloved is the recurrent malarial fever under the lover’s ribs (Arberry 1967). And “riding between her wrist-bracelet and her ankle-bracelet” (Rowson 1991, 56) in al-Jūrānī’s medieval Arabic littérateur’s handbook represents the act of *zimā*. It is no wonder then that we find notably male-centered and aggressive responses to female–female sexual activity. For if the hair is the snare cast by the poet’s beloved, her vagina is the center of incessantly renewed energies for Muslim men of science such as the Tunisian Shaykh Nafzāwī and the honorable Ibn Kamal Pasha. An entry on the matter in al-Jūrānī’s *Book of Metonymic Expressions* reads: “May God curse the ‘head-shavers’// For they are scandal to respectable women//They manifest a war in which there is no spear thrusting//But only fending off a shield with a shield.” Indeed it would seem that woman’s hair in some instances becomes, as Malti-Douglas (2001) puts it, “the corporal geography of *aura*,” the site of sexual excitation itself.

Of all the objects that stand in for the distinct parts of the female body and those of the beardless young male, the metaphors for the lips and the teeth are perhaps the most spectacular. The lips are compared to a red cord, wine, a cup of blood, pomegranate seeds, rubies, coral, sugar, salt,

nectar, and milk. The closing lips are signs of union between the lover and the beloved. Desirable, the small lips of the female beloved are described as vanishing. Thus for Mīrzā Abū al-Faḍl, the precious time for thinking and writing vanishes like the *imagined* lips of the beloved. The lips are represented in the figure of the parrot, a bowl, a ring. In Khorasan, the teeth are known as dew drops. But poets compare them to dice that are framed by the trickster lips. For ‘Antara ibn Shaddād, glinting spears are reminiscent of his beloved’s teeth when she laughs (Heath 1996). The teeth are ivory, buds, gems, hail, pearls. Pleiades, they form the cluster of stars in Taurus – stars that in Greek mythology stood for the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione who joined the seven Hyades as the nursemaids to the infant Bacchus/Dionysus.

Similarly, in his *Divan* the Ottoman poet Bakī (1526–1600), writes that the mouth of the beloved Leyla spells *mim*, her hair *jim*, and her eyebrows *nun*, thus spelling the name of the lover Majnun. Schick (2001) observes that the similes in Bakī’s verse “were not in any sense ‘original.’” The letter *mim*, for instance, was often likened to the mouth of the beloved, as in the couplet by the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I (1494/5–1566): “Your musk-black mole must have landed above your mouth by mistake; for it is not customary for calligraphers to dot the letter *mim*.” As is the case in Persian literature before the nineteenth century, Schick remarks about this poem that, “the beloved in question is not a woman but a young boy.” No surprise here, for it is the Prophetic tradition that provides the inspiration for the adoration of the beardless *ghilmān*: “I saw my Lord in the most beautiful shape.” “I saw my Lord as a young man, with his cap awry.”

Male-male gazing (*nazar*), was a Sufi practice of meditative looking at the young male disciple who was the embodiment of divine beauty. Hence, this figure recurs in Sufi poetry. We find, however, an exception to this practice in the work of male poets writing in the Indo-Pakistani tradition. In these works, the poet, rather than engaging in the practice of *nazar*, often inhabits the figural characteristics of the bride in relation to his Lord. As Schimmel (1997) notes, in Bahā’ al-Dīn’s poetry, the poet’s soul stands before God like a blushing bride. Naked and blushing, partly out of love and partly out of fear, the poet awaits the bridegroom’s orders. The enamoured and obviously transgendered bride complains to his groom, “O God, do not deprive me of thy taste.” This embodiment of the male poet as virginal bride goes further in some instances. Here, the poet’s body itself is represented as the hymen of the virgin bride. As such, it stands

in metaphorical relation to the kindness, beauty, power, and majesty of God. Once pierced or penetrated with the love of God, the poet’s body as a ruptured hymen is transformed and gendered feminine in answer to the highest form of love and the naked union with the divine beloved.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. J. Arberry, *Poems of al-Mutanabbi. A selection with introduction, translations and notes*, London 1967.
- P. Chatterjee, *The nation and its fragments. Colonial and postcolonial histories*, Princeton, N.J. 1993.
- W. S. Hassan, *Tayeb Salih. Ideology and the craft of fiction*, Syracuse, N.Y. 2003.
- P. Heath, *The thirsty sword. Sirat ‘Antar and the Arabic popular epic*, Salt Lake City 1996.
- R. Khanna, *Dark continents. Psychoanalysis and colonialism*, Durham, N.C. 2003.
- F. Malti-Douglas, *Woman’s body, woman’s word. Gender and discourse in Arabo-Islamic writing*, Princeton, N.J. 1991.
- , *Medicines of the soul. Female bodies and sacred geographies in a transnational Islam*, Berkeley 2001.
- A. Najmabadi, *The story of the daughters of Quchan. Gender and national memory in Iranian history*, New York 1998.
- , Gendered transformations. Beauty, love, sexuality in Qajar Iran, in *Iranian Studies* 34:1/4 (2001), 89–102.
- J. Nurbaksh, *Sufi women*, New York 1983.
- H. Pérèz, *La poésie andalouse en arabe classique au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1953.
- H. Rāmi, *Anīs al-‘ushshāq va chand asar-i digar*, Tehran 1997.
- B. W. Robinson, *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian paintings in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1958.
- E. Rowson, Categorization of gender and sexual irregularity in medieval Arabic vice lists, in J. Epstein and K. Straub (eds.), *Body guards. The cultural politics of gender ambiguity*, New York 1991.
- F. Sabbah, *Women in the Muslim unconscious*, trans. M. J. Lakeland, New York 1984.
- I. C. Schick, Writing the body in Islam, in *Connect* 3 (2001).
- A. Schimmel, “I take off the dress of the body.” Eros in Sufi literature and life, in S. Cookley (ed.), *Religion and the Body*, New York 1997, 263–88.
- M. Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran. Orientalism, occidentalism and historiography*, New York 2001.

NEGAR MOTTAHEDEH

# Representations: Music

## Afghanistan

Gender is a dominant factor in the musical and social life of Afghanistan. Men's concern to control female sexuality is expressed in strict codes about female performance of music and dance. Many women live in Islamic seclusion, and amateur female music-making normally takes place in female space. Performance in public by professional female musicians is controversial, regarded as sinful by traditionalists. The performance of some musical genres follows gender lines. Love relationships between women and men constitute the main topic of song lyrics, offering various representations of womanhood.

### GENDERED CONTEXTS OF PERFORMANCE

The most significant contexts for women's music-making are female parties connected with marriage. Until recently these were held in homes, but now urban families often hire reception rooms in hotels or custom-built wedding halls. The ritual journey of the bride from home (by vehicle or on foot) is normally accompanied by women's drumming and clapping.

Informal women's music-making takes place in homes, usually when men are not present. In the past in springtime women also used to make music outdoors at massed women's picnics.

### FEMALE SEXUALITY IN RELATION TO PERFORMANCE

Music and especially dance are considered to have erotic power, and many people believe that it is sinful for female dancers and singers to exhibit themselves in public. Female professional performers occupy a low or ambiguous social status. Actresses and singers in theaters had reputations as courtesans whose sexual favors could be won by gifts and money. At the bottom of the social scale, certain semi-itinerant groups (Jat, Ghorbat, or Chelu) operated from tented encampments outside cities; the men played music for women to dance and advertise themselves as prostitutes. Also, through the Indian popular film industry, Afghan audiences were familiar with the red light district traditions of Pakistan and India. To counter this, Radio Afghanistan sought to cultivate an image of

respectability for its female singers, achieving some success.

From the civil war period, with the rise of Islamist hardline attitudes, female professional musicians and dancers were subject to threats of violence. Unable to earn a living, many of them fled the country and few have returned.

### THE GENDERING OF MUSICAL GENRES AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Women and men have a shared musical culture of traditional and popular songs, but some musical genres follow quite strict gender lines. Lullabies and girls' bridal songs are specific to girls and women, expressing female emotions and ideas, whereas men have largely monopolized the performance of classical music. Afghan women have not had access to training in sung recitation of the Qur'an (strictly speaking not considered part of music).

The realm of musical instruments is strongly gendered: men monopolize almost all instruments. The frame drum (*daireh*) is the mainstay of women's music, considered as a women's instrument and rarely played by men. In northern Afghanistan women and children play the mouth harp (*chang*, or *chang ko'uz*). Urban women sometimes also play the portable Indian harmonium and tabla drums.

### FEMALE IDENTITIES IN SONG LYRICS

Many song lyrics glorify and praise the female beloved, who is usually distant and unattainable. Romantic love may be infused with Sufi overtones of divine love. With a repertoire shared by women and men, poetic voices tend to be blurred, and women sing about a female beloved without any sense of incongruity. The unhappy story of Layla and Majnun has a long history in Afghan folklore, literature, and art, and song texts often refer to Layla (or Leili). She is represented as faithful and loving to Majnun, but the lovers are not allowed to marry. Within men's performances the female beloved may be characterized as cruel because she will not grant her favors.

Some songs composed by girls and women contain lyrics about female desire or contempt for men, especially in Pashtun women's *landai* couplets, and there are songs that address a male beloved by name.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- V. Doubleday, The frame drum in the Middle East. Women, musical instruments and power, in *Ethnomusicology* 43:1 (1999), 101–34; repr. in J. C. Post (ed.), *Ethnomusicology. A contemporary reader*, New York and London 2006.
- , Afghanistan. Music and gender, in A. Arnold (ed.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, v, *South Asia. The Indian subcontinent*, New York and London 2000, 812–16.
- A. Rao, *Les Gorbat d'Afghanistan*, Paris 1982.
- H. L. Sakata, Hazara women in Afghanistan. Innovators and preservers of a musical tradition, in E. Koskoff (ed.), *Women and music in cross-cultural perspective*, Urbana and Chicago 1989, 85–95.

VERONICA DOUBLEDAY

## The Caucasus

Representations of women and gender in the music of the Caucasus are extremely varied, as every ethnicity has different traditions and exhibits a different response to contemporary music and globalization. As most ethnicities of the region have not been researched on this subject, this entry focuses on Azerbaijan.

Traditionally, professional music in Azerbaijan is comprised of improvised modal art-music (*mugham*) and minstrel music (*ashiq*) (Figures 19, 20). *Mugham* is prized for its passion, which expresses itself in vocal intensity and lyrics. Gender is the catalytic principle of *mugham*, which draws its inspiration from an Islamic poetic-philosophical heritage that equates separation from God with the pain of a lover/seeker longing for self-annihilating union with the beloved. The love is experienced as burning pain, which the singer transforms into beauty with increasingly intense vocals improvised in a musical dialogue with the accompanying instruments. The beloved is described by her entrancing physical beauty (in standard idealizations such as black eyes, curling tresses, and arched brows) and by her quality of *naz* (caprice), which keeps her lover in torment. Prevalent images present an active male principle that seeks a passive female principle, such as the nightingale and the rose, or the hunter and the deer. However, although the lyrics and images are deeply gendered and the singer is abstractly positioned as male, in practice women singers take on the role of the lover/seeker when singing *mugham*.

Serving as a counterpoint to *mugham*, *ashiq* minstrel music can feature poetry contests where a woman is able to keep suitors at bay with her verbal dexterity, often ridiculing their stereotypes of ideal beauty and love. Women singing in the traditional *mugham* and *ashiq* genres dress conservatively, do

not dance, and do not present themselves as sexualized subjects or objects. As in *mugham*, women *ashiqs* often sing love songs from a male perspective, and it could be said that traditional music is one of the only spaces in Azerbaijani society where there is easy play and role switching between genders.

Azerbaijani music can be extremely experimental. Besides classical and popular genres derived from Western models (such as symphony, ballet, and jazz), Azerbaijani composers have developed new forms, such as *mugham-opera*. Despite boldness in music, lyrics and themes in all genres are very conservative, taken from the same stock of classical images and stereotypes described here. Azerbaijan's groundbreaking composer Uzeyir Hajibeyov based many of his operas, such as *Leyla and Majnun*, on well known epics. The same images of ideal beauty and love are constantly recycled through the lyrics of other musical genres, such as contemporary popular music, where the pain of *sensizlik* (being alone "without you") is the overwhelming theme, and women are still described by the same idealized physical qualities. However, popular music, often presented in fantasy type music videos where women dance as well as sing, is one of few areas in society where men and women, who are very careful with their interactions in public, can openly express sexuality, both as subjects and objects of desire.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- T. Djane-Zade, Tamila, Music of Azerbaijan, in V. Danielson et al. (eds.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, vi, *the Middle East*, New York 2000, 921–33.
- J. During, *La musique traditionnelle de l'Azerbayjan et la science des muqams*, Baden-Baden 1988.
- J. Jordania, Georgia, in T. Rice et al. (eds.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, viii, *Europe*, New York 2000, 826–41.
- , The north Caucasus, in T. Rice et al. (eds.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, viii, *Europe*, New York 2000, 850–65.
- I. Naroditskaya, *Song from the land of fire. Continuity and change in Azerbaijani mugham*, New York 2002.

ANNA OLDFIELD SENARSLAN

## Iran

While gender is often considered a primary delimiting factor in Iranian society, historically it has played a relatively minor role in the conceptualization and performance of music. The lullaby is considered a women's genre because of its functional role in child rearing, considered a woman's responsibility. But the lullaby appears to be the exception and music in theory and practice has generally not involved segregating men from women

to any significant degree. Though documentation of music goes back hundreds of years, there is no historical evidence that Iranians associated specific melodies with different genders and this concept is absent from modern music theory. Besides the lullaby, different types of musical forms are typically performed by both genders. Musical instruments carry no specifically gendered connotations and are generally played by both men and women. Though male and female royalty and their servants were usually kept separate in Islamic courts, iconic and textual evidence suggests that female musicians performed with male musicians for male audiences. In these contexts gender appears to have been more important for dancers than musicians.

Although love poetry has dominated Iranian song texts, the language used in this type of poetry is overwhelmingly gender neutral. Song texts describing a lovesick individual seeking a precocious and often cruel lover are common, but not explicitly gendered. This leaves the texts open to interpretation by the male or female singer. Additionally, many of these texts are heavily veiled metaphors used by Sufis to describe their own longing and difficulties as they seek union with God.

#### PREMODERN IRAN

Though love poetry presents a complicated gendering scenario, there are indications that songs that specifically depicted women in a sexual manner existed after the rise of Islam. Ghazālī (1058–1111) wrote about the practice of singing songs that describe female attributes (*ṣafāt-i zanān*). He classifies music that discusses female attributes in the presence of men as the type of music that is forbidden in Islam. Most of the musical attributes that Ghazālī classifies as forbidden were in common use in his lifetime, indicating that the practice existed despite the disapproval of religious establishment. However, even Ghazālī was not completely against the practice. He notes that a male singer may sing about the attributes of his wife or courtesan if no other men were present. This suggests that the religious establishment could sanction descriptions of sexuality in song within the confines of a socially sanctioned relationship.

One of the only surviving song texts that explicitly refers to women is a song entitled “Mother and Daughter” from a Safavid period (1501–1722) song text collection. This song describes a daughter talking to her mother about her wish to find a man to marry:

Mother, I remember a voice  
Stand up and look boldly for the cure  
Mother, what can I do as one person, alone by myself

I am burned by the rebuke of women, alone by myself  
Oh a person, a single person  
Two people together drink pure wine  
Still, I am only a person, a single person  
When the faces of the gods become entwined with each other  
From head to toe I would flirt with him down to his very soul as much as I could  
Mother tell me one thing so I will sit still  
I see you lip to lip with my father  
Still I am a single person  
Mother, for how long will I be separated from desire?  
Still I am only a person, a single person

This depiction reflects an expression of women’s gendered roles as mothers, daughters, and wives. By invoking these themes and depicting the daughter’s urge to seduce a man in terms of her need to be paired off like her own mother and father, this text provides a depiction of female sexuality that could be considered acceptable to the religious establishment.

#### MODERN IRAN

Documentation of music from the Qājār period (1796–1926) provides another song text with a slightly different view of women. The song “Marzieh,” written by the composer and poet Shayda (1843–1906), describes a female musician of the period as an intoxicating object of Shayda’s desire.

Run, run, run, run, run, run  
Oh lovely idol give Shayda’s heart comfort  
Marzieh, you won my heart  
Marzieh, you relieve my sorrow  
You are from the shining people of the land of Rey  
My heart is satisfied by you  
Marzieh is beautiful, how witty and gay  
Intoxicating and happy, her hands are beautiful  
Run, run, run, run, run, run  
Fight with me Marzieh, how beautiful you are Marzieh,  
Intoxicating and happy Marzieh

Shayda’s song is significant because it is one of the first examples of a love song that specifically identifies a woman as an object of the singer’s desire. This willingness of a respected male composer to openly represent a specific woman in an amorous context outside marriage reflects larger attempts to make sexual permissiveness respectable, a process that began in the Qājār period and continued into the Pahlavī period (1926–79). The fact that this amorous representation is of a female musician further reflects the more flagrant sexualization of female performers that also grew during the Pahlavī period.

The Islamic Revolution (1977–9) brought rebellion against open expressions of female sexuality associated with the Pahlavī period. Though the themes from traditional love poetry continue to be



key aspects of music in Iran today, specific depictions of female sexuality in music are currently banned. Despite the fact that women musicians can perform as instrumental soloists and as a part of larger male ensembles, solo female singers and all-female groups are currently required by law to perform only for female audiences. Additionally, the Islamic government uses its power to create an image of women in music that it considers morally acceptable. Public concerts sponsored for women-only audiences often feature musicians in indigenous dress, singing lullabies and folk songs that accompany domestic duties such as cooking and caring for livestock. These performances embrace womanhood to the extent that it is necessary for the maintenance of the family and are limited to being expressed only in the presence of children, animals, and other women. This type of representation has also begun to appear in popular music. The Arian band released a successful popular song called "Mother" in 2000, where the band sang about how grateful they were for their mothers' love and care. The cultivation of these types of themes and the new segregation of women in music are significant because they reflect an attempt to actually separate the music making of women from men while also using music to put forth a specific image of what women's role in Iranian society should be.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Arts Council of Great Britain, *Persian miniatures from the imperial and national collections*, Tebran, London 1957.
- W. Debano, Enveloping music in gender, nation, and Islam. Women's music festivals in post-revolutionary Iran, in *Iranian Studies* 38 (2005), 441–62.
- V. Doubleday, The frame drum in the Middle East. Women, musical instruments and power, in *Ethnomusicology* 4:1 (1999), 101–34.
- Ghazālī, *Kīmīyā-i sa'ādāt*, Tehran 1975.
- A. al-F. al-Iṣbahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, x, Cairo 1927, repr. 1963.
- A. Khan Gorji and A. Pourjavady, The musical codex of Amir Khan, Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles 2005.
- B. W. Robinson, *A descriptive catalogue of the Persian paintings in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1958.
- S. M. Sawa, The role of women in musical life. The medieval Arabo-Islamic courts, in *Canadian Woman Studies* 8:2 (1987), 93–5.
- S. C. Welch, *Artists for the Shah. Late sixteenth-century painting at the imperial court of Iran*, New Haven, Conn. 1976.

ANN LUCAS

### South Asia

Gender is embedded in most aspects of the traditional performing arts in South Asia. This gendered

discourse exists in mythological, canonic, and vernacular references and is articulated in social, aesthetic, and corporeal attitudes and practice among most communities, particularly Hindu and Muslim. According to ancient Hindu cosmology, the universe exists in a complementary duality of forces: *purusha* (male, the maker of form and agent of discipline) and *shakti* (female, the passive source of inchoate matter and potentiality), the latter often activating the former. These forces, masculine and feminine, have been abstracted as natures, or dispositions, which intermingle in various individuals or types and their conscious activities, including music. Notably, several important Islamic literary sources dating back to the sixteenth century reflect an eclecticism that prominently embraced non-Islamic elements such as the above.

#### GENDER IN THE AESTHETIC TREATISES

There was an unprecedented interest among the seventeenth-century Mughal elite in understanding the emotional, intellectual, and philosophical foundations of the Hindustani music tradition and their application to these individuals' experience and patronage of North Indian music. Particularly conspicuous in this indigenization process is a blurring of Sufi and *bhakti* (or Persianate and Hindustani) discourse prevalent in treatises of this period on performance practice. For example, sixteenth-century Sufi romances are replete with tropes appropriated from *bhakti*, or popular Hindu devotionism, likening the devotee, or lover, to Radha (Krishna's consort) and/or her network of *sakhis* (female friends). A considerable number of seventeenth-century Islamic treatises on music include a Sanskrit-based philosophy of Hindustani music, often with passages directly translated from Sanskrit to Persian. Although women performers are often depicted as symbols of auspiciousness (and, in some cases political marginalization) in Mughal paintings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, almost none are mentioned by name, with few exceptions.

In South Asian cosmology, the human body was viewed as a metaphor for virtually any structure or process, as well as the embodiment of the forces and rhythms within it, including music. Thus, certain anatomical and physiological terms stand in iconic relationship with musical activities and processes. For example, *mukha* (mouth) is iconic of any beginning: a temple's entranceway, the opening section of a musical composition or literary work, the entrance of a dancer, and so on. *Garba* (womb) represents a section that has a seed to be cultivated, iconic of a disciple that is ready to imbibe

her/his guru's teachings, the metaphorical seed. *Nabhi* (navel) stands for a central point of stasis, the point of balance in a dancer's body, the point of awareness in music of the center or beginning of a rhythmic cycle, the starting point of a vocalist's movement of air which results in musical sound, or *svara – nabhi ka svara*. Similar to this was the popular Indo-Persian notion, long practiced as breath control in *zikr* and elaborated in Faqir Allah's seventeenth-century music treatise *Rag Darpan*, that *svaras* were produced from the sound rising through the 22 *nadis*, or horizontal veins in the torso (complementary to the *chakras* in yogic thought).

Gender in aesthetic codification is pithily articulated in the Sanskrit saying *Srutir mata, laya pita* (Melody is the mother [of music], rhythm is the father). Masculinity resides in the *arabhati* (bold), expressed through elevated declamation, vehemence, arrogant pride, bodily strength, vigor, brightness, passion, and heroism associated with the quintessential masculine quality *ojas* (fiery vital energy). Femininity is embodied in the *kaisiki* (delicate) style, associated with song, sweetness, youth, beauty, grace, gentle movement, and amorous expression. The first-century musicologist Narada in his *Siksha* states a preference for sweetness in women's song, in contrast to loudness in that of men (the latter likely connected to men's role as priests in Vedic culture, assigned the responsibility of performing sacred chants).

References are also made to the gendered qualities outlined earlier in descriptions of vocal genres (particularly the bold, sparsely ornamented *dhrupad* and the lyrical, romantic *thumri*) from the early modern period. These concepts resonated with elite Mughal conceptions of manliness, in which interlinking beliefs about the body, emotions, and the soul reflected a dialogue between Unani physiology and Sufism on the one hand, and Ayurveda and *bhakti*, on the other. For males in Mughal society, masculinity was constituted of the public display of control and power – over knowledge, material things, women and lower status people, and oneself. This male control existed in opposition to the power of women, considered to be controlled by the “lower self,” or *nafs*, whose irrational, erotic power threatened male control. Conversely, femininity according to Mughal norms necessitated seclusion and male ownership of women. Thus, women performers either performed solely for other women or, if they entered the intensely male space of the courtly *mehfil* (salon concert) to perform and thus subvert the gendered hierarchy (as courtesans did), were totally marginalized from female society (except that of courtesans, “public women”). Although it

existed in theory, the boundary between men and women, high and low musical prestige, was difficult to determine in practice. Suffice it to say that masculinity/superiority was anything not feminine/female/inferior. Therefore, anything invoking the feminine/lower state was considered low status (hence degrading to the status of the audience) as, for example, effeminate male dancers who might become the object of male desire. These prescriptive codes of masculinity, nobility (*mirzanama*), and social élan (*adab*) were enacted in the performance space of the *mehfil* (salon performance gathering). While this space theoretically excluded women, a *tawa'if* (courtesan) could subvert this hyper-masculinity by herself taking control of her audience, or “holding court” in the *mehfil*.

In treatises written between the seventh and eleventh centuries (*Sangitmakaranda*, *Natyalochedana*, and others), authors classified ragas according to male and female qualities and grouped them into families with six primary male melodies (*raga*), each of whom had 5 or 6 wives (*ragini*), producing 30 to 36 *putra* (sons and grandsons) melodies. Popular during the medieval period, the *raga-ragini* concept became central to the Mughal understanding of Hindustani music. *Ragas* and *raginis* were related variously to time of day, seasons, seasonal festivals, moods, and colors, and represented in poetic and iconographic descriptions, most notably the Ragamala series of miniature paintings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

#### APSARAS, NAYIKAS, BAYADERES AND TAWA'IFS

Images of supple-limbed, voluptuous females making music and dancing abound in the ancient iconography of South Asia, lodging themselves in the collective memory of the region. An ideal type of female musician, a beautiful, seductive celestial being with human characteristics called *apsara*, exists in Vedic literature, the Buddhist *Jataka* fables, epics such as the *Puranas* and the *Ramayana*, and others. *Apsaras* specialized in performing in a graceful style full of romance and eroticism, which allegedly distracted men from their spiritual aspirations. Mythical or real, the image of *apsara* became conflated with that of living courtesans, in Sanskrit, Persian, and vernacular Indic texts, as well as the social imagination.

Another configuration of ideal types is the *nayika-bheda* theory of archetypal secular heroines. Originally articulated in the *Natya Sastra*, it was subsequently reinterpreted by various authors in Sanskrit and Persian. Through the seventeenth century, the *nayika-bheda* theory was reinterpreted in *bhakti* and Sufi poetry and, from the eighteenth

century onwards, in treatises on Hindustani music (including Indo-Persian ones) that dealt with both theory and practice of music and dance, as well as in texts of folk and devotional songs. *Nayikas* exist as allegorical representations of different types of women in eight situations of love (*astha abhastha*), in which each one's age, physical characteristics, emotional dispositions, social status, and degree of amorous desire are described in considerable detail. Constructed by males, a *nayika* and her various affects exist primarily in relationship to her male significant other, and secondarily to her female friends and relatives (*sakhis*). Thus, a particular *nayika* serves as the woman's emotional voice in a song text. More than simply a taxonomy of gendered ideal types (and corresponding erotic tropes), *nayika-bheda* and *bhakti* literature, as well as references to the same in Indo-Persian texts such as *Rag Darpan*, offer commentaries on emotions, kinship, sociability, and (mostly elite) class in medieval (Mughal) India, which have been etched in the socio-aesthetic memory of South Asians. Many texts describe the divine couple Radha and Krishna in different situations as *nayikas* and *nayakas* (heroes), conflating codified aesthetic theory with verse that is at once devotional and erotic.

Another fairly common perception in *bhakti* discourse – subscribed to by both Muslim and Hindu performing musicians – posits that in the cosmos, the male force (*purusha, nar*) is ultimate, embodied in *isvar*, as well as in the *svara sa*. Second, the other *svaras* – *re, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni* – are all moving toward union (or resolution) with *sa*, the ultimate *svara*. Here the metaphor for the devotee, personified in the female *sakhi* or *nari*, surrenders herself to her lord *sa* (equivalent in her mind to *purusha* or *nar*).

Numerous accounts of colonialists in the subcontinent beginning in the eighteenth century portrayed the economically and socially independent singing and dancing women as symbols of Oriental opulence, sensuousness, and danger. The word *bayadere*, a corruption of the Portuguese word for dancer, appeared in nineteenth-century European literature. This exotically alluring Orientalist image appealed to several Western performing artists at that time, some of whom created ballets having the theme of the *bayadere*. Significant among early twentieth-century performing artists interested in this theme were the Russian Anna Pavlova and the American Ruth St. Denis, both of whom traveled to India in search of the *bayadere*, with whom they wished to confer about their creations.

Apart from numerous colonial accounts that condescendingly described “nautch” (the cor-

rupted form of the Hindi/Urdu *nac*, or dance, used by British colonialists to describe music and dance performances in a derogatory manner), a few writers published detailed descriptions that reflected considerable understanding and appreciation of the music and dance, its performance, and its meanings. Fox Strangways's 1914 account is one of the earliest analyses of Indian music by a European. In it he accurately represented the ethos of *thumri* texts from the point of view of the *nayika*, although he provided no explanation of their literary background, unintentionally suggesting to readers in Victorian England a society whose music celebrated uninhibited, adulterous women. Otto Rothfield's 1928 account vividly described the interpretive dance performance of the *bayadere*, or “nautch girl,” complete with drawings.

The *tawa'if* or *ganewali* (singing woman) is represented in several South Asian novels. Earliest known among these is the autobiographical novel of Hasan Shah of Kanpur, written in 1790 in Hindi-ized Farsi, translated a century later into Urdu as *Nashtar* and English as *The Nautch Girl*. In it, Khanum Jan features as the romantic and tragic heroine, victim of her birth. She is a member of a troupe of traveling entertainers known as *dere-dars*, who know how to sing, dance, and converse in several languages, as they seek patronage among British civil or military officers in the Kanpur, Varanasi, and Lucknow area of north India. By the nineteenth century, *tawa'ifs* became more sedentary, settling in the *kotha*, or urban salon, to conduct their business. They and their counterparts in the south were the only women of their time listed in official records as property owners and taxpayers. The next literary heroine, Umr'o Jan Ada, appeared in the novel by the same name penned by the nobleman Mirza Muhammad Hadi Ruswa in 1905. She possesses a stronger voice than Khanum Jan: she herself is a poet. In the novel, Ruswa draws out her life story in their sittings, interspersed with poetry.

#### GENDER AND INSTRUMENTS

Although in present times the majority of women musicians in South Asia are vocalists, early texts and iconography represent women playing musical instruments. Rajput and Mughal miniature paintings from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries frequently depict women playing instruments, and court records mention women who played stringed and sometimes percussion instruments. Although the number of contemporary women playing instruments publicly is increasing, it is still rare for them to excel in certain instruments, notably percussion instruments such

as tabla, pakhavaj, mridangam, ghatam, tavil (although increasingly more women are becoming accomplished tabla players); the bowed instrument sarangi; the struck stringed instrument santoor; the mouth harp moorsing; and wind instruments such as the shehnai, nadeswaram, and bansuri. It is most common for women to perform on stringed instruments, such as sitar, veena, and violin; the number of women excelling on sarode is increasing. In folk music, historically women have played the frame drum daph or daphli, the double-ended drum dholak, and the small cymbals khanjira to accompany folk and sometimes devotional songs. These became identified as women's instruments in Mughal India; hence they were excluded from the male performance space and given a low social status. The one-stringed folk instrument ektara is associated with mendicants, most importantly the poetess-saint Meera Bai. In contemporary times, women often play these in women's musical gatherings in North India. Among roving minstrel musicians in western India and eastern Pakistan, women derive their identity from the *chala*, a metal ring they wear on their middle finger with which they play percussive patterns on either a *lota* (aluminum pot) or *ghara* (clay pot), household vessels that double as musical instruments.

#### GENDER/WOMEN IN SOUTH ASIAN SUFI DISCOURSE

In contrast to representation of gender, women, and sexuality in texts in Sanskrit and its vernacular languages, mention of women in South Asian Islamic texts tends to be limited to visual images of auspiciousness in Mughal paintings (albeit ubiquitous) or censured as courtesans in historical chronicles. The few exceptions to this are references made to the wives and daughters of the Prophet Muḥammad, related to the observation of Muharram, the festival of mourning commemorating the tragic battle at Karbala in 670 C.E.; to Bib Pak Daman, who brought Islam to South Asia; the ninth-century saint Rabi'a; and the seventeenth-century Mughal princess Jahanara Begam, daughter of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan. However, a study of vernacular traditions, particularly Sufism, most prevalent in northern and western India and in Pakistan, yields a wealth of references to women expressed in Sufi poetry sung throughout the region. Take, for example, the "matrimyths," stories about tragic heroines such as Meera Bai of Rajasthani, as well as the poet Shah Abd al-Latif's *Risalo*, populated with heroines. These and others, such as Hir (of Waris Shah's eighteenth-century Punjabi epic myth *Hir-Ranjha*, are reminiscent of the Persio-Arabic

*Layla-Majnun*), Sassi, and Sohnī. All these women are destined to die because they violate codes of their class, caste, race, and gender, as dictated by patriarchy. They activate the emotions of pity and fear: pity for their sufferings and fear for the price they must pay for their (sinfully) proud resistance to the male hegemony, mostly by marrying a man of their choice. At the poet/saint's shrine and others like it, *faqirs* or mendicants sing these narratives in falsetto voices, further invoking the female. In this way, Sufi poets, and modern-day performers, who include *qawwālī* singers (mostly male, with a slowly increasing female representation) use the voices of these tragic heroines to identify with the oppressed classes and challenge the oppressive orthodoxy of the Islamic clergy. Thus the tragic heroine's death can be celebrated as a pursuit of the ideal, not unlike the surrender of Radha in the service of her lord Krishna in *bhakti* discourse (itself a movement of resistance to oppressively orthodox Hinduism). The female voice in Sufi songs is most commonly based on the Persianized Urdu poetic form *ghazal*. The beloved, whose gender is often ambiguous, is veiled. Allusions such as the idol, beloved, delicate one, beautiful face, flower, dear one, cruel one, faithless one, and the like are used. Other genres in which the female voice appears frequently are the grassroots *kafi*, *rekhti*, and *doha*.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- S. B. Abbas, Speech play and verbal art in the Indo-Pakistan oral Sufi tradition, Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, Austin 1992.  
 —, *The female voice in Sufi ritual. Devotional practices of Pakistan and India*, Austin, Tex. 2002.  
 A. Arnold (ed.), *The Garland encyclopedia of world music*, v, *South Asia. The Indian subcontinent*, New York 2000.  
 K. Butler Brown, Music in the time of Aurangzeb, Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 2003.  
 A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, Delhi 1914; repr. 1975 and in Maciszewski 1998.  
 M. Ghosh, *The Nāṭya śāstra*, Calcutta 1967; repr. in Maciszewski 1998.  
 S. Kidwai, The singing ladies find a voice, 31 Aug 2004, <<http://www.india-seminar.com/2004>>.  
 A. Maciszewski, Gendered stories, gendered styles. Contemporary Hindustani music as discourse, attitudes, and practice, Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, Austin 1998.  
 Rakesagupta, *Studies in nayak-nayika-bheda*, Aligarh 1967; repr. in Maciszewski 1998.  
 L. Rowell, *Music and musical thought in early India*, Chicago 1992, repr. in Maciszewski 1998.  
 O. Rothfield, *Women of India*, Bombay 1928, repr. in Maciszewski 1998.

AMELIA MACISZEWSKI

## Turkey

Representations of women differ in modern musical genres. These genres include traditional Turkish music (mystical, folk, and classical) influenced by the legacy of the Ottoman Empire; classical Western music influenced by the national policy of the newly-founded Turkish state; and popular Turkish music influenced by the global tendency toward popular music. This entry explores representation of women and gender in relation to lyrics, musical forms, and instruments in each genre.

### TRADITIONAL

In traditional Turkish musical genres, the archetypal beloved woman of Ottoman poetry persists in shape and features. The depiction of women is similar to that of men, so much so that we cannot tell the gender of either the lyric writer or the beloved. However, women lyric writers differ from men by not revealing their desire and passion in a straightforward manner; they articulate their feelings as lover and beloved in appropriate ways. Furthermore, women writers illustrate women as mothers while men mostly portray them as the stereotypical beloved.

In contemporary mystical and classical Turkish music, traditional complicated musical forms have lost popularity: both men and women compose in simpler forms. Like men, women composers try diverse styles and rhythms in their songs. For instance, in her 171 songs, Mediha Şen Sancakoğlu used 31 different styles, which is more varied than the general tendency for composers. Likewise, in folk music, women produce the same musical forms as men. For instance, like male *aşıks* (minstrels), female *aşıks* play *saz* (long lute) and duel other *aşıks* using couplets, and even improvise with *leb-degmez* (a musical form requiring improvisation without using any lip consonant), which is an accomplishment for an *aşık*. Ozan Nursah is one woman who sang *leb-degmez*.

Like musical forms, instruments are apparently not gendered. Though some instruments were defined as “masculine” and “feminine” in some Ottoman sources, gendering of instruments is not canonized since there are women who played “masculine” instruments, such as *saz* (in folk music) and *tambur* and *ney* (in classical music) throughout history. Illustrated miniatures and contemporary examples of women playing “masculine” instruments prevent us from classifying instruments as “masculine” or “feminine” in traditional music.

### POLYPHONIC

Unlike traditional genres, polyphonic music was influenced by the policies of the newly founded Turkish state and portrays an archetype of the female citizen. Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic, directly influenced polyphonic music by ordering opera writers to include at least one woman in each composition, portraying the distinguished modern Turkish woman as the stereotypical woman of republican national literature. But recent productions, such as symphonies by Cihat Örtter, focus on the lives of contemporary women by portraying fragments of the lives of inner-city women, including mothers who leave their children to go to work.

Since polyphonic music was perceived as a symbol of modernization in the eyes of the state, women were particularly encouraged to contribute to music. As such, gender played a positive role in receiving support, finance, and encouragement. The first women musicians of polyphonic music were presented as daughters of the Republic and supported financially since they were concrete symbols of Westernization. For instance, in spite of the weak economy in those years, the state passed a law to grant scholarships to gifted girls to receive musical training abroad. İdil Biret and Suna Kansu were sent to Paris for a better musical training. Later, many young women musicians took advantage of the law and returned to Turkey as virtuosi. They held worldwide concerts from Africa to Australia and were praised in local and foreign media and proclaimed “state artists,” an honor rarely given to Turkish musicians.

Women composers of polyphonic music produce various musical forms, including difficult works such as symphonies. Women musicians play diverse instruments, including the so-called “masculine” instruments of Western music.

### POPULAR

Unlike in other genres, women’s sexuality is dominant in popular music, as it is in popular music globally. Women composers, lyric writers, and singers focus on feminine sexuality and use daring, bold, and even slang expressions in their lyrics. Sometimes, women lyric writers sarcastically use the typical male view of women to challenge it, an approach that points out its absurdity. Despite daring expressions and the depiction of women as independent, women in love are most often depicted as docile and submissive.

Women become more famous for writing lyrics rather than composing music. Their modern

straightforwardness reveals their sexual desire and passion, which is neither encouraged nor discouraged by the society but does appeal to youth.

Men are more likely to play instruments whereas women sing songs. However, nowadays electric-guitar playing women have started to challenge that norm.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bilanço '98 Cumhuriyetin sesleri*, Istanbul 1998.  
*Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, vi, Istanbul 1983.  
 G. Derman, *Resimli taş baskısı halk hikayeleri*, Ankara 1989.  
 E. Doğanay, *Kadın aşıklar (antoloji)*, Berlin 2002.  
 E. İlyasoğlu, *Çağdaş Türk bestecileri/Contemporary Turkish composers*, Istanbul 1998.  
 Ş. Kuseyri, Aşıklar meydanında bir bacı, bağlamacılar, in *Hayat* 3:48 (1969), 16–17.  
 C. Örtter, Erkek kadını daha iyi anlar, in *Cumhuriyet* 4 March 1995.  
 T. Taşan, *Kadın aşıklar*, Istanbul 2000.  
 İ. Taşdemir, Çokslesli müzik alanındaki kadın devlet sanatçılarımız, M.A. thesis, Ankara University 1996.

DERYA SONAL İNER

# Representations: Muslim Women and Gender in the Colonial Imagination

## Overview

This entry focuses on European travel writing and the construction of the Muslim female during European colonial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During this time, colonialism was neither fixed nor static, but was marked by significant differences in the levels of conquest, annexation, and administration. These two centuries do not mark a fixed beginning or end to colonial encounters. Many representations of Muslim women during this period drew on precolonial travel accounts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Equally, many former European colonies did not achieve independence until the second half of the twentieth century and thus some post-First World War writings are also colonial accounts.

## TRAVEL WRITING AND THE COLONIAL GAZE

Travel writing of the colonial period is marked by a great diversity in form, style, and tone. Trade, diplomacy, missionary activity, and scientific exploration all contributed to the colonial enterprise and each produced its own form of travel writing. Early eighteenth-century colonial travel accounts included collections of letters, essays, sketches, plays, and poems, alongside diplomatic reports by elites, government officials, and male adventurers. During the late eighteenth century travel narratives developed a more chronological structure documenting movements and events interspersed with geographic and ethnographic observations. The advent of mass readership, ease of travel, and consolidation of Europe's global power led to changes in the nature of travel writing by the nineteenth century. The focus on scientific or scholarly accounts gave way to travel as eyewitness observation, in which the author's reflections and views were given central place. Increasing prosperity and improved transportation and communication networks made it easier for the middle classes to travel. As travel for leisure increased, so too did the number of women travelers, many of whom ventured abroad alone.

European travel writers wrote about Muslim women in diverse geographical locations, only some

of which were formal colonies, but all of which were influenced to varying extents by European imperialist engagements. Much travel writing was about the East, a term that was used interchangeably with the Orient to refer to territories under Ottoman rule in Europe, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia or modern Iraq, the province of Syria (including modern Lebanon), Palestine and the Arabian Peninsula, and Egypt. These areas are now more commonly referred to as the Middle East, a term that did not come into common usage until the twentieth century. Colonial travel writers also wrote about Muslim women in North Africa, India (the British Raj), the British and Dutch East Indies, and colonial Malaya. For most travel writers and their audiences, however, the archetypal Muslim woman was closeted in a Middle Eastern harem. Women of South and Southeast Asia were primarily "natives" before they were Muslim. The impact of colonization on the spread of Islam and which people came to be described as Muslim should not be overlooked. For example, colonial contact opened the way for increasing travel between Mecca and the Netherlands Indies, thus increasing the number of converts.

By the end of the eighteenth century, travel books were the most widely read form of literature in England after novels and romances (Batten 1978). In addition to monographs, travel accounts were frequently included in popular periodicals and review, ensuring that travel writing permeated all levels of society. British interest in travel writing meant that French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and German travel books were quickly translated into English, making them available to the large middle-class reading public. Travel writing, and the Orientalist imagery contained within it, influenced European literature, painting, and the emerging field of photography, as well as ethnographic and historical writing. Importantly, as Mary Louise Pratt (1992, 5) notes, "travel and exploration writing *produced* 'the rest of the world' for European readerships"; travel writing was an instrument of colonial expansion and served to reinforce colonial rule.

Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) provides a central reference point for the study of travel writing about the East. Said uses the term "Orientalism" to refer to the discursive appropriation of

knowledge about other peoples that seeks to make sense of non-Western culture by drawing on a series of binary oppositions: East/West, Orient/Occident, Islam/Christianity, stagnation/progress. The Orientalist gaze is a colonizing gaze that appropriates and codifies knowledge, ideas, and scholarship about “Orientals” such that they are denied humanity, history, and the authority to speak about and represent themselves. Instead, the act of representation is reserved for Occidental travel writers (among other colonial interlocutors). The Orientalist gaze perpetuates a range of stereotypes about non-Western others that includes images of the Oriental despot, the lascivious women of the harem, the noble Arab nomad, and the religious Muslim fanatic. Common travel writing strategies associated with discourses of imperialism include “othering” through language choices (they/he as timeless); universalizing (traits belong to a whole nation); the use of temporal adjectives (as if the people/nation is timeless and unchanging); synecdochical description (not individuals but lists of features); and a focus on inferiority in terms of decency, cleanliness, and morals.

In recognizing these literary devices, however, it is important not to reduce the colonial encounter as represented in travel writing to simple relations of domination and subordination. Writers since Said argue that the colonial gaze is not homogeneous but is inflected by gender, class, and nationality, and changes over time; there is no essentialized European (or British or Dutch) imperialism or colonial perspective (Lowe 1991, Mills 1993, Morgan 1996, Melman 2002). Discontinuous and often contradictory interests marked colonial expansion and there are a plurality of notions and images of the “other.” The political and social history of European imperialism, the nature of interaction between imperial powers, and the changing shape of relations between and among the colonies are part of the context within which travel narratives were shaped. In considering the ways in which Muslim women are represented within European travel writing, attention needs to be paid to the range of imperial meanings that are constructed, and the instability of those meanings. It must be remembered that the space of colonial encounters lay not only within the peripheries but also in the metropolis itself. The travel narrative was addressed to those “at home.” Steve Clark (1999) reminds us that in considering the proposition that travel writers were producing “the rest of the world,” we should also consider who was actually reading their books. Frequent controversies over the authenticity of different accounts point to the instability rather

than the authority of travel narratives in the eyes of the metropolitan readership.

#### RAMPANT SEXUALITY

What is striking about travel accounts of the colonial period is that despite the volume of material that was published, the diversity of life in “the Orient” was ignored. Accounts of the lives of Muslim women living throughout Southeast Asia make up a very small part of the genre, even though these women represent a significant majority in numerical terms. In part, this can be explained by the close proximity of the Middle East to Europe, which facilitated a higher volume of travel, and the importance of the Ottoman Empire in European conceptions of their own place in the world. There were so many books published on the Middle East and North Africa that many authors began by apologizing for bringing out yet another. Each text, however, continued to rely on the same visible signs of difference as those published before it.

Sexuality is the dominant frame through which Muslim women are represented. They are variously described as submissive, pliant, dominated, as well as promiscuous and open. These contradictory images are juxtaposed without interrogation. During the eighteenth century, interest in science and natural history led to a categorization of culture according to geographical and climatic differences and thus a scientific explanation for women’s character and behavior. The torrid, temperate, and frigid zones of the globe were mapped onto the sexualized bodies of women of the empire. Hot climates were believed to produce sexual desire whereas temperate climates were said to require greater control and more elaborate ritual (Ferguson 1767). William Marsden wrote that polygamy in Sumatra owed its source to the “influence of a warm atmosphere upon the passions of men” (Marsden 1811, 271).

The archetypal sexualized Muslim woman was to be found in Antoine Galland’s *Les mille et une nuits* (1707–14), which was treated by many eighteenth-century travel writers as an ethnographic source. Sir Richard Burton’s translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* (1850) was enormously popular throughout Europe during the nineteenth century, with many writers making specific reference to the text in their own travel accounts of the East:

The Kasbah! I only knew that bloody fights between Arabs and soldiers took place there at night, and also that women were to be found there. Which women? I had no idea. Undoubtedly they were unnatural creatures, quite different from all other women. I imagined a den of danger and enchantment, straight from the Arabian Nights (*L’Algérie de nos jours* 1893).



Burton's portrayal of cunning, sensual Shah-razād resonated with the accounts of precolonial travelers to the Ottoman Empire who frequently commented on the laziness of Oriental women and their "natural" tendencies to lasciviousness (Sandys 1652, Monsieur de Thévenot 1665). Similarly, Egyptian courtesan Kuchuk Hanem, who appears in Flaubert's (1910) writing, came to symbolize the sexually available Oriental women. In response to the inevitable question "What about the women?" Gautier wrote, "Everyone replies with a more or less mysterious smile, according to his level of self-conceit, so as to suggest a respectable number of favourable encounters" (cited in Harper 1985, 6). In Southeast Asia, the historical practice of temporary wives and gift-for-sex exchange meant that precolonial traders frequently lived out their fantasies with women branded prostitutes by Europeans who failed to recognize the cultural meanings of these relationships (Andaya 1998). In writing about Muslim women in colonial Malaya, Bruce-Lockhart links Islam with heightened sexual intrigue:

Half the charm of travelling is in starting. Three-quarters of the charm of a Malay woman is in the difficulty of approach. As a Mohammedan she is guarded with considerable strictness. She may not be seen talking to a stranger in the road. Seclusion has whetted her appetite for temptation. She enjoys the secrecy of an illicit romance (Bruce-Lockhart 1936, 212).

#### TEMPTRESSES AND HAGS

Tied closely to travel writers' speculation about Muslim women's sexuality was an interest in their physical appearance. Clichés of Oriental beauty abounded – dark eyes, soft skin, dazzling teeth, streaming hair:

Another, a moon-faced Turkish girl. I could not help noticing her well-formed figure was set off to perfection by the lovely draped costume she wore. Her bright eyes, long dark hair, the curved and pearly forehead and regular shaped nose, made a picture to dream of, and such hands – exquisitely small, soft and delicate (Spry 1895, 151).

Much of the writing about Muslim women's appearance includes detailed descriptions of dress, jewellery, tattooing, and cosmetics. Writers remarked on the richness and elegance of the women's costume. Travel writers, however, did not merely describe women's appearance, they used their descriptions to make judgments about women's character and morality. This extended to discussion about the moral state of Islamic societies. In their descriptions, women were rendered childish, petty-minded, naïve, uneducated, and self-indulgent. This was often associated with their image as bad mothers, who despite obvious warmth toward their

children, were nonetheless indulgent and lacked discipline.

Those writers who succeeded in lifting the veil went to great lengths to describe women's bodies and focused specifically on their breasts. They used physiognomy synecdochally, dismembering the body and focusing in on different parts:

They [muslin tunics] are unfastened across the chest, and, by a narrow opening which descends to the girdle, disclose the amber-coloured flesh, the median swell of bosoms of pale bronze, which, during their ephemeral youth at least, are a perfect contour. The faces, it is true, when they are not hidden from you by a fold of the veil, are generally disappointing. The rude labours, the early maternity and lactations, soon age and wither them (Loti n.d., 122).

Writers often remarked on their disappointment with not finding the promised Oriental beauty of literature and art. In these two descriptions, Javanese and Egyptian women are portrayed as universally ugly:

A very short time after marriage their [Javanese women's] mouths are discoloured and distorted with betel-chewing; and it is not long before appearance matters to them so little (Ponder 1942, 131).

You would search in vain among those of Upper Egypt for the ravishing beauty with which they have been attributed. You will only find poor women, mainly ugly and badly dressed...They would find them disagreeable objects and most of the prostitutes in Europe would pass for goddesses by comparison (Sonnini 1789, 148).

Many writers praised the veil for masking the women's horrid features, both from the sensibilities of European travelers and from the women's long-suffering husbands. Beauty was strongly associated with youth, with a common perception held that the Eastern woman became a "hag" at 30. In reminiscing about his liaison with a Malayan woman 25 years earlier, R. H. Bruce-Lockhart reflects:

With startling vividness I picture to myself the ravages of twenty five years of tropical sun on the former beauty of a young Malayan girl. I remembered Amai's aunt, an old hag with betel-stained lips. She must then have been between forty and fifty. Amai herself must now be over forty. There would be no Loti-esque farewell in a Malayan graveyard (Bruce-Lockhart 1936, 79–80).

Along with their hideous appearance, Oriental women were criticized for their bad diets, indolence, lack of purposeful activity, and dark skin. Ugliness, deformity, and obesity were all associated with old age, and were often attributed to over-indulgence in bathing.

Indecency and licentiousness were strongly associated with dancing, many descriptions of which are full of sexual promise and suggestion. Male writers

often revelled in retelling lewd accounts of women dancing, suggesting all manner of indecency, which they resisted. In Flaubert's travel notes and letters, dancing figures prominently and is often a prelude to sexual intercourse. In contrast, other travel writers, both male and female, expressed disgust with the women's performances, which they describe as revolting and ridiculous.

Doubtless the hip-dancing, which means the swaying of a mountainously fat body, might suggest all manner of passionate declarations if you were able to give it a fair examination; but the rolling about of this uncontrolled mass of obesity is too ungraceful (Sladen 1906, 484).

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1763) was one of the few writers to focus on the aesthetics of dance, delighting in the women's movements and dress.

#### VEILED MYSTIQUE

The veil became a symbol of exotic and erotic womanhood. It prevented European observers from seeing and communicating with Oriental women and was a metaphor for licence and artful seductiveness. Travel writers frequently speculated about what lay behind the veil, and in doing so fetishized it. They mused that by donning the *yashmak* or the *felace*, the Oriental woman went about in public in virtual incognito, indulging in secret sexual liaisons without her husband's knowledge. This association of veiling with illicit sexuality also appears in writings about Javanese and Malay Muslim women, whose form of dress was more typically a sarong, and South Asian Muslim women, who often wore a loose headscarf.

These images of rampant, licentious sexuality were not the only ones to surface in travel writing about the veiled women. Veiling was also associated with death; veiled figures were described as ghostly apparitions, devoid of humanity:

Moorish women like ghosts, veiled with a handkerchief and quite lost in huge calicoe [sic] trousers, shrouded in the floating white haik which their invisible hands hold to their chest; like dominos at a masked ball they pass in silence, and glide along the walls like phantoms, white against white (Bernard n.d., 37–8).

Veiled women were also frequently depicted as animals (common metaphors include horses, ducks, gorillas, ants, gazelles, and rabbits); as fat mounds of flesh; as piles of moving clothes; or as ships in full sail (Mabro 1996, 54–63). In these representations, Muslim women are depicted as passive or invisible figures. What is common in these accounts, whether women are described as temptresses or empty vessels, is a denial of subjectivity.

#### CULT OF THE HAREM

The harem (women and children's quarters) and the seraglio (Sultan's domain) were also sites for speculation about the sexual activities of Muslim women and metaphors for the tyrannical masculinity of Islam. Fadwa El Guindi (1999) argues that Muslim women of the Middle East are positioned within a set of material/ideological practices and institutions that constitute a complex whole: veil-harem-eunuchs-seclusion-polygamy. Middle Eastern Muslim women were commonly referred to as odalisques, a term that conjured up images of leisure, luxury, voluptuousness and, importantly, non-Christian womanhood. The odalisque was imprisoned within the walls of the seraglio, waited upon by eunuchs, and engaged in sexual intrigue with and against other women of the harem. Curiously, even though Muslim women were caged behind the barred walls of the seraglio, male travelers were nonetheless able to produce an enormous volume of work on their lives.

The harem is an ambivalent space marked by a range of dualities – liberty/imprisonment, exoticism/tyranny, activity/idleness. As a microcosm of the Orient it was the locus of an exotic and abnormal sexuality and the site of arbitrary violence by fathers and husbands. It is usually depicted as an abhorrent form of domestic tyranny and slavery from which European women are fortunately exempt (Nussbaum 1995). In Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721) the Persian seraglio is described as a "little empire" in which patriarchal power rests in masculine authority over wives, concubines, and servants. There is a strong association of veiling and the harem with imprisonment. This imagery takes on literal dimensions in the travel postcards of the early twentieth century in which Algerian women are photographed behind barred windows (Alloula 1986).

Condemnation of the seraglio/harem (interpreted as a system of multiple wives and concubines) is replete with moral overtones. Islamic religion and culture emerge as culprits in the forced servitude of women confined by both the veil and the harem. Polygamy was universally criticized and Islam was represented as a backward and cruel religion. Colonial expansion was condoned and encouraged by travel writers who wanted to rescue Muslim women:

Short of Christianity, no teaching can elevate the character and position of Mohammedan women in any land; for, as long as she accepts the Koran as a rule of faith, she will unhesitatingly acquiesce in the mutilated life to which by it she is condemned (Crawford 1863, 55–6).

I declare that if we are to look for a hell upon earth, it is where polygamy exists; and that, as polygamy runs

riot in Egypt, Egypt is the lowest depth of hell (Martin-eau 1848, 293).

However, not all European travelers wrote negatively about the harem. Clot Bey, in *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte* (1840), attempted to correct commonly held distortions about the harem by making an analogy with the Christian monastery as a place of order, rigor, and decency. Such accounts, however, are rare. More commonly, the harem was depicted as a place of indolence where bored wives and concubines indulged in lesbian encounters, as these two different accounts of women in the Ottoman Empire attest:

The most infamous lasciviousness is likewise common in the chambers of the girls. Nor is it at all astonishing that handsome girls, well fed, undergoing neither fatigue nor vexation; girls that have nothing to do but to prepare themselves for sensual pleasures, and who think of nothing but Venus and her son, should give way to unnatural lasciviousness, for want of the proper means of gratifying their amorous inclinations (Habesci 1784, 177).

It is not lawful for anyone to bring ought in unto them with which they may commit the deeds of beastly uncleanness; so that if they have a will to eat cucumbers, gourds, or such like, they are sent in unto them sliced, to deprive them of the means of playing the wantons (Sandys 1652).

Muslim women were described as naturally idle, lazy, and maltreated, and thus it was inevitable that when “locked together” they would resort to unhealthy lust with other women. Despite their intense interest in the harem, however, it remained inaccessible to all male travelers. Men relied instead on second-hand accounts based on literary texts and male informants, and borrowed extensively from the accounts of other travelers.

European women were the first to provide eyewitness descriptions of life inside the *haremlık* for a European readership and their accounts were highly sought after by publishers and readers. Their representations of the harem were often driven by a desire to challenge male travelers’ descriptions. This strong interest in life behind the walls of the harem promoted a flourishing commercial industry and visiting a harem became a regular part of women’s tourist itineraries to the Middle East by the late 1840s. These visits led to a genre of travel writing that Mary Louise Pratt (1992) refers to as “feminotopia” – travel narratives that constructed a world of female autonomy, empowerment, and pleasure.

#### FEMINOTOPIA

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu’s *Embassy Letters* (1763) is the first account to contradict male fantasies about the Ottoman *haremlık*. Montagu’s letters

were written between 1716 and 1718 but published after her death. She was the first European woman to write about her visit to a harem and a bathhouse (*hammam*), and her work had a significant impact on travel writers who ventured to the Far East. By focusing on the domestic activities of the women within the Turkish seraglio, Montagu criticizes the erotic fantasies of male travel accounts. The differences between Montagu’s account and those of her male counterparts rest partly in her ability, as a woman, to enter the seraglio’s innermost quarters. Montagu’s writings are an example of an idealized feminotopia that sets up a counter-tradition to Orientalist and patriarchal versions of the Middle East.

Tis very easy to see they have more Liberty than we have, no Woman of what rank so ever being permitted to go in the streets without two muslins...and their Shapes are wholly conceal’d...This perpetual Masquerade gives them entire Liberty of following their Inclinations without danger of Discovery (Montagu 1763, 1:328).

Writing over half a century later, Lady Elizabeth Craven’s *Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople* (1789) provides a similar account of Turkish women’s liberty:

According to what I hear, a Turkish husband does not care for this wife, as the object of his passion, except for a very short space of time; but as wife she enjoys all the luxury of his fortune; and I repeat it, Sir, I think no women have so much liberty, safe from apprehension, as the Turkish – and I think them, in their manner of living, capable of being the happiest creatures breathing (Craven 1970, 305).

Montagu and Craven were two of the most celebrated eighteenth-century women travel writers. In their accounts, they frequently adopt a masculine eroticized gaze as they look upon the women with undisguised fascination. Montagu infers that it is the veil that provides unlimited possibility for intrigue and licentiousness and the harem that liberates Turkish women from the constant demands of their husbands. In her writings, Craven imagines the possibility of sexual assignations being conducted by the women who are “wrapped up like a mummy.” In many other respects their descriptions of Turkish women are very different – Montagu is poetic and aesthetic, whereas Craven’s accounts are moralistic and disapproving. Montagu describes a Turkish *hammam* in the following way:

They walked and moved with the same majestic grace, which Milton describes our General Mother with. There were many amongst them, as exactly proportioned as ever any goddess was drawn . . . And most of their skins shiningly white, only adorned by their beautiful hair, divided into many tresses, hanging on their

shoulders, braided either with pearl or ribbon, perfectly representing the figures of the graces (Montagu 1763, 161–2).

In contrast, Craven (1970, 264) describes a “Turkish” bath as “full of naked fat women; a disgusting sight.” The bathhouse in fact is in Athens – testament to Craven’s tendency to see all “Oriental” women as the same. Montagu was one of the few writers to describe the bathhouse in positive terms. For the majority of European travel writers, the bathhouse was another important site for the construction of Muslim womanhood as deviant. In these accounts, the bathers appear unattractive and repulsive and consequently, while there was great demand for visits to the harem, few chose to visit the baths. In contrast, many travel writers to Java wrote positively about the habits of local women who bathed in local rivers clothed in sarongs (Ponder 1942).

Fanny Parks in *Wanderings of a Pilgrim* (1850), about her travels in India, commented that “perusal of Lady Mary Wortley Montague’s [sic] work has rendered me very anxious to visit a *zenana*, and to become acquainted with the ladies of the East.” In travel writing about India, religious difference is inadequately represented and the *zenana* comes to stand for the seclusion of all Indian women. The *zenana* (like the harem) was a women-only space into which curious and intrepid European (mostly English) women were sometimes invited. In recounting her visit to a *zenana*, Frances Duberly remarks on the women’s response to her own “emancipated” life. The Ranee (princess) “fell back in her chair and sighed. A whole lifetime of suppressed emotion, of crushed ambition, of helplessness, and weariness, seemed to be comprehended in that short sigh” (Duberly 1890, 41). In these accounts, less attention is given to religion than to the backwardness of all Indians, with the result that there is considerable blurring between Hinduism and Islam. Although the level and extent of seclusion, and the role of *purdah*, varied considerably within and between different ethnic, caste, and religious groups, the *zenana* was portrayed as a universal phenomenon throughout South Asia, and the equivalent of the Middle Eastern harem. Isabella Bird wrote of Indian Muslim women:

I have hardly ever been in a woman’s house without being asked for drugs with which to disfigure the favourite wife, or to take away the life of the favourite wife’s infant son.... This is only an indication of the daily life of whose miseries we think so little, and which is a natural product of the systems we ought to have subverted long ago (cited in Ghose 1998, 63).

The harem does not figure so centrally in writings about Muslim women in Southeast Asia. Many precolonial and colonial travelers remarked on the apparent freedom and independence of Javanese and Sumatran women, whom they encountered in the fields and villages, and who engaged in sexual relations and trade with Europeans. While there are a few descriptions of the harems of the Javanese aristocracy, by and large European travelers recognized that these were restricted to elites. Isabella Bird (1883) wrote one of the few accounts of a visit to a Malayan harem and her reception by the Sultana, in language reminiscent of similar accounts of her visits to harem/*zenana* in Indian and Persia.

#### DOMESTIC SANCTUARY

Over time, the voyeuristic, erotic gaze of the traveler’s account of the harem/*zenana* gave way to a reading of the women’s quarters as a domestic space marked by backwardness. In contrast to the upper-class eighteenth-century women who openly admired the erotic and transformed it into the aesthetically satisfying, nineteenth-century women writers on the Middle East tended to desexualize the women’s quarters. Victorian women travel writers divested the veil of its sexual, erotic meanings and associated veiling with privacy and autonomy from sexual harassment and exploitation. The powerful position of domestic ideology in Victorian women’s imagination played a significant role in shaping these travel narratives. Billie Melman (1992, 140) notes that the Victorian and Edwardian women “saw the harem neither as a brothel nor merely as a gaol. To them it was first and foremost a ‘home’. A ‘home’ was a *private*, feminine space.” This interest in domesticity was also reflected in the movement away from a focus on elites to middle-class family life. Women travel writers wrote at length about customs and manners, including costume, eating and table manners, child-rearing, and hygiene.

In Southeast Asia, women’s ability to move about the countryside and engage in work defined their freedom. In a chapter titled “For Feminists,” H. W. Ponder commented that marriage in Java:

does not mean that she is either depressed or downtrodden. On the contrary, marriage seems to release her imprisoned spirit and, her destiny being achieved, she becomes as garrulous with her women friends as she was silent and self-contained as a child (Ponder 1942, 125)

While these accounts challenged notions of Western superiority and absolute difference between Oriental and European women, they are equally implicated in Orientalism. European

women travelers constituted the Muslim woman as Other and in doing so transformed her into an object of knowledge rather than an active agent. In the process, they contributed to the maintenance of an unequal power/knowledge nexus. European women occupied a marginal status in relation to institutional imperialism and this renders their statements about Eastern women tentative rather than authoritative. At the same time, their ability to travel freely is clearly tied to their position within colonialism. They benefited from the freedoms of travel within the colonies and associated territories, and this makes their assertions of common sisterhood problematic.

#### SHARED OPPRESSION

Within both male and female travel writing a parallel is often drawn between the predicament of the European woman and that of the Eastern woman. Discourses of domestic virtue “at home” underpinned many of the assumptions of male travelers. At the same time that the Oriental woman was defined as a sexual being, her European counterpart was constructed as a non-sexual “good wife and mother.” Despite their critique and rejection of feminism “at home,” the male colonial elite created a fusion between the issues of women and the broader rhetoric of colonialism; the project of colonialism was to save Muslim women. Within women’s travel writing, descriptions of the Muslim woman served the project of self-presentation of the European woman as freer than her Oriental counterpart. The “white man’s burden,” and its concomitant series of colonial policies, was often based on an image of Oriental women as oppressed and Oriental men as oppressors. Descriptions of the harem/*zenana* as oppressive spaces, and of Muslim women as victims, thus served an ideological function.

We, their sisters of the Occident, we have to pity them and we have to forcefully demand that they quit their state of moral degradation (Hommaire de Hell 1870, 63).

The discourses of feminotopia challenged these assertions. Within these accounts, Western and Eastern women subtly shift places, and it is the Oriental woman who (via the veil and the harem) is able to partially escape patriarchal oppression. Lady Montagu (1763, 328) claimed that “I look upon the Turkish Women as the only free people in the Empire.” These sentiments are reflected in the writings of nineteenth-century writers:

If, as we are all prone to believe, freedom be happiness, then are Turkish women happiest, for they are the freest individuals in the Empire. It is the fashion in Europe

to pity the women of the East; but it is ignorance of their real position alone that engenders so misplaced an exhibition of sentiment (Pardoe 1837, 100–1).

With regard to their legal status, Turkish women . . . already possess all legal, personal and propriety rights necessary to give them a social position equal if not superior to that of European women generally (Garnett 1909, 282).

In contrast, travelers to the Far East acknowledged the relative freedom of Muslim women who were not bound to purdah or other systems of seclusion. Visiting the Netherlands Indies, Dutch feminist Aletta Jacobs wrote:

For us the sight of these hard-working women was particularly interesting, because these happy people formed such a wonderful contrast with the gloomy women of Egypt and British India, who looked so miserable (cited in Bosch 1999, 11).

Muslim women did not easily embrace their European counterparts as sisters. While some European women were disconcerted by the failure of Muslim women to treat them as sisters, others revelled in their defiance. Aurora Bertrana, a Catalan woman writing in 1936 about her visit to Spanish Morocco, mistakenly believes that she will be protected by Moroccan women when she tries to enter a religious ceremony without attracting the attention of the *baja*. Her faith in common sisterhood is broken when the women reveal her presence to him. In contrast, Frenchwoman Jean Pommerol’s travel narrative is replete with images of violence and penetration when faced with defiant Muslim women. She forced her way into the homes of Muslim women, disregarding their hostile responses:

Their silence, their clenched fists, their mute attitudes of defiance, gave to them the fierce beauty of the conquered in the presence of the victorious enemy (Pommerol 1900, 157).

Relations between Oriental and European women became more complex as increasing numbers of white women joined their husbands in the colonies. Their presence demanded that relations between the “races” be highly regulated. Ann Stoler (1996) estimates that at the turn of the twentieth century, over half of the European men in the Indies lived in domestic arrangements with “native” women (called *nyai*). As European women arrived in greater numbers, the “servant problem” became critical. Gender played a crucial role in organizing ideas of race and civilization in India and the Indies, and there is a noticeable shift in descriptions of native women that focuses on their sexual corruptness and depravity. Similarly, native men become signifiers of dangerous male sexuality directed at white women. Despite an obsession with protecting

European women, however, sexual attack remains such a taboo topic that it is noticeably absent in women's travel accounts.

#### COLONIALISM AS SEXUAL CONQUEST

The sexualized depiction of Muslim women that dominated most travel accounts was also writ large upon the entire East. Representations of colonial expansion were entwined with masculinized sexual conquest. The colonial state was imagined as female – she was “penetrated” by invading forces and “offered” herself to her colonial master.

As I approached the shore, I felt like an Eastern bridegroom, about to lift the veil of his bride, and to see, for the first time, the feature that were to charm, or disappoint, or disgust him (E. W. Lane cited in Kabbani 1986, 67).

[I] lolled in its [Red Sea] waters as though I were lying on a thousand liquid breasts that were caressing my entire body (Gustave Flaubert cited in Naaman 1965, 291)

The Western subject's voyeuristic desire to “know” the Oriental woman was an extension of this preoccupation with the femininity, sensuality, and irrationality of the East. The Orient was likened to a veiled woman full of secrets and surprises; she teased and tantalized her admirers, who inevitably succumbed to their basest passions. Eastern cities, with their maze-like streets, endless alleys, and sudden walled passages were as enticing as the Muslim woman herself, but travelers frequently found themselves lost and frustrated at their inability to successfully navigate through “her” passages. As nineteenth-century French traveler Alphonse Royer (1837, 74) noted, the East remained an enigma: “The Orient is for me, today, like a masked woman who has revealed only her face.”

Within these accounts, indigenous males are passive and feminized, but also warlike and brave in their resistance to colonial rule. This mixture of femininity and tyrannical aggression is used to explain the presence of the colonial forces. For example, British colonial rule in Malaya was endorsed because it would save the noble, child-like Malay peasantry from the tyranny of their sultanates. In contrast, the downfall of the Ottoman Empire is attributed to the homosexuality of Muslim males who “abandon their affections to the young boys and are besotted by the charms of their tender beauty; they caress them, using them instead of women” (Rycaut 1669, 149). In other accounts, this downfall can be attributed to a monstrous woman, the Sultana, who uses her power as mother/wife to control the Sultan. Emasculated, he is likened to the eunuchs that service her. Such

accounts of powerful, active women, however, appear in travel writing as the exception.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- L'Algérie de nos jours*, Algiers 1893.  
 M. Bernard, *D'Alger à Tanger*, Paris n.d.  
 A. Bertrana, *El manos sensual i fanatic*, Barcelona 1936, repr. 1992.  
 I. L. Bird, *The Golden Chersonese and the way thither*, London 1883.  
 R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, *Return to Malaya*, London 1936.  
 R. Burton (trans.), *The book of the thousand nights and a night*, London 1890.  
 A. B. Clot Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, Brussels 1840.  
 E. Craven, *Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*, Dublin 1789, repr. New York 1970.  
 M. S. Crawford, *Through Algeria*, London 1863.  
 F. I. Duberly, *Campaigning experiences in Rajpootana and Central India, during the suppression of the Mutiny, 1857–1858*, London 1890.  
 A. Ferguson, *Essay on the history of civil society*, ed. D. Forbes, Edinburgh 1767.  
 G. Flaubert, *Notes de voyages*, Paris 1910.  
 A. Galland (trans.), *Les mille et une nuits. Contes arabes*, 12 vols., Paris 1707–14.  
 M. L. Garnett, *Home life in Turkey*, London 1909.  
 E. Habesci, *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1784.  
 A. Hommaire de Hell, *A travers le monde. La vie orientale – la vie créole*, Paris 1870.  
 R. Kabbani, *Imperial fictions. Europe's myths of Orient*, London 1986.  
 P. Loti, *Egypt*, London n.d.  
 W. Marsden, *The history of Sumatra containing an account of the government, laws, customs, and manners of the native inhabitants, with a description of the natural productions, and a relation of the ancient political state of that island*, London 1811.  
 H. Martineau, *Eastern life, present and past*, London 1848.  
 M. W. Montagu, *The complete letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. R. Halsband, Oxford 1763.  
 C. de S. Montesquieu, *Persian letters*, trans. Mr (John) Ozell, London 1721.  
 A. Y. Naaman (ed.), *Les lettres d'Égypte de Gustave Flaubert*, Paris 1965.  
 J. Pardoe, *The city of the sultan*, i, London 1837.  
 F. Parks, *Wanderings of a pilgrim in search of the picturesque, during four-and twenty years in the East. With revelations of life in the zenana*, London 1850, repr. Karachi 1975.  
 J. Pommerol, *Among the women of the Sahara*, London 1900.  
 H. W. Ponder, *Javanese panorama. A further account of the world's richest island with some intimate pictures of life among the people of its lesser known regions*, London 1942.  
 A. Royer, *Aventures de voyage, tableaux, récits et souvenirs du Levant*, Paris 1837.  
 P. Rycaut, *Historie de l'état présent de l'Empire ottoman*, London 1669.  
 G. Sandys, *Sandys travaux containing a history of the originall and present state of the Turkish empire. Their laws, government policy, military force, courts of justice, and commerce*, London 1652.

- D. Sladen, *Carthage and Tunis. The old and new gates of the Orient*, ii, London 1906.
- C. S. Sonnini, *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte, fait par ordre de l'ancien gouvernement, et contenant des observations de tous genres*, 3 vols., Paris 1789.
- W. J. J. Spry, *Life on the Bosphorous. Doings in the city of the Sultan, Turkey past and present, including chronicles of the caliphs from Mahomet to Abdul Hamid II*, London 1895.
- Monsieur de Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1665.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- M. Alloula, *The colonial harem*, Minneapolis 1986.
- B. W. Andaya, From temporary wife to prostitute. Sexuality and economic change in early modern Southeast Asia, in *Journal of Women's History* 9:4 (February 1998), 11–34.
- C. Batten, *Pleasurable instruction. Form and convention in 18th century travel literature*, Berkeley 1978.
- M. Bosch, Colonial dimensions of Dutch women's suffrage. Aletta Jacobs's travel letters from Africa and Asia, 1911–1912, in *Journal of Women's History* 11:2 (1999), 8–25.
- S. Clark, Introduction, in S. Clark (ed.), *Travel writing and empire. Postcolonial theory in transit*, London 1999, 1–28.
- F. El Guindi, *Veil. Modesty, privacy and resistance*, Oxford 1999.
- I. Ghose, *Women travellers in colonial India. The power of the female gaze*, Oxford 1998.
- M. J. Harper, Recovering the other. Women and the Orient in writings of early nineteenth-century France, in *Critical Matrix* 1:3 (1985), 1–31.
- L. Lowe, *Critical terrains. French and British orientalisms*, Ithaca, N.Y. 1991.
- J. Mabro, *Veiled half-truths. Western travellers' perceptions of Middle Eastern women*, London 1996.
- B. Melman, *Women's Orients. English women and the Middle East, 1718–1918*, London 1992.
- , The Middle East/Arabia. “The cradle of Islam,” in T. Youngs (ed.), *The Cambridge companion to travel writing*, Cambridge 2002, 105–21.
- S. Mills, *Discourses of difference. An analysis of women's travel writing and colonialism*, London 1993.
- S. Morgan, *Place matters. Gendered geography in Victorian women's travel books about Southeast Asia*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1996.
- F. A. Nussbaum, *Torrid zones. Maternity, sexuality, and empire in eighteenth-century English narratives*, Baltimore 1995.
- M. L. Pratt, *Imperial eyes. Travel writing and transculturation*, London 1992.
- E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.
- A. L. Stoler, A sentimental education. Native servants and the cultivation of European children in the Netherlands Indies, in L. J. Sears (ed.), *Fantasizing the feminine in Indonesia*, Durham, N.C. 1996, 71–91.

LENORE LYONS

# Representations: Poetry, Modern

## Arab States

Poetic modernity in the Arab world was closely connected to ideas emerging during the *nahda* (Arab renaissance, 1850s–1950s) and the emerging discourses on modernity and authenticity that raised the question of women's status in the new society. By the 1940s, two opposing poetic genres emerged, each positioned in a different world and claiming allegiance to a diverse literary authority. The neoclassical poetry that sought inspiration in the rich Arabic literary heritage adhered to traditional poetic norms. Modern poetry, in contrast, was influenced first by the French Surrealist movement and the works of T. S. Eliot, who was introduced into the Arab world in the 1940s, and later on by the Sufi poetic traditions (Adonis 1990). It adopted a new form that relies on the use of the single foot as the basic unit and allows for a greater freedom of self-expression and of experimentation. This new form constitutes not just the restructuring of rhythm, but also of imagery, language, worldview, and the text as a whole (Bannis 1990).

Modern poets in general see themselves in fundamental conflicts not only with the old poetic traditions, but also with the dominant cultures and the political system, envisioning their poetry as a means to fight for human dignity and freedom. They draw to varying degrees on the use of interior monologue, mythology, symbols, allusions to popular songs and beliefs, occasional use of colloquialism and narration, as well as imagery to objectify their emotional experience and their desire to build a new world (Badawi 1973).

### REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN AND SEXUALITY

The modern poets' representations of women and sexuality vary in accordance with the poetic genres they compose in. In politically committed poetry, the modern poets, who usually see themselves as the harbingers of change and the defenders of the masses, identify with the sufferings of their people and often represent themselves as the saviors whose personal salvation embodies that of the nation. They use images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and Shahrazād and draw on the myths of sacrificial death and resurrection (for example Adūnis, al-Sayyāb, al-ʿAzāwī, and Darwīsh), which repre-

sent women as active agents of change. Whereas in love poetry, especially that composed by male poets (for example Nizār Qabbānī) women are represented as objects of desire whose role is to enhance males' masculinity, whereas men prevail as symbols of unrivalled "penetrators" competing for sexual dominance.

Images of Ashtar, Adonis, Phoenix, and Christ dominate the poetry and vision of Badr Shakīr al-Sayyāb, an Iraqi poet of the 1950s and one of the pioneers of modern poetry. According to Babylonian mythology, Ashtar is the goddess of fertility and sexual love who rescues Adonis, her beloved, from death and restores fertility to the wasted land, which has waned after Adonis's death. Like most prominent poets of the 1950s, al-Sayyāb was influenced by Eliot's "The Waste Land," which draws on the metaphor of sacrificial death leading to rebirth (Jayyusi 1992). In his poem "A Vision in the Year 1956," he paints a gloomy picture of life in Iraq: "Genghis is in Baghdad...//people are thirsty yearning for rain...//our Ashtars are lamenting the murdered Adonis." In the same poem, the metaphorical Ashtar merges with Ḥafṣa, an Iraqi woman who was killed during the 1936 massacre of Assyrians in Musil and, at the same time, with the image of Christ: "Ashtar on a tree trunk is crucified//...a nail penetrating...the womb" (al-Sayyab 1960). Al-Sayyāb draws analogy between the aridity of life in Iraq and the aridity of land in Ashtar's myth. The agonies of Ashtar/Christ and of Ḥafṣa signify the suffering of Iraq that will be saved by the spilling of blood. Just as Christ saved his followers with his own blood, Ashtar's blood will bring hope and life to the land: "light will be born from a bleeding womb" (al-Sayyāb 1960). Ashtar represents the nation and the savior at the same time, and her agonizing mission symbolizes the Iraqis' quest for freedom and justice.

Shahrazād and Zarqā' al-Yamāma are two other symbols of female saviors that appear in modern committed poetry. Shahrazād, the heroine of the Arabic epic *Thousand and One Nights*, signifies wisdom, courage, sacrifice, and above all female solidarity and resistance to male domination. She is also a woman with a mission. But unlike Ashtar, who saved the nation with her blood, Shahrazād saved women with words. By telling her fascinating stories, Shahrazād manages



to tame Shahryār's thirst for women's blood and free his victims, including Shahrazād, from his desire for vengeance. As a woman and as a writer, Nabīla al-Zubayr, a young Yemeni poetess, identifies with Shahrazād who symbolizes a victim turned into a savior. In her poem "In me, a Woman Migrated from my Veins," she expresses her desire to free herself from the woman victim in her and turn herself into a woman with agency: "In me, a woman migrated from my veins//to meet a friendly sky and fertile clouds//and bring me back a new Shahrazād." Al-Zubayr situates her agency in her fertile poetic language and imagination.

In modern poetry and literature, Zarqā' al-Yamāma, the female protagonist of an old Arabic folktale, stands as a symbol of vision, farsightedness, and consciousness (Arebi 1994). She is also a savior whose saving efforts fail. Her warnings about the approach of the invading enemy are ignored, her homeland is occupied, and Zarqā' herself is doomed: she is captured and killed. The Egyptian poet Amal Dunqul represents Zarqā' as a female prophet and holy soothsayer who, blinded after the defeat of her people, stands all alone in the battlefield with a wounded soldier representing the poet himself. He pleads with Zarqā' to speak out, implicitly comparing the redeeming impact of Shahrazād's stories to the castrating outcome of the poet's silence: "Speak out! Oh, you holy prophet//... Don't keep silent//I kept silence year after year to buy my security...//I became a eunuch" (Dunqul n.d.). As a symbol, the blinded Zarqā' stands for the death of public consciousness that led to the defeat of Egypt in the 1967 war.

If the image of women as saviors or prophetesses dominates committed poetry, images of women's sexuality and erotic relations dominate modern love poetry. Modern love poets challenged the deeply rooted social and sexual taboos. Nizār Qabbānī was a pioneer in breaking the silence around sex and sexuality and in moving the shame that attaches to all erotic relations, including female homoeroticism. Male homoeroticism is pervasive and celebrated in classical Arabic poetry and writings, whereas female eroticism is usually marginalized as an issue related to the private domain. Nizār Qabbānī brings the private into the public by describing an intimate female homoerotic scene: "Rain... Rain... Her (female) friend//Is with her, and November is moaning//The conversation of four breasts//Whispering... murmur is allowed//The breast breaks its destiny//And revolt" (Qabbānī 1983). However, the impact of Qabbānī's breakthrough concerning homosexual taboos was limited and temporary. Nabīla al-Zubayr had to

change the title of "Homosexuality," to "The Unity of the Same" for publication and uses obscure imagery inaccessible to the public reader: "Two candles hugged//As two scorpions did//To give birth to night." Candle is feminine in Arabic and scorpion is masculine. As symbols, the candle represents a woman, the scorpion a man, and night secrecy. Homoerotic relations are talked about and are lived out in secrecy.

In Qabbānī's poetry, women have no agency or subjectivity. The poet is represented repeatedly as the hero whose sexuality and language have awakened women to a new awareness of their bodies and sexuality. The image that dominates his poetry is that of him remaking women into goddesses and their bodies into desired free objects: "Had it not been for my hands//would your breasts be round?" He represents himself as the liberator of female sexuality: "I was the one...//Who tended your coward nipples//So that [they] revolt" (Qabbānī 1970). In his new imagined world, men's sexuality is presented as natural and liberating whereas women's sexuality is created by men. Women are imagined as passive sexual beings and as recipients of male sexual energy: he is the invader, she the invaded; he is a sword, she a sheath; he is an Arab horse, she a field or bed he ploughs (Qabbānī 1970, 1983). Women's bodies are objects that can be owned by men when they wish to: "If I had sought the ownership of your breasts//I could have owned them inch by inch" (Qabbānī 1970).

For Qabbānī, erotic relations become a space for exhibiting man's sexual victories: "No black nor white breast is left//That I did not plant my flag on//...I made a cloak from women's skin//And I built pyramids from their nipples" (1967, 14). Having sexual intercourse with a virgin symbolizes a decisive victory for competitors, whereas it is disgraceful to have sex with non-virgins: "He is humiliated//he came to the well's water after me." The female sexual organ is a well that men can drink from; the first one to do so is victorious. Qabbānī underlines the submission of women to men's sexual needs by drawing an analogy between erotic relations and imprisonment and enslavement. In love and sexual relations, man is the jailer, woman the prisoner; he is the oriental king, she his faithful slave (Qabbānī 1970).

Qabbānī's poetry challenges the sexual taboos, yet it reproduces gender inequalities and the deeply rooted sexual norms based on the belief that the male is sexually empowered by nature to totally control the female body. Early modern poetesses were conscious of the sexist language that dominates love poetry and other literary works written

in the period between the 1950s and the 1970s (Ṭarābīshī 1997). Lāmi'a 'Amāra, an Iraqi poetess, rejects the portrayal of women as seductive bodies and of lovemaking as a man's victory and a women's defeat. She repeatedly declares that she suppresses her desire rather than participates in a loss-gain game: "I am full of ecstasy//I overcome it//I am at the top" ('Amāra 1972). If men take pride in exhibiting their sexual energy, women triumph in restraining it. 'Amāra challenges the male love language, representing women as agents who resist male dominated love relations. As a woman, 'Amāra desires a mutually fulfilling erotic relationship and refuses to have relations that end in the death of her subjectivity: "In a moment of ecstasy//I won't kill my subjectivity" ('Amāra 1972).

Young modern poetesses (for example Maram Maṣrī, Jumāna Ḥaddād, Nabīla al-Zubayr, and others) have succeeded in creating a new body language that talks about the unthinkable and the silenced and that invites their readers to discover themselves. Maram al-Maṣrī, a Syrian-born poetess living in Paris, wishes to reveal her inner self and to free herself from all social constraints. As a woman, she stands for "a pomegranate that conceals the secret of its pearls" and waits "to take off her shiny peel," and "quenches her thirst" (Maṣrī 2006). It is in the language of the body that Maṣrī finds her subjectivity. Her intimate confessions about her burning sexual desire go beyond the unjustified social shame that hangs over all erotic relations. She says, "Don't be tepid//or I will vomit you" (Maṣrī 2006). She does not hesitate to express her frustration when her sexual "hunger" is not satisfied: "A loser like a mare mounted by a pathetic knight" (Maṣrī 2006).

Jumāna Ḥaddād is a well-known Lebanese journalist and poetess who writes in Arabic, English, and French and lives in Beirut. Like Maṣrī, Ḥaddād masters the language of the body. Her website, where she publishes her poetry and writing, is adorned with the nudes of Cezanne, Henry Matisse, and others, indicating that she is a sexually liberated woman ready to expose her inner self through poetry. She represents herself as a woman full of sexual desire who searches for true love that helps her discover her body: "I will discover its taste in two burning lips" (Ḥaddād website). Ḥaddād uses the image of the mythical Lilith to celebrate the birth of the "true" woman who will liberate the two sexes: "I come back to straighten Adam's rib and to liberate men from their Eves." In Eastern mythology, Lilith is the first woman created by God from clay just like Adam. She rebelled and ran away. God banished her to earth and then

created the second woman, Eve, from Adam's rib. Ḥaddād portrays the "true woman" as a multi-dimensional self: a rebel, a goddess, a mother, and a goddess wife, as well as "the goddess of seduction and sexual desire," and "the guardian of masturbation."

In general, prominent modern poets compose in multiple genres, yet their success in creating a new poetic language that can influence poets of the following generations is mostly based on their poetry composed in one specific genre. The language of earlier eminent poets perceives woman as either a savior or a desired object, whereas the new love language created by the younger female poets celebrates the new rebel woman who takes pride in her body and her liberated and liberating sexualities.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adonis [ʿAlī Aḥmad Saʿīd], *al-Thābit wa-al-mutaḥawwil*, iv, Beirut 1978.
- , *An introduction to Arab poetics*, trans. C. Cobham, London 1990.
- L. 'A. 'Amāra, *Iraqiyya*, Beirut 1972<sup>2</sup>.
- S. Arebi, *Women and words in Saudi Arabia. The politics of literary discourse*, New York 1994.
- M. M. Badawi, Conventions and revolt in modern Arabic poetry, in G. E. von Grunebaum (ed.), *Arabic poetry. Theory and development*, Wiesbaden 1973, 181–208.
- , *A critical introduction to modern Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1975.
- M. Bannis, *al-Shīr al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth. Binyātuh wa-ibdālāthā*, Casablanca 1990.
- A. Dunqul, *al-A'māl al-kamīla*, Cairo n.d.
- J. Ḥaddād, website, <www.jumanahaddad.com>.
- S. K. Jayyusi, Modernist poetry in Arabic, in M. M. Badawi (ed.), *Modern Arabic literature*, Cambridge 1992, 132–79.
- M. Maṣrī, *Anthur ilayk*, Beirut 1998.
- N. Qabbānī, *al-Rasm bi-al-kalimāt*, Beirut 1967.
- , *Qaṣā'id mutawāḥḥisha*, Beirut 1970.
- , *Ash'ār majnūna*, comp. S. Barakāt, Beirut 1983.
- 'A. al-K. al-Rāziḥī, *al-Ibtiyāj ilā samā' thānīya wa-jaḥīm idāfi. Shīr*, San'a 1983.
- B. S. al-Sayyāb, *Unshūdat al-matar*, Beirut 1960.
- J. Ṭarābīshī, *Sharq wa-gharb. Ruḥūla wa-unūtha*, Beirut 1977.
- J. W. Wright and E. K. Rowson (eds.), *Homoeroticism in classical Arabic literature*, New York 1997.
- N. Zubayr, *Mutawāliyyāt al-kidhbā al-rā'ya*, Damascus 1997<sup>2</sup>.
- , *Thammata bahrūn yu'awdnī*, Damascus 1997.

LUCINE TAMINIAN

### Central Asia

Poetry has been a popular literary vehicle in the cultural life of Central Asia through which images of women, gender, and sexuality have been created and transmitted. It has also provided an arena in which these images have been contested

and subverted, as well as imposed, especially during the modern period.

Despite the presence of a wide diversity of themes in most Central Asian poetic traditions, lyrical love poetry, whether written in its classical “courtly” poetic forms such as *ghazal*, *rubai*, *mukhamma*, or in the form of folk songs and poetry such as *qoshiq* in Uzbek and *aydim* in Turkmen, was the dominant genre up until the modern period. It is a genre which has continued up until the present day. This poetry, characterized by numerous standard allusions, symbols, metaphors, and descriptions of physical beauty takes as its subject the nature of love between the lover (*ashik*) and his beloved (*mashuq*). As this poetry was created largely by men, it constitutes a primarily male discourse on love. Within Turkmen and Kazakh poetry, which draws heavily upon oral and folk literary traditions, the beloved is usually portrayed as female and referred to as *gelin-kiz*. The nineteenth-century poetry of Turkmen poets such as Dovletmemmet Balgizil and Misginkilic is in this mode. This is also the norm in the classical Chaghatay-Persian literary tradition, where the gender of the beloved is occasionally more ambiguous. What remains constant, however, in Central Asian poetry, especially in its most popular forms, is that the beloved, although voiceless, is always presented as powerful, heartless, and never returning the affections of the lover. The lover, represented by the voice of the poet, in contrast, suffers from separation and longing for the beloved, and his poetry expresses his anguish. Thus, the sexual power of women is an important assumption underlying classical Central Asian poetry.

From the late nineteenth century onwards, poets began to redefine and reform their poetic traditions. Particularly in the early twentieth century the stylized content of love poetry, especially the image of the beloved constructed from what were increasingly seen as clichéd symbols, became the subject of criticism and debate among poets who satirized these types of poems as *gozun-kasin* (your eyebrow and your eyes) poems. Some poets, including a growing number of women poets, such as Anbar Otin (d. 1915), began to emphasize the necessity of transforming their poetry into a vehicle for social reform and advocated writing poetry that was more social and political in content.

Although Central Asian poets have continued to write lyrical love poems up to the present time and their poetry has maintained familiar elements from the earlier tradition, treatment of the subjects of love, sexuality, and gender have changed in important ways. This modern transformation

of the Central Asian poetic traditions resulted in a period of intense literary debate. As the classical image of woman as the archetypal female beloved lost popularity – especially among some new literary elites – simultaneously the status of women and their roles in society emerged as one of the major themes of modern poetry and prose. Alongside their lyrical love poetry, some male authors wrote works expressing the plight of women in their society. In these works women were portrayed largely as powerless, helpless figures who suffered as the victims of “backward” social and cultural practices. Their lamentable position and sad situation were central to a larger social and cultural critique, particularly a critique of Islam. In contrast to this image of the helpless woman, which was dominant especially in prose, women’s poetry written during this time often took a different approach.

First, it was women’s poetry more than that of men that focused directly on women’s social status and role in the society. This poetry is rebellious in many ways. Its authors directly criticize the patriarchal aspects of their society. For example, the women’s poetry collected by Ibrahim Davran in the first decade of the twentieth century contains many powerful women’s voices. In the poetry of such authors as Bibi Hamida and Sobira Bibi, men appear not just as oppressive, but as selfish, ignorant, insensitive characters. These poets take on specific targets in direct and immediate ways; for example, they condemn exploitative husbands and criticize their mothers-in-law. Some women poets complain directly about lack of love and affection on the part of their husbands or lovers. While they wrote poetry lamenting their position and condition, in their poetry the women did not appear as weak and powerless characters.

The sexual and erotic power of women is also an important issue for some of these women poets. While there is poetry written by women that is overtly sensual and sexual it does not camouflage that sensuality with classical metaphors and symbols. Anbar Otin, for example, critiques the image of women in classical poetry, challenging the traditional descriptions of the woman “beloved” as deceiver and oppressor. She is concerned that the negative sexual power ascribed to women undermined their humanity. Like her male contemporaries she writes political and social poetry examining the condition of women in society. However, unlike many male poets she does not raise the issue of women’s mistreatment as an attack on Central Asian culture and religion. Rather, her poems are deeply critical of misogyny as a universal human characteristic. While contesting some of the themes

of classical poetry, Anbar Otin does not entirely reject its formal structure and symbols. Rather than rejecting premodern poetic forms, she and many other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century women poets such as Dilshod, Muazzam, and Mahzune make creative use of classical poetic forms and discourse to express gendered self and female experience in new ways. In particular, they draw upon Sufi tropes of divine love to humanize their experience and the experience of other women.

In the poetry of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Central Asia, before the establishment of the Soviet Union, there is a diversity of perceptions of women and gender. The Soviet period, which brought changes in alphabet and new literary forms rooted in the canons of Soviet art, disrupted, but did not completely erase, either the diversity or the complexity of Central Asian literary discourse. During the Soviet period Central Asian poetry added new ideological images of women and gender rooted in the concept of the new Soviet man and woman. Poems emphasizing the equality of genders and the importance of women's role in society were common. Both male and female poets depicted educated, working women with bright futures ahead of them. For example, women poets such as Oydin, Mahbuba Rahim Qizi, and Zulfiya wrote poetry on such themes. However, over time this new Soviet poetry suffered from a lack of range and intricacy as a result of increasing Soviet authoritarianism. Despite the fact that state control and political ideology played a tremendous role in the production and creation of gender ideology and the image of women in poetry, the poetry produced during this period is not uniformly ideological. There were poets who wrote poems contesting or avoiding these new official images of the Soviet man and woman in a variety of ways. Some continued to write apolitical lyrical love poetry. Also, during the Soviet and post-Soviet period, the theme of mothers – a theme continued from the premodern period – was widely popular and common, especially in Uzbek poetry. While many male poets use the image of the mother as a symbol to articulate their anxieties about changing gender relations in both ideology and reality, women's "mother poems" tend to reflect the contradictions of the changing role of motherhood in modern Central Asia, an immediate and practical issue for women in the region.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

V. A. Abdullaev, *History of Uzbek literature*, Tashkent 1964.  
M. Ahmadboeva, *Uzbek literature*, Tashkent 1985.

- E. Allworth, *Uzbek literary politics*, The Hague 1964.  
— (ed.), *Central Asia, 130 years of Russian dominance. A historical overview*, Durham, N.C 1994.  
G. Geldiev and F. Turkmen (eds.), *Türkmen şiiiri antolojisi*, Ankara 1995.  
T. Jalalov, *Uzbek women poets* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1980.  
M. Kadirova, *The fate of human beings and people in the poetry of nineteenth-century Uzbek women poets* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1977.  
— (ed.), *Dilshod and Anbar Otin* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1994.  
B. Kasumov, *Revolutionary Uzbek poetry* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1991.  
N. Kilic-Schubel, *In search of her voice. Women poets in nineteenth-century Central Asia* (forthcoming).  
R. Parfi (ed.), *Modern Uzbek poetry* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 2003.  
T. Qahhor, *Günümüz Özbek şairleri antolojisi* [in Turkish and Uzbek], Ankara 1995.

NURTEN KILIÇ-SCHUBEL

### East Africa: Swahili

#### DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GENDERED METAPHORS IN KISWAHILI POETRY

Regardless of the wide variety of Kiswahili (the Swahili language) poetry, the representation of women vis-à-vis men and the effect of these discourses form a coherent image that informs gender relations. Approaches to discourse analysis theory and methodology share a common understanding of language as a domain in which people's knowledge of the social world is actively shaped, and as an object of inquiry. Discourse analysts are interested in language and texts as sites in which social meanings are formed and reproduced, social identities are shaped, and social facts are secured (Tonkiss 2004).

Kiswahili gender metaphors refer directly to things outside language, through denotation, while also evoking a network of associations through connotation, and operating as part of an ideological second-order sign system. The metaphors establish a trajectory of social, political, and moral possibilities, but do not articulate them definitively. The metaphors do not reflect reality in a transparent way. Rather, they are constructing and organizational terms in which the Swahili understand social reality. This entry examines the way the metaphors are constructed, their contextual functions, and the contradictions that run through them. The discourse analysis utilized here is widened to encompass the study of all kinds of symbolic material that are used to represent both genders.

Kiswahili gender metaphors are typically descriptive statements comprising single words or simple

sentences. Their meanings depend on apparent conceptual strangeness evident within the metaphorical word, within a sentence, and within a larger discursive context. They include both lexical and syntactical metaphors, for example, *kidosho* literally means a small, multi-colored beautiful bird whereas *kipusa* is the not fully-grown tusk of a rhinoceros. But *kidosho* may also function as a word metaphor used to refer to a lovely and pleasant, often young, woman. Likewise, the lexeme *kipusa* carries the cultural meaning of the immature rhinoceros tusk that is highly regarded as an aphrodisiac.

Syntactical metaphors are more elaborate, comprised of complex images. In the following example, a woman is likened to a broom:

*Nyumba iwe ni jamili, uzuri ipindukie,  
Na iwe nyumba ya dali, kwa vyombo uipambe,  
Kunadbifika muhali, kama usifagie,  
Nyumba bila ufagio, shida mmo kusafika* (Snow-White 1974, 92).

A house may be smart, elegantly done,  
It may be permanent, beautifully furnished,  
It is incomplete, if not cleaned,  
A house without a broom, is difficult to clean [author's translation].

In this second example, a woman is metaphorically related to a star:

*Nyota ikishatoweka, roho ni kuvumilia,  
Kwani nyotayo baraka, yako kazi kungojea,  
Nyota kwanza kizimika, ndio mwisho kupotea,  
Nyotayo ikishatoweka, roho ni kuvumilia.*

When a star vanishes, the heart has to persevere,  
For your star is a blessing, your task is to wait,  
When the star dims, that marks the end,  
When your star is vanished, the heart has to persevere [author's translation].

Whether morphological or syntactical, Kiswahili gender metaphors encompass a number of physical and behavioral characteristics that provide the basis and context of their interpretation and understanding. No single gender metaphor belongs to its referent by nature. Rather, the shared habits and customs of Swahili people provide the basis for communicating and understanding experience. The metaphors express their sentiments in socially acceptable ways, especially through allusion. Thus, love, a largely taboo and thus secret subject, becomes integrated into social reality through its indirect revelation. The metaphors therefore depend for their full effect on insider contextual knowledge that, once lost, renders them less meaningful. Gender metaphors operate both on the users' perception of Swahili society and how they affectively experience themselves within that world. What a hearer of a

metaphor understands is not only what is implied, but also what is filtered through personal biography. Although a metaphor may refer to a *kidosho*, *kipusa*, *nyota*, and *ufagio*, no two of these are identical. Therefore metaphorical meaning is embedded in context and at the same time removed from it, rendering them ambiguous.

Metaphors appear in almost all Kiswahili speech varieties: song, poetry, and ordinary talk. However, metaphors are a ubiquitous phenomenon in poetry. Indeed, metaphors are one of the key symbolic communicative devices in Kiswahili. Other forms of artistic communication include such common ones as simile, proverb, personification, hyperbole, and symbol. However, of all genres of verbal art, metaphors offer the best opportunity to study representation of indigenous conception of social and natural reality (Seitel 1972, 4).

#### GENDER REPRESENTATION IN SWAHILI SOCIETY

The Swahili, like other societies, start out from a world with two sexes, which are then ascribed gender characteristics and roles. Whereas Islamic ideology provides a partial explanation for the lower status of women, the primary accountability is located in male prejudices and dominance in society. Islamic cultural and religious practices cannot be treated separately from and outside of social relations and practices within the society.

Language manifests itself in various forms. Kiswahili gender metaphors are typically short and descriptive poetic statements that encompass a number of physical and behavioral characteristics. Gender metaphors are figurative statements of expression of feeling, whose subject matter is usually personal. The purely personal experience alluded to in gender metaphors tends to be of less interest and importance than the experience of Swahili society at large. The society's view of metaphor will tend to relate to collective experience and will concern itself less with personal accuracy than with public acceptability.

The metaphors also involve two subjects, although they are not usually of equal prominence. One usually stands out as the topic of metaphor, and the other as a kind of comment. The Swahili society values and upholds love as important and critical for posterity. Therefore, gender metaphors that express love sentiments in socially acceptable ways have a didactic role and are supposed to manifest and reinforce "truths," ideas and values that carry public assent. Authority is bestowed on gender metaphors by virtue of their association with the highly respected specialists in tradition in

society, including poets. The metaphors themselves are believed to have originated with the ancestors and passed down through male elders. Depending on the particular social context, gender metaphors may either condone appropriate behavior or may be insulting and therefore used for criticism and social control. Metaphors most typically are used to refer to young, unmarried women. However, they are also liberally used in marriage where they serve as a means of stating feelings, cementing relationships, and in some cases as a means of judgment.

Unlike other tropes where what is conveyed is overt, meaning in Kiswahili gender metaphors is only implied. Poets assume that the audience has considerable background knowledge about the ideas being communicated, knowledge that is expected to come from social life. The linguistic domain in which gender metaphors are primarily used is love. Regardless of users involved, whenever used, metaphors always evoke passionate feelings. Among the many factors that contribute to the province of love in this linguistic discourse are such culturally defined ideal feminine attributes as beauty, delicacy, ephemerality, cleanliness, pride, adornment, innocence, and faithfulness. The metaphors assist in understanding the values that Swahili society upholds as important and critical concerning men and women.

#### CONCLUSION

Throughout Islamic history, the constructs, institutions, and models of thought devised by early Muslim societies that form the core discourses of Islam have played a central role in defining women's place in Muslim societies (Ahmed 1992, 1). If the definitive basis for what Islam means is determined by what Muslims do, then women and men are often not equal. The Swahili community has preferred to consider men and women as distinct and different members of humanity. Nonetheless, the gender question is acquiring great importance among the Swahili. Many old notions and attitudes against women are being challenged in an emerging open discourse on gender relations. There is a growing consciousness about rights for women. As a result, some Swahili women are demanding equal status with men. It remains to be seen how these new attitudes will impact the ubiquitous metaphorical representations of sexuality in Swahili society.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam*, New Haven, Conn. 1992.  
 N. C. Chacaha, *Meaning and interpretation of Swahili poetry. A portrayal of a changing society*, Ph.D. diss., Yale University 1987.

- D. Graddol and J. Swann, *Gender voices*, Oxford 1989.  
 D. Nurse and T. Spear, *The Swahili. Reconstructing the history and language of an African society, 800–1500*, Philadelphia 1985.  
 M. Schipper, *Source of all evil? African proverbs and sayings about women*, Phoenix, Ariz. 1983.  
 P. I. Seitel, *Proverbs and the structure of metaphor among the Haya of Tanzania*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania 1972.  
 I. N. Shariff, *The function of dialogue poetry in Swahili society*, Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University 1983.  
 K. H. A. Akilimali Snow-White, *The art of poetry* [in Kiswahili], Nairobi 1974.  
 F. Tonkiss, *Analysing text and speech. Content and discourse analysis*, in C. Seale (ed.), *Researching society and culture*, London 2004<sup>2</sup>, 368–80.  
 J. S. Trimingham *Islam in East Africa*, Nairobi 1964.

K. INYANI SIMALA

### Turkey

This entry covers issues of representations of women and gender – the forms, themes, and dimensions of these depictions, the kind of images, stereotypes, and models they provide, and their local and historical context – in modern Turkish poetry.

After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey (1923) the process of modernization began with social and economic reforms. In poetry, the *divan* poetry, written in Arabo-Persian letters of prosody (*aruz*), could not be taken as a model any more. But the folk poetry in syllabic meter could serve as a starting point for modern Turkish poets, although a few poets, such as Ahmet Haşim (1884–1933) and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı (1884–1958), still used the *divan* poetic style.

Chronologically, modern Turkish poetry can be divided into four currents. In the early years of the Republic, poetry could be said to have been nourished by nationalist themes. Poets of this time include Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, Orhan Seyfi Orhon, and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. Next was the social-realist poetry with Nazım Hikmet Ran as its most important representative. Then came the *Garip* (Strange) poetry in the 1940s, led by Orhan Veli Kanık (1914–50), Oktay Rifat (1914–88), and Melih Cevdet Anday (b. 1915). The “Second New Movement” (1950s–1970s) had Cemal Süreya (1931–90), Turgut Uyar (1927–85), and Edip Cansever (1928–86) as its chief proponents. In addition, there are other poets, such as Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca, Atilla İlhan, Gülten Akın, and Can Yücel, who did not take part in these movements and whose development took a different path.

In the nationalist poetry, one of the most important female figures is that of the mother. In the work of Orhan Seyfi Orhon (1890–1972) the mother

gives the “poetic I” consolation, affection, love, and joy. When the son is in need, it is the mother who provides him with loving support; she is the sole woman in the son’s life who loves him endlessly and will never cheat on him. The lover, on the contrary – another female figure in national poetry – endangers the son (or the “poetic I”) with love-withdrawal and by being pitiless. In contrast, in the work of Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel (1898–1973) the lover is compared with the mother country. In a poem by Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, the body of the woman is equated with the form of a poem. Women are the objects of longing when “grief becomes a woman” who gives herself up. In the work of Ahmet Haşım, women exist as lovers.

In the politically committed social-realist poetry, in which the poets see art and poetry as protest and resistance, women exist on the one hand as comrades and sisters, and on the other as wives and suffering mothers. Nazım Hikmet, the first poet who wrote in free verse, revolutionized Turkish poetry in both form and content. In “Epos on the War of Independence,” Anatolian women take part as fighters, helping to carry ammunition. In certain poems, such as “The Faces of Our Women” and “Our Women,” Nazım Hikmet criticizes the social and cultural position of women in society when he writes, for instance, “And the women, our women, with their awesome, sacred hands, little pointed chins, and big eyes, our mothers, lovers, wives, who die without ever having lived, who get fed at our tables after the oxen . . .” (Hikmet 2003, 219). Written in simple language, these lines reflected the real conditions of the Anatolian women in the countryside.

The aim of *Garip* poetry was to eliminate all conventions and rhyme from poetry and to write for the working people. Using the daily life and humor of the masses, it was written in a plain Turkish that appealed to them. Nevertheless, similar sexual stereotypes and models can be found in *Garip* poetry. In Orhan Veli Kanık’s poem “Söz” (Word) the female lover is encouraged to be conscious as a lover and friend, and ignores the gossip of the neighborhood; in “Dedikodu” (Gossip) the number of female lovers is uncountable; in “Sere Serpe” (Naked) the female body is depicted as an erotic object, and women are described as *yosma* (beautiful, coquettish woman) who are molested on the street due to their *yosma* appearance. The poem “Quantitative” contains the following: “I love beautiful women, I also love working women; But I love beautiful working women much more” (Veli Kanık 1989, 193) underlining the representation of women as objects of male erotic desire.

The hero or anti-hero in the poems of the Second New Movement is mostly an alienated individual in a big city. An exception within this genre is Cemal Süreya (1931–90), who focuses on eroticism and sexual love. The woman is depicted as a lover who throws away her virginity: “take[s] off her shame and hangs it on the wall” (Süreya 1993, 9). In Cemal Süreya’s poetry the female body is the key motive as the sexualized eroticism. Women are also seen as metaphors for cities (Paris: woman with a “husky voice”; Mediterranean cities: long haired women with big breasts) (ibid. 17).

Female poets did not take part in these literary currents. Women as creative subjects exist as exceptions in literary histories of the period, in poetry even less. In literature and poetry women appear largely as mothers, sisters, wives, lovers, and as sources of inspiration for male poets. But in the 1960s this situation changed, especially in prose literature. In the field of poetry, creative women are still fewer; nonetheless, mention should be made of some modern Turkish female poets whose work has a social-critical content, such as Gülten Akin, Sennur Sezer, Leyla Şahin, Ayten Mutlu, and Melisa Gürpınar. In contrast, Gülseli İnal, Lale Müldür, and Nilgün Marmara have mostly turned to the inner world. These women poets deal largely with topics such as nature, love, loneliness, and longing; their “poetic I” addresses the reader as a woman: “I am a woman” (Şahin 1990, 5); a life-saving human being; and as a poet: “I am a poet: my wings are cold in the darkness” (ibid. 15). They are in turn poets, intellectuals, and women. They question the exclusion of women from history and poetry, the depiction of women as sexual beings, as well as the social institutions that are considered suppressive of women, like the family. Sometimes the “lyrical I” of the female poets – turned into the inner world – is unhappy, in pain, and melancholic; their leitmotifs are death, suicide, and estrangement.

In conclusion, in modern Turkish poetry – and even more commonly in art – women were and are generally depicted by male poets as sexual objects, as mothers, sisters, wives and lovers, as passive and docile individuals who give birth and ensure the descendants of men. The “poetic I” is always a male “I” which addresses women. The female poets’ “lyrical I,” on the contrary, is a woman who is self confident, questioning, and who informs the reader.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Behramoğlu, *Büyük Türk şiiri antolojisi*, İstanbul 1993.
- C. Çapan, Contemporary Turkish poetry, <[www.let.leidenuniv.nl/tcimo/tulp/poetry/capan\\_eng.htm](http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/tcimo/tulp/poetry/capan_eng.htm)>.

- M. Fuat, *Çağdaş Türk şiiri antolojisi*, İstanbul 2003.  
O. Veli Kanık, *Bütün şiirleri*, İstanbul 1951, 1999<sup>37</sup>.  
N. H. Ran, The faces of our women, <<http://www.marxists.org/subject/art/literature/facesofourwomen.html>>.  
—, *Memleketimden insan manzaraları*, İstanbul 2003.  
L. Şahin, *Acı toplayan ipekli çardak kuşu*, İstanbul 1990.  
C. Süreya, *Sevda sözleri*, İstanbul 1993.

MEDIHA GÖBENLİ



# Representations: Poetry and Prose, Premodern

## Arabic and Persian

Women, gender, and sexuality are treated in numerous poetic and prose genres of these two languages of Islam, to the extent that one would be hard-pressed to find a genre that does not – in one form or another – address the topic of women and sexuality. The literature of premodern Islam (here taken to mean the period from the first to tenth A.H./seventh to sixteenth centuries C.E.) abounds in references to women, and the discourses on the issue are copious. Discussions of women and sexuality are found as the main or the peripheral points of philosophical, legal, didactic, and medical works, while the literary imagination in prose and poetry elaborates varied representations of gender, sexuality, and women in the realm of narrative fiction, lyric poetry, and other imaginative genres. The diversity of the Persian and Arabic poetic and prose corpus prohibits the creation of a monolithic image of “woman” or “female sexuality.” From the strictly religious to the blatantly profane, the topics of sexuality, gender, and women occupy the intellectual and artistic landscape of Persian and Arabic letters with extraordinary variety.

This rich heritage compels the reader to select a framework and to render precise the parameters of definition when considering the issue of gender in literature. A selection of theoretical underpinnings and texts will, naturally, limit the scope of any commentary on this issue, for invariably, numerous texts and points of view will be absent from discussion. That being said, Persian and Arabic prose and poetry of the premodern era do allow for broad thematic organization along gender issues, as long as the sampling limitations of any such survey are actively taken into account.

Scholars of premodern Western literature and culture have by now developed a series of strong theoretical underpinnings for the study of these topics in the medieval and Renaissance periods, however elusive these chronological designations might be. Aided by archival research, good knowledge of the languages studied, and theoretical speculation, the field of gender and sex studies in the European Middle Ages stands today on a well-constructed interdisciplinary foundation. In the last two decades, the literature and cultures of Islam

have also enjoyed a flurry of productivity in this area, supported by a keen awareness of theoretical issues as well as the need for a serious command of the languages and sensitivity to primary sources. The results, thus far, have been an impressive corpus of scholarship in a variety of languages which not only analyzes primary sources from different theoretical standpoints, but also reflects upon the utility of such tools as philology, feminist theories (and derivatives thereof), historiography, and comparative literature for understanding representations of women, gender, and sexuality in literatures of the Islamic world. Today, there is an intense level of research and debate on these issues, as can be seen in a survey of the prominent scholarly commentaries generated by theoretical and textual concerns. The general tenor of this scholarship is as difficult to narrow down as the categorizations of the primary sources themselves, again given the sheer diversity of material available for study. What is clear, though, is that the representation of women in premodern Arabic and Persian prose and poetry is far from uniform, constricted, or consistent. In the broadest terms, generic categories will best highlight the values and motifs that might be said to command the portrayal of female sexuality and women. The following subsections aim to distill some of the important thematic and theoretical features related to this topic.

Before a survey of specific genres, however, one important point must be made. The idea of men and women as different genders is, indeed, one of the organizational principals of Islamic thought. But premodern Arabic and Persian literature do not conceive of sexual attraction, eroticism, and profane love exclusively in terms of male–female interactions. From the male point of view, the love of attractive boys and the expression of desire for them is part and parcel of literary production. The approach to this same-sex desire varies greatly with author and genre. Any generalizations in favor of liberal-mindedness or the contrary would be utterly misguided, for each text offers up its own point of view on the matter within specific traditions that must be known to the reader before drawing any ideological conclusions. In the context of discussion on women and sexuality, however, all readers of premodern Persian and Arabic literature

must remember that woman is by no means the sole object of erotic desire in the male taxonomy of profane love. With this consideration in mind, the question of women's representation in different themes and genres will be more fairly explored.

PROSE NARRATIVE: MANUALS AND  
ANTHOLOGIES IN THE TRADITION OF  
ADAB

Belletristic prose and narrative occupy a prominent position in Arabic and Persian literary production. The corpus is immense, and strict generic definitions are unfeasible. Organically linked to the tradition of *adab* – very broadly translatable as refined literature that serves to entertain and instruct – premodern Arabic and Persian erudition produced numerous manuals, anthologies of narratives and “how to” instructions, autobiographies and biographies, moral and erotic *exempla*, many of which cover several literary registers and concerns. Some texts within this vast corpus are organized around the creation of social and thematic categories, such as misers, thieves, kings, and, of course, women, though care must be taken not to think of these categories as entirely clear-cut.

Several authors produced this *adab* discourse on women. The theologian and littérateur al-Jāḥiẓ (174–266/772–864) – whose prolific output is one more emblem of the diversity of textual production – is known, among numerous other titles, for his work on singing slave girls, the *Kitāb al-qiyān*. This book and the *Faṣl mā bayn al-rijāl wa-al-nisā'* (The difference between men and women) foreground a multilayered vision of womanhood and sexuality. If in some places Jāḥiẓ refers to singing slave girls as heartless seductresses with voracious appetites and few scruples, in others he also draws attention to social limitations, which critics have hailed as feminist in outlook. Such a multiplicity of standpoints characterizes much of *adab* literature when it comes to women and sexuality. In a broad survey of prose manuals and anthologies, it can be seen that while many anecdotes appear to define women as creatures of ruse and deceit with enormous sexual appetites, their eloquence, wit, and aptitude for problem-solving refute the omniscience of an entirely misogynist view. That being said, an essentially male projection of female sexuality commands the discourse of much of this vast premodern prose corpus. In the words of Fedwa Malti-Douglas, “*Dhaka* (wit, intelligence) and *kayd* (cunning, guile) are the two key, at times overlapping, concepts whose parameters have important civilizational implications for women's sexuality and power over discourse” (1991, 32).

Woman's sexuality is defined anecdotally, prescriptively, and descriptively in the non-medical *adab* treatises on sexuality, women, and love. Among these are *Tawq al-ḥamāma* (Dove's neck-ring) of Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba (392–462/994–1064), an explication of love, its causes, remedies, and delights; the Tunisian al-Tifāshī's (d. 651/1253) *Nuzhat al-albāb fī mā la yūjad fī kitāb* (Delight of hearts concerning what cannot be found in a book), graphic in nature and anecdotal in focus; Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 597/1200) *Dhamm al-hawa* (Censure on passion), which draws heavily on the Qur'ān and the Traditions; and the fifteenth-century Shaykh al-Nafzāwī's *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir fī nuzhat al-khāṭir* (The perfumed garden for the delight of the heart), famous in the West as a result of its very graphic nature in the discussion of female and male anatomy as well as details on the various types of sexual intercourse. Among many other contributors to anecdotes on women's sexual behavior and social conduct are Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (691–751/1292–1350) with his *Rawḍat al-muḥibbin* (The garden of lovers) and *Akhhbar al-nisā'* (Lives of women), and Ibn Abī Tāḥir, author of *Balāghat al-nisā'* (The wit/eloquence of women). The *Jawāmi' al-ladhdha* of Naṣr al-Kātib (428–518?/1036–1124) speaks at length on various matters related to sexuality, among them the differences between desire for boys and desire for women. In Persian, the compilation known as the *Gulistān* (Rose garden) of Sa'di (seventh/thirteenth century) – a compendium of inspirational, satirical, and didactic anecdotes on various social classes and topics – contains diverse references to women, some in the tradition of misogyny though some to highlight the folly of men when confronted with desire or old age. The anonymous *Baḥr al-Favā'id* (Sea of precious virtues), composed in the sixth/twelfth century, belongs to the genre known as “mirror for princes” in which advice is given on a variety of topics, among them women. While not a work of fiction and therefore not to be considered the province of imaginative literature, this compendium shows the strictly religious and orthodox view of gender, perceiving carnal desire as an essentially sinful appetite to be modified with prayer and ritual, and thereby confirming the sheer multiplicity of viewpoints available to the medieval Islamic mind on the topic of carnal desire and women.

In these compilations, which range from philosophical and scientific speculation to anecdotal and prescriptive methodologies on love and sexual practices, readers will encounter innumerable passages on sexual relations, women, love, desire, marriage,

and licit and illicit situations. The medical views on love and the female body find their way into some anecdotes while popular narrative, autobiographical recollections, and philosophical commentary on the nature of love and physical desire are also present as the frameworks for commentary. In the more graphic accounts of physical desire and contact, the influence of medical treatises such as Ibn Sīnā's (370–428/980–1037) *al-Qānūn fī-al tibb* (Canon of medicine) – one section of which discusses female anatomy in detail – can be discerned as regards sexual appetite, sexual tastes, and the practices for attaining pleasure. Likewise, where the anecdotes tell of deceptions and ruses, there is a simultaneous tribute to and formation of an image of women as cunning sexual predators, hailing from popular literature.

Perhaps the most immediately striking feature of some of these *adab* compilations on love and women is their graphic form of expression. In this regard, the entertainment value of the works should not be underestimated, and it is clear that the intended readership is primarily male. Above the entertainment aspect, the close attention to anatomy in these works, only few of which have been named here, also points to the elaborate landscape of sexual vocabulary available to writers in premodern Islam. Closely related to this vocabulary is the concept of love, which in the profane sense is set implicitly against divine love; a product of desire (*hawā*), profane love is discussed at length by Arab and Persian litterateurs, as a source of delight as well as worthy of condemnation, depending on the author.

In these compilations, following the religious and aesthetic orientation of the author, women are seen in two types of light, which can mix or be separate. They are the sources of temptation to be avoided unless they are legally licit to the male, or they are witty companions and adversaries whose behavior, while illicit and unauthorized, is entertaining – though varying strains of misogyny are present in these. On occasion they are portrayed as intelligent and resourceful in situations that are not illicit. But while it could be argued that the witty female in prose anecdotes is an apology for her gender, the tenor of the anecdotes suggests otherwise, for in the majority of cases the creative power and linguistic ability of the woman are shown to be used for illicit pleasure or toward some type of subversive behavior. As such, especially when mingled with the graphic imagery of some works, woman emerges as a curiously disturbing object of desire whose physical powers are at once appetizing and untrustworthy.

If women figure as objects of desire in many such works, it must also be borne in mind that frequently the gender of the object is either not specified, or the object is patently a young boy. The abundance of declarations of desire for young boys in medieval Arabic and Persian literature – a declaration that is problematized and discussed by some of the authors – opens up a whole category of physical desire and discourse that excludes women. The lack of specificity in gender as well as the conception of young boys as desirable reveal that the organizing principle behind erotic appeal is not necessarily gender, but still, women's sexual appetite and her capacity to generate temptation (frivolously or otherwise) appears as a fundamental parameter.

#### POPULAR TALES

In the realm of purely fictional literature, the projection of women expands beyond the parameters set by prose manuals and compilations, and occupies a more variegated territory. Popular narrative can on the one hand assume a straightforward misogynist character, in line with the all too familiar tradition of women's deceptions known to almost every literary heritage in the world. Thus, collections of popular tales such as the *Tūṭī Nāma* or *Chihil Tūṭī* (The book of the parrot, or The forty parrots), the *Bakhtiyār Nāma* and the *Siḡbād Nāma*, provide frame stories which center upon a woman's deceit that then leads to tales told by various characters to prove or disprove a given point. Of oral and folkloric as well as written provenance, some of the tales contained in these collections hark back to Sanskrit and Hindi traditions, making their way to medieval European literature by way of Arabic and Persian and forming part of the transnational satirical, didactic narratives aimed at exposing women's deceptions.

On the other hand, largely within the province of love, women protagonists can challenge the impression of direct misogyny by showing a more textured emotional sensitivity and intelligence. Perhaps the character that looms largest over the landscape of femininity is Shahrzād, who in the popular and anonymously penned *Alf layla wa-layla* (The thousand and one nights) saves her own life (as well as that of countless potential victims) by telling enticing unfinished stories to a king whose deep mistrust of women has caused him to engage in what might be termed today the serial killing of his new wives.

The figure of Shahrzād encapsulates several of the troubling aspects of women's representation in fiction, without allowing for sweeping generalizations. A subject of useful feminist scholarly works of recent years, Shahrzād appears at once empow-

ered, and at the mercy of a cruelly misogynist structure. Her storytelling saves her own life and puts an end to further serial executions, but the fragile thread by which her life hangs is never far from view. Her life-saving strategy is a ruse, and from the male standpoint of popular narrative this identifies her as a cunning woman; yet her refined background and first-rate education are also stressed, militating against an image of crude craftiness. Her authority as storyteller is subordinated to the king's power as executioner, creating a complex relationship of dependence and adversity. The king's sexual access to Shahrazād (witnessed by her younger sister, brought to the chamber as an apprentice/accomplice) further troubles the storyteller's authority. He is clearly in the position of power in that particular transaction, effectively claiming her as his in the sex act, not to mention his right to execute her. Her authority as narrator, then, is undermined by her relative lack of power when set against the king's ability to say the last word on her fate. Authority (eloquence, wisdom, education) appears to be the province of the female character while power (the sword, the means to determine a fate, sexual rights) resides with the male. The tension arising from the meeting of these two forces is irresolvable and finds its way into courtly romance and epic as well as popular narrative.

#### COURTLY FICTION

The insoluble tension between woman's authority (narrative seduction, eloquence, wit) and man's power (legislation, social rights, sovereignty) is a key component in the imaginative literature of pre-modern Arabic and Persian. The famous couples of fiction – Layla and Majnūn, Yūsuf and Zulaykha, Khusraw and Shīrīn, Wāmiq and 'Azra – appear in full-fledged narratives where their complete stories are told by one author, but are also transformed in other poems and compositions into fragmented images serving as metaphors for ardent love, separation, devotion, and beauty. Insofar as the portrayal of women is concerned, the relationships between these lovers offer valuable insight into each text, author, and tradition's standpoint on the defining points of the male–female interaction. Abū al-Qāsim Firdawsī's epic Persian poem *Shāhnāma* (completed in 412/1010) depicts female protagonists who have attained mythical status in the Persian literary psyche; many of these have been hailed by traditional scholarship as strong characters. This somewhat broad definition seems to have arisen from the fact that protagonists such as Tahmīna, Rūdāba, and Manija display striking sensual overt-ness and initiative while, for example, Farānak the

wife of Mihrāb shows great eloquence and courage in helping her husband face difficult decisions. These women conform to the paradigms set by heroic narrative poetry as worthy accomplices, companions, and seductive wives-to-be. Ultimate legislative and political power is not in their province, but their status as accomplice is noteworthy. Their strength is therefore admirable in the context of the ways in which they facilitate a male hero's military, emotional, or moral quest.

Courtly Persian narratives abound in representations of female characters as significant players in love, war, repentance, loyalty, or betrayal. The indispensable background to all heroines is their dramatic beauty, but the command of discourse is given priority as well. Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī's *Vīs va Rāmīn* (ca. 456/1054), a dramatic romance often recalled in the West as a counterpart to *Tristan and Iseult*, projects two female characters – the princess Vīs and her nameless wetnurse – with noticeable force; Nizāmī Ganjavī's romance *Khusraw va Shīrīn* (ca. 587/1185) gives the Armenian princess Shīrīn an eloquent and determined voice. In love romances such as Nizāmī's *Haft paykar* (The seven princesses) or Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī's *Salāmān va Absāl* (mid-ninth century/fifteenth century) women are forcefully present in the unfolding of the relationship between the sexes. Of note in all the portrayals of principal female characters is their ability to engage in debate, with lovers or third parties such as go-betweens or parental figures.

A particularly intriguing fictional woman, who makes her way into several versions of the same tale in both the popular and the courtly register in Persian and Arabic, is Zulaykha, the wife of Potiphar. This figure, like Shahrazād, encapsulates the significant characteristics of the poetics of female desire and sexuality as seen in premodern literature. Her intense and mostly unrequited desire for Yūsuf and the complex trajectory of her relationship with him is depicted in the the Talmud, the Bible, and the Qur'ān, and referred to subsequently by numerous Persian and Arab poets (Sanā'ī, Jāmī, 'Aṭṭār, and Ibn 'Arabī, to name a few). As a woman whose passionate sexual attraction for Yūsuf compels her to try out several strategies in order to gain his favors, she has inspired a wide range of poetic images depending on the author's motive in portraying her ardent desire.

These poetic representations of Zulaykha's desire are telling: on the one hand, her relentless physical passion has been transposed by some poets to mean devotion of a spiritual kind. As noted by Annemarie Schimmel, the intense longing and need

felt by Zulaykha have been equated by mystically oriented poets to signify a lover's obligation to reflect only on the beloved, endure all obstacles, and wait patiently for some reciprocity, "just as the soul should constantly think of the Divine Beloved" (Schimmel 1977, 66). On the other hand, if one were to interpret the love of Zulaykha for Yūsuf in non-mystical terms, the portrayal of her obsession with Yūsuf presents the reader with an internally divided logic. In an elaborate re-telling of the tale by Jāmi completed in 907/1509, she is at first sight represented as one who is morally in the wrong: a married woman displaying fervent passion for a youth. Intent on seduction – with all the dark connotations of the word – her strategies to seduce are represented as ruses along the lines of women's deceptions. But Yūsuf is portrayed as unusually strong-willed and indifferent, while Zulaykha's striking beauty and genuine passion are underscored by the poem. There is a clear acknowledgment of the validity of the woman's passion in light of Yūsuf's dazzling features and irresistible character. The final denouement, in which Zulaykha finally comes to marry Yūsuf after years of hardship and patience, suggests a tension between ethical and poetic concerns that, to some degree, is present in many depictions of principal female characters: an inherent ethical mistrust of a woman's physical desire coupled with an insistence on its force, its attraction to the narrator, and its primordial place as a marker of womanhood. As said earlier then, the logic of this poetics is internally divided, as if unresolved between ethical and sensual energies.

In courtly works, female characters are portrayed in terms of their ability to arouse the sensual and emotional sentiments of the male protagonists using disputation, rhetorical skill, and beauty to make a case for issues such as their honor or desire. These female characters produce worthy adages and affect the course of events, but in the final assessment they are objects in fundamentally masculine games (of love, honor, and war) and their ultimate projection is informed by an essentialist view of their beauty and erotic appeal as their main features, with eloquence as an important supplement to physical beauty.

The opposition set up between authority and power, mentioned in the case of Shahrazād, commands the portrayal of unforgettable heroines such as Shīrīn, Vīs, Tahmīna, when set against their lovers, husbands, or kings. Authority of course has numerous definitions; in the case of this literature, what is meant is a degree of influence and weight that can affect not only the behavior of characters but also certain thematic and aesthetic contours of

a text. Principal women characters make indispensable contributions to the formation of a courtly ethic and an artistic aesthetic. It can safely be said that female characters, and female sexuality, exert a degree of influence over the texts with authority. However, there is no evidence to suggest that these characters also have power in the way that male protagonists do.

Power is meant here as the indisputable agency to determine, forcefully and confidently, the fate of people and the course of events. It also connotes the dictation of the principal underlying attitudes that inform the most basic and essential conception of relationships, priorities, and events. Such power is, by and large, prohibited to female discourse and patterns of behavior. Based on this definition, power is the province of male characters, the male writers who design them, and an essentially male literate readership. Power, in the case of this literature, consists of the unquestionable political strength of the male characters (for example, the king who can behead his wives in *Alf layla wa-Layla*) co-existing with an authorial aesthetic outlook that successfully organizes women in terms of erotic and rhetorical appeal.

#### LYRIC POETRY

Premodern Arabic and Persian lyric poetry is a vast and eminently refined corpus whose thematic and structural scope far exceeds the limits of any single study. The list of poets and technical features can appear endless, and a command of technical and generic features is a prerequisite to any type of interpretation. In an immense gallery of poetic production, profane love poetry – itself a vast body of work – is the most appropriate territory for the exploration of women's representation. Once again though, this exploration must be undertaken with the knowledge that the love poet's erotic desire can be directed at but is by no means limited to women.

The *ghazal* – broadly translatable as love lyric – is not a static structure, for its nature and function vary greatly from poet to poet. But it is one significant form in which the themes of love and desire are elaborated. In Persian, among the most accomplished composers of the *ghazal* are 'Unṣurī (d. 441/1039), Sanā'ī (d. 532/1130), Sa'dī (602?–94?/1200?–92?), and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ (728–91/1326–89), to name only a few. The *ghazal's* approach to sexuality and profane love is excellently foregrounded by the scholar Julie Scott Meisami in her study *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*. Meisami calls attention to the Persian *ghazal's* capacity for elaborating a wide range of

personifications for the beloved: from homoerotic to woman-centered, and from mystical to profane, the form explores an “anatomy of love” (Meisami 1981, 253) in which the qualities of the beloved inspire rhetorical, moral, and figurative expression. Dazzling beauty, cruelty, separation, rivalry, and the absolute power of the beloved over the poet are among the themes explored.

As with the romance and popular tale, the assignation of such great power to the beloved creates a curious friction between her authority as object of desire and the poet’s power as ultimate creator of that subject. There is no simple formula to which the representation of woman in the *ghazal* can be reduced: the temptation to read her as a purely male fantasy with no regard for a dialectical relationship is undermined by the fact that the poet’s (male) identity and nobility are fundamentally dependent on his ability to love. Transcending the particulars of physical love, the compassion and desire expressed in the Persian *ghazal* point to the poet’s awareness of human virtues such as patience, loyalty, and truth. That is part of the reason for which the *ghazal*’s taxonomies of love lend themselves so well to expressions of divine love: the love and beauty and the patience before hardship are seen – ultimately – as guides toward perfect devotion, be it profane or divine. At the same time, the woman in the *ghazal* has no voice and is fiercely objectified; her ability to ennoble the male poet’s voice can be read as a factor militating against her as much as for her, since her power, after all, is ultimately the creation of a master (male) rhetorician. If love is the path to perfection, as so many composers of the *ghazal* suggest, it is not clear whether there is room for the woman in this quest for perfection, even though she plays a significant role in inspiring it.

In the early Arabic tradition, an absent and named female beloved (Su’ād, Nawār, Umm Awfa, Layla) is recalled in the initial section of the poetic form *qaṣīda* (classical Arabic ode) known as the *nasīb*. Here, the poet remembers the beauty of his beloved either with fondness or regret, and elaborates, in the words of Roger Allen, “the portrayal of a male-narrated ideal of feminine beauty and deportment” (Allen 1998, 174) as he contemplates a site that has been left desolate by her. The language is immensely rich, with special emphasis on the rhetoric of sensuality and physicality, and presented as intricate metaphor with a heightened sensitivity to linguistic skill. The ‘Udhri tribe, which produced much of this poetry, lent the genre its name, and in ‘*udhri*’ poetry the representation of the woman centers largely upon an unfinished trajectory forced by her absence.

Erotic imagery and risqué language are also present in the pre-Islamic era, and abstract lamentation as well as physical desire find their way into the thematics of later periods. Poets such as the celebrated Abū Nuwās (130–98/728–96) chronicle the joys and pains of love affairs with explicit definitions of female beauty and sexual encounters with both sexes. Here the contours appear to have more of a realistic emphasis, and playfulness with racy language adds a substantial touch of humor and some pride (based on experience) to the male standpoint on beauty and desire. Al-Andalus (Muslim Spain) provides an especially rich gallery of love poets with many references to women, though once again, boys are clearly present as love objects. Ibn Zaydūn (d. 472/1070), Ibn Quzmān (d. 562/1160), and Ibn Zuhr (512–92/1110–1200) memorialize erotic passion and tribulation with flair and follow the tradition set by Abū Nuwās in many an explicit term, coupled with an impressive command of metaphor and linguistic dexterity. The Arabic *ghazal* penned by these male composers creates an immense landscape of erotic and affective imagery in which humor, satire, and playfulness cohabit with sadness, nostalgia, and longing.

One cannot pass uniform judgment on the representation of women in this vast and ever-changing corpus. Like all love poetry, the image of the beloved is created each time by the mood and tone of the poem; inasmuch as the creation of any image means the objectification of its origin (woman, young boy) this almost immeasurable poetic corpus does, indeed, objectify woman. But the range of themes and tones is too large to allow for a homogeneous interpretation of woman’s representation in this poetry. Feminine and feminized beauty become vehicles for the expression of intense mystical love for God (as with the poetry of Ibn ‘Arabī, Rūmī, and Ibn al-Fāriḍ), while acting elsewhere as the inspiration for blatantly sensual and physical narrations centered upon earthly love. The two registers can also meet to create the possibility for spiritual as well as physical interpretation for the reader, though the temptation to decipher all erotic imagery as mystical – as has been the tendency in more prudish scholarship – must be avoided.

Contextual evidence must not be overlooked in the assessment of premodern poetry and fictional prose: patronage, intended audience, and extra-textual motives for composition are factors which affect premodern fiction writing much more than they might in our modern world. Any detailed investigation of the treatment of women and sexuality in the fictional literature of premodern Arabic and Persian must also consider the issues

of context, and the possible external reasons for which a work was produced.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- J. Ashtiany et al. (eds.), *ʿAbbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990.
- Abū Hiffān al-Mihzamī, *Akbbār Abī Nawās*, Cairo 1953.
- L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled sentiments. Honor and poetry in a Bedouin society*, Berkeley 1986.
- Adonis, *An introduction to Arab poetics*, trans. C. Cobham, London 1990.
- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam*, New Haven, Conn. 1992.
- R. Allen, *The Arabic literary heritage. The development of genres and criticism*, Cambridge 1998.
- A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958.
- A. F. L. Beeston et al. (eds.), *Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad Period*, Cambridge 1983.
- J. N. Bell, *Love theory in later Hanbalite Islam*, Albany, N.Y. 1979.
- E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, 4 vols., Cambridge 1928.
- M. Farah, *Marriage and sexuality in Islam. A translation of al-Ghazālī's book on the etiquette of marriage from the Ihyāʾ*, Salt Lake City 1984.
- F. Ghazoul, *Nocturnal poetics. The Arabian Nights in comparative context*, Cairo 1996.
- G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998.
- A. Kilito, *L'auteur et ses doubles. Essai sur la culture arabe classique*, Paris 1985.
- J. Lassner, *Demonizing the Queen of Sheba. Boundaries of gender and culture in postbiblical Judaism and medieval Islam*, Chicago 1993.
- S. Leder and H. Kilpatrick, Classical Arabic prose literature. A researcher's sketch map, in *Journal of Arabic Literature* 23 (1992), 2–26.
- F. Malti-Douglas, *Woman's body, woman's word*, Princeton, N.J. 1991.
- M. Marin and R. Deguilhem (eds.), *Writing the feminine. Women in Arab sources*, London and New York 2002.
- A. al-Sayyid Marsot (ed.), *Society and the sexes in medieval Islam*, Los Angeles 1977.
- J. S. Meisami, Norms and conventions of the classical Persian lyric, in *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association*, Innsbruck 1981, 203–7.
- , *Medieval Persian court poetry*, Princeton, N.J. 1987.
- M. R. Menocal, R. F. Scheindlin, and M. Sells (eds.), *The literature of Al-Andalus*, Cambridge 2000.
- F. Mernissi, *Le harem politique. Le Prophète et les femmes*, Paris 1987.
- L. Rouhi, *Mediation and love. A study of the medieval go-between in key romance and Near-Eastern texts*, Leiden 1999.
- A. Schimmel, *My soul is a woman. The feminine in Islam*, trans. S. H. Ray, New York 1997.
- M. Sells, *Desert tracings. Six classical Arabic odes*, Hanover 1989.
- S. P. Stetkevych, *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian poetry*, Bloomington, Ind. 1994.
- W. M. Thackston (ed.), *A millennium of classical Persian poetry*, Bethesda, Md. 1994.
- J. W. Wright and E. K. Rowson (eds.), *Homoeroticism in classical Arabic literature*, New York 1997.

## Southeast Asian Languages

#### EARLIEST LEAF WRITINGS AND SYMBOLISM OF WOMEN

The wealth of the literary tradition in Indonesia and Malaysia, the predominantly Muslim world of Southeast Asia, known as the *Nusantara* covers the early pre-Islamic period dating back to at least 700 to 1,000 years, to a time when religious world-views were strongly influenced by animism, Hinduism, and Buddhism (Koentjaraningrat 1985, Subagio et al. 1985, 1987). Although essentially oral, the literary tradition in Indonesia was upheld by writings on *daun lontar* or *daun nipah*, leaves which were handy and which could be preserved in a cool environment, despite the humidity of the tropical climate (Subagio et al. 1985, 1987). In Bali and Lombok, these leaf writings preserved the *lontar monyeh*, depicting stories of a warrior who disguised himself as a monkey to penetrate the world of women and to discover the woman of his dreams. A famous epic is the *Gejuritan Mantri Alif*, located in Bali, about a young king who performs all kinds of magical feats to defend his kingdom. This epic is usually sung as a choral symphony. An epic associated with “rites of rice” (*padi*) concerns the *pau-paukna Meompalo*. The *padi* plant was closely associated with women's fertility and valued as the most fundamental source of food for Balinese and other *Nusantara* communities. Hence metaphorically, these songs mystified the grain as a source of life and reproduction associated with female sexuality and fertility. Another important set of wise sayings from the Sunda, written on the *nipah* rather than the *lontar* leaf contains the epical *Sangyang Siksa Kanda Ng. Karesian* dating back to the sixteenth century. These epical sayings are divided into two parts, the *Dasakerta* and the *Darmapitutur*. They contain advice on how spouses should live together and maintain harmonious relationships with other kinsmen. With the coming of Islam in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many of these stories, epics, narratives, prose poetry, and songs were relegated into private collections of colonial and local writers, priests, and chiefs as Islamic texts from the Arab and Persian world became the new source of inspirational writings of men and women. Nevertheless, they were recited during of rites of passage events associated with birth, male circumcision, marriage, and vilage cleansing rituals. Women played a central role in promoting the rites and sayings through their painstaking efforts at revitalizing communal celebrations. During these festivities, clusters of

families cooperated to reproduce rites linked to the mystical and mythical histories of these indigenous communities.

THE LANGUAGE OF GENDER IN ADAT AND ISLAM: MALAY AND MINANGKABAU

The system of gender relations of the *Nusantara* upheld bilaterality between men and women. This suggested that relationships were more symmetrical than hierarchical, based on balanced reciprocity and mutual recognition of the important roles of men and women (Karim 1992).

Much of the Malay and Minangkabau writings in precolonial times were based in customary traditions or *adat* and are metaphorically expressed in proverbial sayings (*peribahasa*), verse, and quatrains (*pantun*), which transfer imageries of natural phenomena into cultural wisdoms and idealisms (Winstedt 1957). The messages may denote sentiments of the village or nation, kinship, parental guidance, romantic love, or passion, but are usually cloaked in oblique references and ideas about social relationships and emotions, generally called *sindiran*. They are subtly provocative without being directly authoritative or offensive. The saying *Hujan mas di negeri orang, Hujan batu di negeri sendiri* (Rains of gold in other countries, Rains of stone in one's own) does not in fact encourage a person to quit his land and seek his fortune elsewhere, but to tolerate hardships in his own country to preserve origins and maintain a sense of belonging. Again, the metaphor, *Ular bisa menyusor akar* (The venomous snake glides over roots) does not refer to a situation of imminent danger, but a disguised reproach that a person with power or rank would not stand to lose much if he were to make himself amiable and approachable to the ordinary person.

Many of these sayings appear to encourage equality, humility, generosity, and consideration for one's fellow men, particularly in situations where clear hierarchies and differences are discerned, as between ruler and subject, chiefs and followers. Thus, the proverb *Setinggi-tinggi tupai melompat, akhirnya jatuh jua ke tanah* (No matter how high the squirrel hops, it will in the end fall to the ground) and *Seperti resmi padi, makin berisi, makin tunduk* (Like the habit of the *padi* stalk, the heavier it is filled with grain, the more it bends) express fundamental equalitarian values in Malay-Riau and Minang society. Others encourage self-reliance, initiative and wit. Examples are *Malu bertanya, sesat jalan* (Shy to ask, you will lose your way) and *Pikul beban raja di kepala, jangan lupa bungkus di tangan* (When you carry the King's burden on your head, do not forget the bundle in your arm).

A Malay who attempts to check or correct another openly, without sparing his words, is invariably considered brutish or vulgar, as expressed in phrases such as *tidak tahu adat* (does not understand customs and traditions); *tajam mulut* (a mouth with a razor edge); and in extremely negative situations, *kurang ajar* (without education and refinement). Generally, much of *adat* is expressed in metaphorical concepts and idiomatic sayings to which the people of the *Nusantara* are intuitively tuned. It is perhaps for this reason that quatrains are popular, for the media of poetry, music, and song they utilize converts normally difficult and tense interpersonal or sexual situations into tolerable, pleasing encounters, which are then more easily handled on the personal level. The following *pantun* expresses the disguised passions of a tormented lover (Karim 1991):

Berapa tinggi pucuk pisang  
Tinggi lagi asap api  
Berapa tinggi gunung melintang  
Tinggi lagi harap hati

However high grow the shoots of plaintain  
Higher still goes the smoke of fire  
However high stands the mountain summit  
Higher still the hope in my heart

The sentiments revealed are expressive of Malay-Riau and Minang notions of courtship, which are covert rather than open, provocative rather than revealing, and cautious rather than reckless. The quatrain calls for a statement of decisiveness without being forward to the extreme and the reaction is similarly studied and hesitant lest spontaneity be mistaken for wantonness. Consider the next quatrain:

Kalau jumpa jarum patah  
Bawa disimpan di dalam peti  
Kalau kata-kata saya salah  
Harap jangan disimpan di dalam hati

If a broken needle is found  
Keep it in a safe chest  
If I have uttered words too harsh  
Do not keep it in your heart

It is these subtle revelations of morality, values, and sentiments that made earlier British writers on Malay culture, such as Winstedt, Swettenham, and Wilkinson, rave about the refinements of *adat* and refer to its metaphoric translations as the "odes and sonnets" of the East.

In Minang society, the matrilineal principles of matrilineal residence in *adat pepatih* require a man to move into his wife's parental home. A new house will be built for them if she is not in line to inherit the family house. The rule of matrilocality makes a man a stranger in his wife's clan but he continues



to extend his control over his sister. A woman has an advantage over her husband in marriage since she is closely in contact with her siblings and other collaterals, in particular her brothers. In most of the *pantuns* (verses of four lines recited by men and women where alternate lines rhyme) the emotion of missing a love one or the devotion to a loved one is often expressed by a brother to a sister or vice versa.

The following verse from a *Minangkabau Kaba* (narrative of men who migrate in search of adventure) describes a brother's advice to his sister who is left alone to fend for herself in his absence. When he gets into gambling debts, she begs for his life and offers to repay his debts. Called the *Bujang Penjudi* (Gambling lad), the *Kaba* actually describes the bond of siblingship between two brothers and a sister. The final advice of the brother Sultan Mudo to his sister Upik is worth noting:

Moss covers the edge of the field  
Candlenuts float in the river  
Do what you can to ease my pain  
Be good while I am away  
With both our mother and father  
There remains only you, my sister  
  
Birds fly towards the hill  
A *kemiri* tree graces the garden  
Strengthen your spirit, my little sister  
Because you are a woman

It seems that rather than matrilineality, it is siblingship that is the most important basis for gender and family organization in Minangkabau society. Despite the many changes taking place in this society, the ethos of intersexual siblingship remains. This is indirectly attributed to familiar bonds through social memory, when the verses of the *kaba*, *pantun*, or *perbilang* based on the wise sayings of *adat pepatih* stress the importance of subduing personal interests for the sake of the clan and community. However, the bonds of matrimony are described in the same way, suggesting that a wife and sister are equally ascribed the same status, deserving the same care and protection.

Guided by *adat pepatih*, based on matriliney, the Minang have other extensive types of free verse that reveal most of the fundamental ideas of relationships within a matrilineal system. These are ritually recalled during marriage and other ceremonial events and are spontaneously recited by male and female elders when explanations of the nature of consanguinal and affinal relationships have to be made. The following verse (originally translated by Sir Andrew Caldwell, Resident of Negeri Sembilan) is representative of the free style adopted by the Minangkabaus to explain spousal relationships;

When we receive a man as a bridegroom  
If he is strong, he shall be our champion.  
If a fool, he will be ordered about  
To invite guests distant and collect guests near;  
Clever and we'll invite his counsel;  
Learned and we'll ask his prayers;  
Rich and we'll use his gold;  
If lame, he shall rear chicken,  
If blind, he shall pound the mortar,  
If deaf, he shall fire salutes,  
When you enter a byre, low;  
When you enter a goat's pen, bleat;  
When you tread the soil of a country and live beneath  
its sky;  
Follow the customs of that country...

Again, the medium of expression encourages male conformity to the traditions of matriliney without offence and renders informal acceptability of fundamental values and norms, which are preserved by the society.

The Malays, Minangkabau, and other communities who have internalized these verses as part of their ideational system define *adat* as everything which is customarily acceptable, indicating the superficiality of the question. Indeed, to be a Malay is to have *adat*. It encompasses the total system of values, norms, and mores which govern Malay or Minang life or which contribute to the essence of social relations, particularly those pertaining to the family, kinship, and village community. The proverb *Biar mati anak, jangan mati adat* (Better a child perish, rather than our custom die), denotes the overriding importance attached to the continuity of *adat* principles in Southeast Asian Muslim societies.

#### ISLAM IN RITUAL LANGUAGE

The Islamization of Southeast Asians has resulted in many different kinds of standard conventional statements (derived from Arabic) assuming importance in Southeast Asian ritual language. These greetings or messages in fact have been universally adopted by most Muslim communities, to a greater or lesser extent, and have in many cases superseded similar words and expressions in the local languages and dialects. Greetings such as *As-salam'alaikum warahmatullah hi wabarakatuh* (Peace be with you and the blessing and mercy of God), *Insyallah* (God willing) and *Shukur al-ham dulillah* (Praise be to God) are commonly used in both formal and informal gatherings or meetings, at a group or personal level, and have come to be regarded as "cultural" or polite ways of social interaction. The frequent or over usage of these terms in public speaking may be regarded as affectations of language and style but in a ritual situation, such as the seeking of a bride (*menengok*), proposal of marriage (*meminang*), or wedding (*akad nikah*), these

expressions become an integral aspect of the esotericisms of Malay ritual language. One may extravagantly praise the beauty of a maiden in a local language or verse (*peribahasa*) but it is also equally acceptable to do so through Arabic expressions and semantics that convey notions or ideas of different kinds of social relationships and the importance of developing imagery or metaphorical language from Sanskrit, Persian, or Arabic sources.

Often values of Southeast Asian *adat* are equated with Islamic notions of social behavior, and when this happens, *adat* expressions are incorporated into Islamic social philosophy to emphasize some of its finer points. To illustrate, the notion in Islam that the mother and child relationship is extremely important for spiritual and mental development is elucidated by the saying in *adat*, "Heaven lies at the soles of the feet of the mother." This expression is now often used to reiterate certain ideas in Islam concerning the importance of motherhood and of children's loyalty to their parents.

In the context of rituals of sorcery, love and magic, and healing and curing, derived from Indic and animistic ideas of human relationships with cosmic forces, verses from the Qur'an are often added on to charms and spells, usually as opening or closing statements. Consider the following Malay spell for "capturing the soul" of a loved one. This may be recited by a man or woman, without any change in idiomatic reference and expresses the bilaterality of Malay culture specifically and Southeast Asian culture generally.

Bismillahi 'al-rahmani'i-rahimi  
 Nur Mani nama engkau  
 Panca Awal nama aku  
 Kabul berkat aku memakai do'a  
 Kundang Maya Cinta Berahi,  
 Bercinta 'kau kepada aku,  
 Berahi 'kau kepada aku,  
 Gila 'kau kepada aku,  
 Gila siang, gila malam,  
 Gila tujuh kali sehari,  
 Gila tujuh kali semalam,  
 Pulang lah ke rumah engkau,  
 Pulang lah ke istana engkau,  
 Dengan berkat la-ilaha-illa-'llah Muhammad 'a Rasul Allah.

In the name of God, the Merciful and Compassionate  
 Your name is Nur Mani  
 Si Panca Awal is my name  
 These prayers will be granted,  
 I wear the charm  
 Of the passionate Love, Kundang Maya  
 You will be mad for me  
 Madness in the day, madness in the night  
 Mad, seven times a day  
 Mad, seven times a night  
 Return to your home  
 Return to your palace

Granted with the blessing of the one God, Allah, and Muhammad, the messenger of God

Significantly, the inclusion of Qur'anic verses in animistic charms and spells provides shamans and healers, men and women, with continued legitimacy to express their sexuality in ritually appropriate ways. It also extends their acceptability amongst a clientele that is conscious of differences between animistic ideas and the monotheism of Islam. However, the fact that Islam did not displace animistic forms of healing and curing but rather contributed to their value and credibility is evidence of the denuded impact it had on pre-existing ideologies. It became first and foremost a symbol of legitimacy and authority for state formation and formal leadership. Its attack on animism succeeded only at the level of public activity when witchcraft and sorcery was practiced whenever the need arose (Karim 1991, 1992). Islamic idealisms on the supremacy of God and the creation of man and the universe had no practical appeal in the *Nusantara* world, yet its esoteric quality enabled it to penetrate the existing ritual sphere without changing much of the original form.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- W. J. Karim, *Emotions of culture. A Malay perspective*, Kuala Lumpur and Oxford 1991.  
 —, *Women and culture. Between Malay adat and Islam*, Boulder, Colo. 1992.  
 Koentjaraningrat, *Javanese culture*, Singapore 1985.  
 S. Sastrowardoyo, S. D. Damono, and A. K. Achmad (eds.), *Anthology of ASEAN literatures. Oral literature of Indonesia*, Jakarta 1985.  
 —, *Anthology of ASEAN literatures. Pre-Islamic literature of Indonesia*, Jakarta 1987.  
 H. Soebadio-Noto Soebagio and S. Sadli, *Kartini pribadi mandiri*, Jakarta 1990.  
 R. J. Wilkinson and R. O. Winstedt, *Malayan quatrains [in Indonesian]*, Singapore 1957.  
 R. O. Winstedt (ed.), *Hikayat bayan budiman atau cerita khojah maimun*, Singapore 1957.

WAZIR JAHAN KARIM

#### Turkish

There are varied and complicated depictions of woman and femininity in premodern Turco-Islamic literary production. Since they depend on an orally oriented tradition, the folk and mystic traditions where woman and female sexuality are depicted as second to man and male sexuality are more difficult to trace than the written Turkish literature that developed in Anatolia. Especially after the establishment of an imperial machine following the conquest of Constantinople, there appears a self-conscious and well-preserved written literary

tradition developed by, and/or under the patronage of, a newly formed bureaucratic elite. One of the major impacts on literature of this transformation is in the form of a gradually increasing absence of female characters. The creation of a more segregated space for urban elite woman facilitates this erasure of women from the literary works of Ottoman elite men.

#### EARLY TURCO-ISLAMIC ORAL STORIES AND FOLK LITERATURE

Depictions of women in early Turco-Islamic orally based story cycles, such as *The Book of Dede Korkut*, *Baḡtal-nāme*, *Dānişmend-nāme*, and folk literature are generally evaluated in modern scholarship as “democratic” in comparison to written literature. In fact, a close reading of such texts reveals a complex, if not misogynistic picture.

*The Book of Dede Korkut* defines four types of women, while no types of men are presented. Among these only “the pillar of the house,” in other words a good housekeeper, is suggested as ideal for marriage; the other three are chastised for neglecting housework, wandering around gossiping, or humiliating their husbands in front of others (Tezcan and Boeschoten 2001, 33). Even though reduced as such in the introduction, the female characters of the twelve stories go beyond this generalization. Some of them take part in horse races, archery, and wrestling contests with their contenders, as does Banı Çiçek in the story “Bamsi Beyrek of the Grey Horse” (ibid. 73). Some return men’s chastisements, as in “Kan Turali son of Kanli Kuja,” where Selcan Hatun saves Kan Turali from his enemies; when Kan Turali hesitates to marry her thinking that she will boast about her actions, Selcan Hatun calls him an indecisive pimp, and states that she knows the maxim which says “When a man boasts he is a lion, while for a woman boasting is scandalous. Boasting does not make a woman a man” (ibid. 136).

Later oral epics, such as *Baḡtal-nāme* and *Dānişmend-nāme*, which are about the Islamization of different regions of Anatolia, also introduce women who display “manly” virtues, such as Baḡtal’s cousin and wife Zeynep, and his second wife, the Byzantine princess Meh-piruz, both of whom fight Christians “like men” and, in *Dānişmend-nāme*, Efrumiyye (Ephromia), who disavows her father, even fights and humiliates him for her new religion. *Dānişmend-nāme* also introduces female characters who take part in discussions of sciences with men, such as Meryem Hatun. In a detailed dream sequence, the Prophet Muḡammad himself invites Efrumiyye to Islam (Demir 2004, 66–7). A similar representa-

tion of women is characteristic of folk tales; they pursue their love for the hero and often take part in poetry contests with their lovers, as in “Asuman ile Zeycan” (Kaya and Koz 2000, 32–6).

In oral epics, and later in lyric romances, Christian rulers’ daughters, such as Meh-piruz and Efrumiyye, are converted to Islam following dreams in which they also meet their future (Muslim) husbands for the first time. In folk stories it is generally the daughter of the ruler of China or another far away country who is sought for and then “conquered” along with her country. This recurring theme of conversion and conquest of other rulers’ daughters and countries, while promoting female characters as key elements to open the gates of victory for one man, also characterizes them as the other man’s weak spot, and indirectly implies how a woman can endanger a man’s possessions. This conversion-and-conquest theme was later adapted by the early Ottoman chronicles about the spoils of Ottomans in Anatolia, which were composed during the late fifteenth century, at around the same time the oral epics were compiled.

Probably relevant for a certain lifestyle that advocates oral literary traditions, and where the interaction of women and men is possible, this male-centered approach is less suppressive of fictitious female characters in comparison to the written literary traditions, especially the one developed following the conquest of Constantinople.

#### EARLY ISLAMIC MANUALS AND ADVICE BOOKS

Unlike the early Turco-Islamic legendary literature, oral epics, and folk tales where the ideal woman is depicted as the key to a conquest and a companion for an ideal man, early Islamic manuals, chapbooks, and advice books, which are the earliest examples of written Western Turkish, focus on the female body and the adverse effect of women on men. It is difficult to trace the genealogies of the construction of femininity back to a singular source in diverse Islamic traditions. Still these texts deliver a discriminating perception of women and feminine sexuality. Described in these manuals and advice books as possessing an uncontrollable sexual passion, the female body becomes the signifier of femininity, and thus, marked by excessive lust as different from the male body, it establishes one of the “others” of masculinity.

The consolidation of femininity in the female body starts with the early Turco-Islamic literature. One of the earliest texts in Eastern Turkish, *Kutadgu Bilig* (written 462/1069–70), an advice book in verse about the rules and morals of Islam,

states that women are better not born at all, and advises that women should be kept indoors at all times, and finally defines them as “basically flesh,” which should be preserved well, otherwise they stink (Yusuf 1987, 187). Also, even though counted among the three pleasures in life, along with food and drink, and living in good health, a sexual relationship with a woman is presented as the most dangerous pleasure since “women and children cut off men’s strength” (ibid. 157).

In *Muhammediyye* (ca. 1400s), the earliest and certainly the most popular Turkish text on Islam, Allah punishes Havva by having her bleed once a month, and burdening her with childbirth, both of which He defines as *cevr* and *emrâz* (oppression and diseases). Upon Havva’s laments, He grants women who die during childbirth martyrdom, but childbirth and menstruation will mark women’s bodies forever (Yazıcıoğlu 1996, 67, 74).

Güvâhî’s *Pend-nâme* (933/1526), an advice book in verse, sections of which were based on widespread proverbs that are traceable back to the oldest Turkic legends, identifies three kinds of women: the modest woman, who secludes herself from other men’s sight; the seductress, who cheats on her husband; and finally the foolish woman, who cannot tell good from bad (Güvâhî 1983, 179). Modesty as a parallel to the seclusion of women occurs repeatedly in other similar texts that were immensely popular among the Ottoman elite.

Among the Ottoman reading public, it was not only the religious advice books that sustained the favored gender systems. Scatological texts, compilations of sexually explicit stories, anecdotes, and jokes, also helped. The earliest compilation of sexually explicit “funny” stories, *Dâfiü’l-gumûm, râfiü’l-humûm* of the poet Mehmed Gazâlî (?–934/1535) brings together selections from Arabic and Persian sources, as well as from contemporary jokes told in the streets. The text is organized in line with a particular hierarchy of sex objects of men, where boys are preferred as passive objects to uncontrollable women.

Gazâlî explains that after Havva discovered sex, she became insatiable and was slashed with the whip of modesty by Cebail so that whenever Adem wanted sex, she became shy and moved away. Gazâlî continues: “Now if there is no modesty in a woman . . . her disparaged character contaminates her children and her kin” (Kuru 2000, 176). In the text woman is identified with a vagina that “vomits blood”; and the pleasure it gives decreases in time as it loosens with childbirth (ibid. 180).

These different genres that help the mechanisms of control which work through description need further study for a better analysis of the inherent

misogyny that created a particular idea of femininity among the Ottoman elite. These texts effectively foster the conviction that, if not suppressed by modesty, the insatiable sexual desire of woman is a threat to man, and that the “bodily defects” of menstruation and childbirth characterize the deprecated female body that harbors this threatening sex.

#### GENRE AND FEMININITY

During the imperial era after 1453, female characters become less and less visible in literary texts, which were produced within a different system of patronage relations. The anxiety over the assumed sexual excess of women, and the gradual segregation of elite women in social life, may be among the reasons that female characters were pushed to the margins of the literary imagination. Women were included either as a signpost for the lover on the path to the mystic union with God, or as the dangerous and incorrigible element in a man’s life.

Lyric romances constitute the main venue for female characters in the Ottoman literary tradition. Earlier romances written until the sixteenth century were modeled after Islamic epics and story cycles, such as *Süheyl ü Nev-bahâr* (751/1350), *Varka vü Gülşâh* (770/1368), and *Hürşid-nâme* (789/1387), and they present different female characters. Even though women of early romances preserve certain aspects of epic story cycles, such as Gülşâh, who does not let Varka fight for her and fights herself for vengeance (Yusuf 1987, 44), or Nev-bahar, a Chinese princess, who rides horses, hunts, and shoots arrows “like men” (Mes’ud 1991, 390), the subject who carries the love is always the man, and woman takes her position as the object of love. Even though a female protagonist also loves loyally, she never gets lovesick, and is randomly depicted crying, unlike the male whose constant suffering for love is depicted in detail. She never contemplates the nature of love, whereas the male character does so constantly. While initially depicted in romances as adventurous (following her lover in his adventures, evading other suitors, and fighting them) and modest (she never yields to the desire of other men and preserves her “purity”), her modesty is later idealized to a level of abstraction that turns her into a muted character. In a way, the virtues she is expected to display excise her tongue and mute her; thus she is erased from the romance. Once popular, the story of Yusuf and Züleyha, where Züleyha’s sexual desire for Yusuf is rewarded because she was loyal, yields its place to the Leyla and Mecnun stories, where Leyla functions as

merely a step for Mecnun to discover God's beauty as reflected in her.

Early romances, where sexual desire is readable, shifted toward a blurred sexuality and gradually developed to a more allegorical, mystical, and didactic plain where love of the moth and the candle, or the beggar and the prince, or other mystical stories are treated. Even though these *mesnevis* follow certain themes of the more worldly earlier romances, this happens at the expense of the worldliness of male and female love.

Lyric poetry, one of the richest veins of the literary tradition, dealing exclusively with young boys (*puser, mahbub*), does not allow a female beloved as the object of love. It relies on a three-layered imagery of the beloved who can be read as worldly (the beautiful boy), semi-worldly (the sultan), and transcendental (God) at the same time, the gender of all being defined as male. This mystic pretense of lyric poetry in Ottoman Turkish occasionally yielded to the expression of love; for example, several *gazels* Sultan Süleyman I wrote for his wife Hürrem Sultan testify to that.

A late eighteenth-century poet, Sünbülzâde Vehbî (1133/1718-1224/1804), in his *Şevk-engîz* suggests a reason for the absence of women from poetry by saying that Persianate poets preferred composing lyrics for boys, believing mentioning girls would taint their honor, and that only he and Nedim (1143/1730) mentioned women in their lyric poetry at the expense of dishonoring themselves (Sünbülzâde 1286/1869, 129-30). This excuse for not mentioning women in works of literature is accepted as unproblematic by modern scholarship as well. The thesis that the mention of a man's female relatives dishonors him, and that for that reason Ottoman poets refrained from writing odes to women, does not explain the disappearance of fictional characters, male or female.

Also, the existence of certain literary works cast a shadow over this explanation. A *Şehr-engîz*, written in 964/1556 by Azîzî (? -993/1585), mentions the beautiful women of Manisa with their fathers' names in short vignettes in verse. The sixteenth-century poet Zâtî (876/1471-953/1546) was also able to publish jokes that assaulted the wife of his contemporary, the poet Keşfî (d. 945/1538-9), with sexually explicit insults (Zâtî 1970, 4-5). There are further examples that complicate the question of the existence/absence of female characters in Ottoman Turkish literature, and any answer needs to transcend the anachronistically generalized answers.

Since the Ottoman Turkish elite at times experienced harshly controlled segregation of genders, it

might have been accepted by certain majority groups that it was inappropriate for female characters to appear in poetry, which was widely exchanged among the ruling elite in all-male gatherings. But apparently the same elite, which banished woman from their lyric poems, seems to have perceived satire, which is intended to mock and sully, as a proper context for female characters.

#### SATIRICAL REFLECTIONS ON WOMEN

Sexuality in Ottoman Turkish literature was only implied by sublimated images of plucking flowers and eating fruits and other stock images, such as opening a hole through a pearl. On the other hand, whenever the subject of literature was direct depiction of sexual relations, the excuse was entertainment through jokes, and wherever there were sexual jokes, it was an excuse to categorize and humiliate women, and remind of the lust they have. In that respect, the satirical works that were intended to entertain the learned elite of the Ottoman bureaucracy follow the religious advice and etiquette books in their mapping of femininity through categorization. The work by Gazâlî mentioned earlier is one example of such an approach. Frame stories of story compilations, such as *Kırk Vezir* and *Tûñî-nâme*, also present the ideal women as modest and loyal, while warning the readers/listeners constantly about the sexual passion of women that lead them to betrayal at any cost.

This misogynistic approach to women's sexuality reveals itself blatantly in a catalogue of women written in the late eighteenth century. The *Zenân-nâme* (The book of women) of Enderunlu Fâzıl (1170/1757-1225/1810) was composed as a sequel to *Hubân-nâme* (The book of beauties, meaning boys), when Fâzıl's beloved boy expressed a wish to have a book describing the beautiful women of the world. Fâzıl explains his first reaction in the introduction to the work: "We are poets, and it taints our fame, harlots can't penetrate into our *divans*." *Divan* meaning both poetry collections, and a gathering of men, Fâzıl expresses his dislike of woman as subject of poetry, pointing out a fact relevant for his circle (Fâzıl 1286/1869, 59). Later he yields to his beloved boy's threats and lists women of 34 different ethnicities and nationalities, and evaluates them in a spectrum that ranges from modesty (he eulogizes Circassian women who are light complexioned and all are *perde-nişîm-i 'ismet*, secluded in chastity) (ibid., 88) to sexual passion (he chastises Egyptian women who are dark complexioned, and walk around freely, and in the blood of whom burns a fire that even the waters of Nile cannot extinguish) (ibid., 60).

Even though Fâzil reads several degrees of modesty and immodesty as aspects of ethnicity or nationality, there seem to be more complex interests at work. In Ottoman literature the lightness of complexion that defines especially popular Circassian slave girls becomes more visible than the dark haired beloved of the lyric poetry by the late eighteenth century. More importantly, Fâzil defines Circassian women as servile while Egyptian women are desirous, sharing the conviction of most literary texts preceding and following his that sexual passion and modesty are incompatible in a woman; a woman should not desire since her passion is difficult to control, but she should surrender to the desire of man.

Fâzil ends his work with three scenes titled “On Marriage,” “On Women’s Bath,” and “On the Arrival of the People of the District and the Imam to the House of the Harlot” (Fazıl 94–8). These three scenes capture women in marriage at home, in a bathhouse interacting with each other, and during a raid. In the house, women make life miserable for their husbands (here childbirth is depicted as women’s adding more misery to men’s life), in the bathhouse they mock each other’s husbands’ sexual organs, and in the raid the “harlot” deceives the men of the district by telling lies. These three sections have no counterpart in the book of boys, which can be read as a eulogy for the boys of the world, while the one for women is clearly a mockery.

#### CONCLUSION

After the Tanzimat reforms of 1836, the impact of spreading print houses, the complete transformation of “authorship” and patronage relations, and the effect of Western literatures, the position of female characters was also transformed; they were reinvented in seemingly different contexts. But women in early novels in Ottoman Turkish were still depicted in line with the established binary opposition of passionate desirous women and modest silent women of classical Ottoman Turkish literature.

Throughout this entry instances have been marked where several texts explain women characters’ action as “manlike,” “manly,” “like a man,” and similar terms. In Turkic folk literature and early epics, as well as in the classical period, even in early modern fiction (and sometimes in today’s daily talk), ideal female characters are constructed in language in terms of their proximity to manhood, by the constant supplement of adjectival phrases (most commonly *er gibi*, man-like) in defining ideal wom-

en’s actions. While its counterpart, *kız gibi* (girl-like), is more ambiguous, connoting being virginal, pure and beautiful, virtuous (generally of a boy), and being like a girl, incapable, insufficient (of a man), according to the context. These two phrases are an integral part of a complex system of naming and fixing certain attitudes where woman can only be “manly” but can never be a man, a category that is, unlike woman, never defined in terms of gender and sexuality. “Man-like” is also employed whenever an honorable female personality is introduced within the historical texts.

While in the folk literature and epics female characters are depicted as an integral and necessary aspect of a discursive male gender, after the sixteenth century women were gradually excluded from Ottoman Turkish literature, save for satirical works that entertain in an attempt to uphold the pre-established discursive gender patterns among an elite under constant change. Literary studies today are, unfortunately, far from distancing themselves from stark generalizations in order to develop better models to analyze how that particular imperial literary tradition responded to the changing patterns of socioeconomic life of the circle that produced it.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- M. b. A. Âli, *Câmi’u’l-bubûr der mecâlis-i sûr*, ed. A. Öztekin., Ankara 1996.
- Aşık Çelebi, *Meşa’irü’ş-şu’era* ed. G. Meredith-Owens, London 1971.
- N. Demir (ed.), *Dânişmend-nâme*, Kızılay, Ankara 2004.
- Fazıl Bey, *Huban-name ve Zenan-name*, İstanbul 1286/1869. [Together with *Şevk-engiz* of Sümbülzade Vehbi.]
- Güvahi, *Pend-nâme*, ed. M. Hengirmen, İstanbul 1983.
- D. Kaya and S. Koz (eds.), *Halk hikâyeleri*, İstanbul 2000.
- Mes’ud bin Ahmed, *Süheyl ü Nev-bahâr*, ed. C. Dilçin, Ankara 1991.
- A. Misri, Şehrengiz-i manisa, in A. S. Levend (ed.), *Türk edebiyatında şehrengizler ve şehrengizlerde İstanbul*, İstanbul 1958, 119–38.
- Sâlim, *Tezkire-i Sâlim*, İstanbul 1315/1897.
- Sehi Beg, *Heşt bihişt. The tezkire of Sehi Beg*, ed. G. Kut, Cambridge, Mass. 1978.
- Sümbülzade Vehbi, *Şevkengiz*, İstanbul 1286/1869. [Together with *Hubanname* and *Zenanname* of Fazıl Bey.]
- Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed, *Muhammediye*, ed. A. Çelebioğlu, İstanbul 1996.
- Yusuf Khâss Hâjib, *Wisdom of royal glory. A Turko-Islamic mirror for princes. Kutadgu Bilig*, trans., intro., and notes R. Dankoff, Chicago 1987.
- Yusuf-ı Meddah, *Varqa ve gülşab*, ed. G. M. Smith, Leiden 1976.
- Zâti, *Letayif* in Mehmet Çavuşoğlu “Zâti’nin letâyifi,” in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 18 (1970), 1–51.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- W. Andrews and M. Kalpaklı, *The age of beloveds. Love and the beloved in early-modern Ottoman and European culture and society*. Durham, N.C. 2005.
- S. Kuru, Scholar and author in the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Deli Birader and his work *Dāffü'l-gumüm fi rāfi'ü'l-humüm*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University 2000.
- K. Silay, Singing his words. Ottoman women poets and the power of patriarchy, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1997, 197–213.
- N. Tezcan, Lâmi's Ansichten über die Frauen Fraunbilder aus Einigen seiner Werke, in *Journal of Turkish Studies* 26:1 (2002), 295–310.
- S. Tezcan and H. Boeschoten (eds.), *Dede Korkut oğuznameleri*, Istanbul 2001.

SELIM KURU

### Urdu (and other relevant South Asian languages)

To speak of gender and sexuality in premodern Indo-Muslim literatures is to navigate shifts emerging over the course of time. The locus of composition moved from grassroots to Sufi *khānaqāh* (monastery) and then to royal courts. On the surface this literature tells stories of heterosexual love, usually doomed, between humans, in genres mostly borrowed from Persian (*maṣnavī*, *qiṣṣa*, and *ghazal*), imported to India from Iran by Sufi mystics from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. In Sufi hands these tales of love became allegories for *'ishq-i ḥaqīqī*: “true” love, that of a devotee for the Divine Beloved. Sufis saw themselves as the brides of God, but their “husband” was elusive and their love lived out in pining separation. Mystical professions of love could be extravagantly passionate, but explicit sexuality was very rare, at least in the texts that have survived. That said, literature in South Asia has been passed down mostly through oral traditions and we cannot know what interpolations might have occurred in recitation. We do know that popular Islam blended easily with popular indigenous spirituality, that Sufis adapted their stories to local tales and songs in the predominant modes of Bhakti devotionalism, and that these adapted tales and songs helped to propagate Islam and to popularize the mystic path.

## REGIONAL LITERATURE

Tales in regional languages, now read overwhelmingly in Sufistic terms, featured prominent female heroines. The most popular were the *premakhyān* (tales of love) in Avadhi, of which the most famous are Jayasi's *Padmavat*, Manjhan's *Madhumalati*, and Dauda's *Chandayan*. In Sindhi there is Shah Abdul Latif's *Risalo* and in Dakani Mullah Vajhi's

*Sab Ras. Sassi-Punnun*, perhaps original to Sindhi, became popular in other regions, especially Punjab. These tales attained great stature when taken by Sufis and adapted to the Persian narrative *maṣnavī* genre, as royal courts replaced Sufi *khānaqāhs* to become the primary sites of patronage and poetic composition.

Since Sufis saw themselves as the brides of god and their souls as women, the strong voices of indigenous heroines suited their mystical philosophical purposes. This was especially so in the case of Punjabi legends. Punjabi literature dates back officially to the couplets of the Chisti saint Baba Farid Ganj-i Shakar (1173–1265 C.E.). Punjabi literature's earliest traces are thus Muslim, a feature that arguably distinguishes western literatures of the subcontinent from literatures in the eastern and southern regions. There is no traceable tradition of female storytelling or authorship, but from the very earliest period we find that Punjabi's dominant voice is that of a young woman, Hir, heroine of the Hir-Ranjha legend. Whether in verse genres like the *dohra* (*doha*) couplets favored by Baba Farid, or – in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries – the lyric *kafis* of Shah “Madho Lal” Husain and Bulleh Shah, or the more narrative *qiṣṣas* of Damodar, Muqbal, the great Waris Shah, and others, Hir's voice dominates. This distinguishes Punjabi from Urdu literature in crucial ways (see later).

The tale of Hir and her cowherd lover, Ranjha, retold innumerable times over the past five centuries, remains popular even today in written texts, in popular cassette recordings, and in more traditional storytelling media. Other tales of star-crossed lovers that are much beloved in the Punjab region include those of Sohni and Mahiwal, Sassi and Punnu, and Mirza and Sahiban.

Punjabi culture is as patriarchal as any other, but among these famous tales of star-crossed lovers, the legend of Hir and Ranjha stands out by being referred to, as often as not, by just the heroine's name, as in “Hir Waris” or “Hir Damodar” (giving the title and author together). Indeed, in Hir-Ranjha the heroine is the more interesting character. She is assertive, high-spirited, courageous, even defiant. Poets speak admiringly of her “manly” qualities; while Ranjha, who enchants the herds and humans alike with his flute playing, is more feminine, soft, and pretty. Otherwise easily pushed around by other men, he also stands up for what is morally correct. In the oldest extant full-length *qiṣṣa* bearing Hir's name (mid-sixteenth century?) the poet Damodar plays on conventional gender-reversal between the two lovers. It is Hir who, anxious to keep her lover nearby, devises the plan by which Ranjha becomes

her father's employee. She also meets Ranjha regularly for trysts and openly resists her parents' pressure to save the family honor by marrying her to Saida, the scion of another great clan, the Kheras. Hir even commandeers the pleasure boat of a local chieftain and goes up and down the river Chenab in it; and ultimately she leads an army of young women against her own clan when the illicit relationship with Ranjha is exposed.

In Waris Shah's version of Hir – chronologically the most recent but by far the greatest in terms of popularity – the anti-authoritarian heroine is tamed. In this most “establishment”-oriented telling of the tale, Waris has Ranjha express distinctly misogynistic sentiments, in dueling dialogues between Ranjha and Hir, or between Ranjha and Hir's sister-in-law, Sehti. In one exchange Ranjha compares women to snakes in their inconstancy. This narration of the *qiṣṣa* also bolsters the religious authority of Sufism against that of the more orthodox clergy-like village *qazis* and *mullahs*, very likely reflecting the deeply-entrenched institutionalization of Sufism in Punjab by the late eighteenth century. The misogyny of Waris's Ranjha dovetails with both mystical renunciation and with the norms of feudal patriarchy. Nevertheless Hir's audiences have long been attracted to her for her earthiness and defiance. The contemporary critic Najm Hosain Syed (1978) asserts that “Hir's is the voice of Punjabi literature,” and in Waris's hands this voice is heard in magnificently elegant, Persianized language.

Waris's diction underlines the process by which popular legend is “translated up” into court literature. As just noted, it is Waris Shah's version of Hir that is most popular and carries the greatest stature. Many would call it the greatest achievement in Punjabi literature, and it figures prominently in the canon. It can be said that Waris's *Hir* comes closest to matching the aesthetics and sensibilities of Urdu classical literature, and the modern interpreters of the *qiṣṣa* make a point of reading the lovers' relationship as mystical, with Hir representing the seeker and Ranjha the sought-after Divine Beloved. Simultaneously, it plays an important role in the contemporary pro-Punjabi cultural movement in Pakistan.

#### DAKANI

Named after its geographic origins in the Deccan plateau, some 70 percent of this poetry is in the narrative *maṣnavī* form. Here, too, the romance depicted is generally, at its *majāzī* or metaphorical level, in the form of a human, heterosexual relationship, though it is commonly explained as an

allegory for *‘ishq-i ḥaqīqī* – the ultimate, or “true” love, wherein the human seeks the Divine Beloved. But Dakani's substantial court poetry also includes the lyric *ghazal* genre, where love is often expressed in the grammatically feminine voice. Hashmi Bijapuri (d. 1679/1190 A.H.) composed an entire *divan* of *ghazals* in the feminine voice. Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1566–1611), Urdu's first *sahib-i divan*, or owner of a collection of *ghazals*, often inserted himself into poems, and has the feminine narrator speaking of her love for him, the king, or competing with rival women for recognition as his real, true love, though he dallies with others. This resonates unmistakably with the Indian convention of *Krishna-lila* and reminds us what is possible when the poet is both king and patron.

Dakani – with far clearer links to Sufis than later literature – serves as an intermediary body of literature between the Avadhi *premakhyans* and popular Punjabi narratives named after female characters, and the more courtly *ghazal* genre, prevalent since the late eighteenth century, where the feminine voice is absent. Indeed, Sufi *khānaqāhs* could be understood as intermediary courts, wherein the orders' spiritual leaders are often referred to as “seated on a throne” (*takht, masnad*). This may well explain why the *maṣnavī* genre, so favored by Sufis for their mystical allegories, represents so much of extant pre-court literature in South Asia.

#### MAṢNAVĪ

Often a *maṣnavī* will retell the story of famous lovers in the Perso-Arabic tradition (Layla and Majnūn, Shirīn and Farhād, or Yūsuf and Zulaykha). In many *maṣnavīs* the female character is more assertive and proactive than her male lover, who often balks at the danger of their illicit connection, not unlike Hir of folk tradition. Ultimately, their love is doomed and the lovers are separated by elders and/or death, only to pine for one another eternally. We see this in Persian and Urdu *maṣnavīs*, in the *premakhiyan* literature of vernaculars, and in the beloved tales of Punjabi and Sindhi literature as well.

#### URDU

Urdu, uniquely, claims little or no “folk” tradition since it is not a regional vernacular. Yet it serves as the standard-bearer of South Asian Muslim identity: it boasts a voluminous corpus in courtly texts, and is the only Indo-Muslim literature considered to be “classical.”

The absence of feminine expression in the lyrical *ghazal* is enormous, given the genre's modern prestige, because it leaves as exclusively masculine



Indo-Muslim culture's self-identifying voice, its "I." While narrative romances, told in the third person, include heterosexual couples whose females could be highly verbal, Urdu's flagship genre lyric, *ghazal*, does not. The only female character is the hero-narrator's antagonist, and "she" can only be inferred rather than explicitly represented. The reasons for this are both grammatical and socio-cultural.

The problem derives, ostensibly, from the difference between Persian and Urdu: unlike Persian, most Indian languages bear gender marking for both pronouns and verb conjugation. Because the experience of love is meant to be universal, Urdu poets conventionally adopted a grammatically masculine-as-unmarked gender identity for all the characters of the *ghazal*. This kept the poetry's expression from appearing to refer to particular people, and served to keep Islam's idealized contract between the Divine and humans as a metaphor for its central Lover-Beloved relationship. Only the grammatical ambiguities presented by ungendered pronouns could maintain this crucial aspect of the lyric. But because the *ghazal* is always narrated by the lover (*'ashīq*) his/her initial first-person utterance automatically identifies him/her by gender; so, too when the narrator addresses the beloved in the second person, or refers to her/him in the third person. Adaptation thus posed a significant problem in maintaining the lyric "I"'s culturally-constructed, idealized role. In Persian, the scheme had worked beautifully; in Indian languages it did not.

Twentieth-century enthusiasts of the Urdu *ghazal* commonly assume that the beloved is both human and feminine unless a verse (*shī'r*) utterly fails to qualify as ambiguous. In such cases the beloved might be described explicitly as a young boy, a beautiful woman, or divine. Such explicitness is not prized within this poetics and so we find "him" being translated into English as "her" without comment. This may reflect social reality but it fails to reflect the mystical ideal. In fact, it reverses it (recall that the Sufis, when inhabiting any gender at all, had referred to themselves in the feminine and saw their Divine Beloved as masculine).

However, God is understood to be ineffable; and since gender segregation was the normative practice among the Indo-Muslim elites who constituted Urdu's poets and audience, reading or hearing the Beloved as "he" but imagining "him" as "she" proved workable. An audience identifying with the narrator of the *ghazal* could well imagine a Beloved made inaccessible, even invisible, through the system of *purdah*, for example.

For men of a homoerotic bent, this system of gendering also worked well. No obfuscation of expression was required to protect expressions of a love that might otherwise have invited social opprobrium. Indeed, numerous poets were known to be homoerotically inclined. The collected works of the great Urdu lyricist Mir Taqi Mir (1722–1810), for example, are peppered with explicit verses wherein the Beloved is clearly a boy. Another early master of Urdu poetry, Shah Abru (1683–1733), wrote an entire *maṣnavī* entitled "Advice for the Adornment of a Beloved" wherein a youth is clearly being schooled in the art of attraction and blandishment by an experienced older man, as Vanita and Kidwai have shown (2000, 161–8).

Homoerotically-inclined women were the only people to whom these conventions of *ghazal*-reading proved inhospitable. They could neither express themselves in a grammatically feminine "I" nor address a beloved "You" in the feminine gender. The canon of classical Indo-Muslim literature includes no women poets, but there are women mentioned in *tazkirahs* (literary biographies) from the later nineteenth century onward. Significantly, their *'ashīqs* speak in the grammatically masculine voice.

A remarkable exception to the status quo was a particularly nineteenth-century phenomenon in Urdu poetry. Though deriving from the classical tradition, its aesthetics seem to have great affinity with women's songs of domesticity. Called *rekhti*, it is remarkable for strong, even loud and caustic, expressions of the lived reality and desires of secluded (therefore necessarily elite) women. Compulsory heterosexuality is the normative backdrop against which numerous scenarios are played out, but while there are allusions to heterosexuality of an enforced sort (husbands are rather scornfully alluded to here), this genre also contains explicit expressions of female-to-female desire. Scholars have called *rekhti* the counterpart of *rekhta* (a term commonly used to refer to Urdu lyric poetry of the sort described earlier) but this is unsupported by the ways in which its explicitly gendered femininity of expression – authored by male poets, incidentally, to male audiences – trivialize it within the Perso-Islamic tradition. Its first-person voice is not the familiar "I" of love lyrics; it is not idealized but rather concerned with the details of quotidian, domestic existence (at least as imagined by men who keep women secluded); and its highly idiomatic "women's language" has been compared with local indigenous idiom and can be highly salacious. Associated with the metropolitan culture of Lucknow, *rekhti* fell into disrepute with

twentieth-century literary critics and historians, and has been heavily censored, if not proscribed altogether.

In the case of Dakani's feminine-narrated lyrics, too, scholars pointed to the influence of the local environment: the normative lyric voice in non-Muslim South Asian literatures belongs to the *virahini*, a woman separated from her (often divine) lover. Because the feminine narrator is so closely associated with Indic, rather than Islamicate, poetics, Urdu scholars have tended to devalue *rekhti* and Dakani poetry.

Other Indo-Muslim literatures have also suffered at the hands of these scholars. Their "vernacular" status works against the desire to connect Persian as Urdu's direct ancestor, the unmistakable influence of the Indian environment undermining these aspirations, and leaving Indo-Muslim culture vulnerable to accusations of "inauthenticity" as an expression of Islam in the South Asian environment.

Anxiety about authenticity reflects a perennial tension in Muslim societies between the extravagance of courtly cosmopolitan culture and the more austere impulses of ulema (scholars) who constituted the religious elites. Sufis, tremendously influential in the spread of Islam in the subcontinent, were the perennial rivals of Shari'a-minded ulema in claiming legitimacy for their interpretations of Islam. Sufi success, attributed to a willingness to adapt to local circumstances – even harnessing their message to local songs in vernacular idiom – made them vulnerable to orthodox claims of inauthenticity.

#### PROSE GENRES

*Dastan* is a type of fairy tale said to have come from Arabic. It was certainly a highly developed form in Persian. In Indo-Persian it became the courtly genre of storytelling, and *dastan-goi* (*dastan*-narration) flourished in both northern India and in the Deccan, in Dakani as well as Hindustani Urdu. The heroes of these tales are always gallant, handsome princes. While they may experience noble love for their social counterparts, there are no real heroines, as all characters serve primarily as foils to advance the hero along the various stages of his quest, including the hero's declared beloved. According to Pritchett, "She is always faithful in her love. But only if she is a peripheral figure, a bonus acquired in the course of some other quest, is she sometimes won before the end of the narrative – and in that case, she promptly vanishes into the harem for safekeeping while the hero continues to pursue his real objective" (1991, 9) At the end of his quest he rounds up as many women as he has acquired during its course and marries them

all. Those slighted in love, however, can cause great trouble. They may be beautiful but dangerous *pari* princesses, attracted by human beauty, and possessed of many magical powers. They resemble more closely the Sirens of Greek myth than the benign celestial maidens of Paradise we might be tempted to imagine them to be. They are sexualized and desirous and try in many ways to trap the hero into marriage so as to release themselves from some curse or another. In general *paris* or *hūris* (celestial nymphs) tend to be rather unsympathetic, their sexuality threatening.

We cannot know exactly how their audiences received these representations of gender, but scholars report that the audience for *dastans* stretched across class boundaries, as popular for what Pritchett (1991) calls their "marvelous encounters" as among the sophisticated elites for their elegance of expression. Like other narrative forms, they are told in the third person.

The differences between Persian conventional love poetry and Indo-Muslim love poetry, which are both largely courtly, become problematic in the modern era in ways unseen because they had been composed and consumed in idealized contexts and circumstances. The modern concerns itself with how art reflects social realities, and the Urdu *ghazal* especially came under heavy fire in twentieth-century scholarship – gender was particularly problematic for the Indo-Muslim elites working to construct an identity within an Indian polity that was distinct from the Hindu majority. British colonial gaze was both critical and, at times, hostile, and its discourse was particularly sensitive to notions of "effeminacy" in Indian culture. When poets adopted a feminine lyric voice for the seeking lover there came accusations of idolatry – excessive "Indianness" – largely from within the bounds of Indo-Muslim society. This was because in most Indic poetry such a feminine voice was normative, and Indo-Muslim reformers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries correctly identified this feminine persona as an adaptation from the local environment.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. S. Asani, Spinning songs, yearning brides and the bridegroom Prophet. Muslim literatures in the South Asian vernaculars, in A. S. Asani et al., *Celebrating Muhammad. Images of the Prophet in popular Muslim poetry*, Columbia, S.C. 1995.
- K. S. Duggal and S. S. Sekhon, *A history of Punjabi literature*, New Delhi 1992.
- R. M. Eaton, Sufi folk literature and the expansion of Indian Islam, in *History of Religions* 14:2 (2000), 117–27. [First published 1974.]
- K. A. Faruqi, Impact of Hindu society on Indian Muslims, in C. W. Troll (ed.), *Muslim shrines in India*,

- Their character, history, and significance, New Delhi 1985, 3–21.
- S. R. Faruqi, Conventions of love, love of conventions. Urdu love poetry in the eighteenth century, in *Annual of Urdu Studies* 14 (1999), 3–32.
- , Expression of the Indo-Muslim mind in Urdu ghazal, in S. R. Faruqi, *The secret mirror. Essays on Urdu Poetry*, Delhi 1981, 1–23.
- S. F. Mahmud, *Folk romances of Pakistan*, Islamabad 1995.
- S. T. Mirza, *Resistance themes in Punjabi literature*, Lahore 1992.
- C. Petievich, Dakani's Radha-Krishna imagery and canon formation in Urdu, in M. Offredi (ed.), *The banyan tree. Essays on early literature in new Indo-Aryan languages*, New Delhi 2000, i, 113–30.
- , *Doganas and zanakhbis*. The invention and subsequent erasure of Urdu poetry's "lesbian" voice, in R. Vanita (ed.), *Queering India. Same-sex love and eroticism in Indian culture and society*, New York 2002, 47–60.
- , Feminine authorship and Urdu poetic tradition. *Baharistan-i naz vs. tazkirah-i rekhti*, in K. Hansen and D. Lelyveld (eds.), *A wilderness of possibilities. Urdu studies in transnational perspective*, New Delhi and New York 2005, 223–50.
- F. Pritchett, *Marvelous encounters. Folk romance in Urdu and Hindi*, New Delhi 1985.
- , *The romance tradition in Urdu. Adventures from the Dastan-i Amir Hamzah*, New York 1991.
- A. Schimmel, The influence of Sufism on Indo-Muslim poetry, in J. P. Strelka (ed.), *Anagogic qualities of literature*, University Park, Pa. 1971, 181–210.
- , Reflections on popular Muslim poetry, in *Contributions to Asian Studies* 17 (1982), 17–26.
- , *My soul is a woman. The feminine in Islam*, trans. S. Ray, New York 1997.
- S. S. Sekhon, *The love of Hir and Ranjha*, Ludhiana, India 1978.
- M. Singh, *A history of Punjabi literature (1100–1932)*, Lahore 1935, repr. 1982.
- N. H. Syed, *Recurrent patterns in Punjabi poetry*, Lahore 1978. [First published 1968].
- R. C. Temple, *The legends of the Punjab*, 3 vols., 1883–1900, repr. Islamabad 1981. [See especially "The marriage of Hir and Ranjha," ii, 507 ff.]
- C. F. Osborne, *The adventures of Hir and Ranjha*, Karachi 1966, 1st British ed. London 1973.
- , *Bullah Shah. Sufi, mystic and poet of the Punjab*, Lahore 1976<sup>2</sup>.
- R. Vanita and S. Kidwai (eds.), *Same-sex love in India. Readings from literature and history*, New York 2000.

# Representations: Print, Broadcast, and Electronic Media

## Iran

Media representations of Muslim women reflect the conflictual debates over gender identity, agency, and practices in contemporary Iranian society. Rarely portrayed as economic or cultural producers, women are largely seen as dependants within marriage and the family, which define their most meaningful identities.

Family magazines reinforce women's roles within the context of the family and household. The content is generally devoted to issues of household management, resolution of domestic conflicts, and parenting and marital skills. In advice columns, short stories, and expert articles, women are rewarded for being self-sacrificing and tolerant. Runaway girls and young women who reject the family are met with exploitation, abuse, and ultimately abandonment and social ostracism. Women's financial and domestic problems and solutions are personalized and completely disconnected from social, legal, and political structures.

In daily newspapers, women are greatly underrepresented, especially in political and economic news. Within discussions of social concerns such as sexual vice and moral decay, women are frequently positioned as both instigator and victim in need of protection by male family figures and the state.

State-owned television and radio use women experts mostly for topics related to parenting, nutrition, and household management. Single women are encouraged to seek their parents' guidance and supervision in finding a loving conjugal relationship. Fictional portrayals of working women in television serials are overwhelmingly urban, middle-class, and educated. Their family relationships, and not their work, determine the level of their success and satisfaction in life.

In response to the underrepresentation of women's news and issues in mainstream media, a handful of women-run weblogs and websites were founded to cover women's news and achievements and advance gendered perspectives on a broad range of legal, social, cultural, and political issues. Feminist-identified weblogs and websites provide a major platform for challenging dominant representations of women in print and broadcast media by de-naturalizing domesticity, structurally analyzing women's problems, and advancing gendered cri-

tiques of power relations within the family, society, and state. Women-run weblogs and websites also serve as vital communication and mobilization tools for women's rights advocacy efforts. Subject to less state control than other forms of media, the Internet is heavily used by women's groups to organize and publicize social actions, such as civil protests agitating for women's legal equality, and to rally public support for their cause.

Women-run weblogs that mainly cover personal daily experiences are greater in numbers but less widely read. A variety of literary forms – prose, poetry, and short fiction – and visual forms such as photography are used to articulate intimate experiences of love, sexuality, and loneliness, as well as the desire to express a truer self. While many women bloggers assert an individualist identity, reflections on the self as gendered by authorities such as the family, social and cultural norms, and state persistently appear. Most women bloggers identify themselves only with their weblog names, which are often distinctly gendered.

In 2004, several women's groups, websites, and weblogs organized a public meeting and petition-signing campaign, which protested against negative portrayals of women on television and demanded public access to state-controlled broadcast media. In particular, they targeted a television drama in which a professional woman actively seeks a second wife for her husband after she discovers that she is infertile. Her magnanimity is shown as a sign of her devotion to her husband and religion.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Amirebrahimi, Performance in everyday life and the rediscovery of the "self" in Iranian weblogs, in *Bad Jens* 7 (2004), <<http://www.badjens.com/rediscovery.html>>.
- A. Khatam and M. Abbassgholizadeh, Women and media, in *Independent Researchers on Women's Issues in Iran* (eds.), Situation analysis of women in Iran 10 years after Beijing Report, unpublished 2003, 32–41.
- C. Schayegh, Modeling marriage, in *Bad Jens* 7 (2004), <<http://www.badjens.com/marriage.html>>.
- M. Shekarloo, Cyberspace as subversive space for women. Women's websites and weblogs in Iran, paper presented at the conference "Civil Society in Iran," Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C. 2004.
- Women's Cultural Center, Farākhān barā-yi piyvastan bih kampayn-e e'tirāzī alayhih barnāmiḥā-yi sidā va simā, in *Iranian Feminist Tribune*, 2004, <<http://www.iftribune.com/news.asp?id=1&pass=316>>.

## North Africa

The first media portrayals of North African women took place in the nineteenth century following the colonization of the region. These portrayals were informed by the colonial attitude toward the colonized and reflected the colonizer's cultural hegemony. The first soldiers in the colonial armies produced images of exotic lands, which together with the images propagated by Antoine Galland's translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* (1701–17), amalgamated into an image of North African women as exotic objects of curiosity well hidden in oriental harems.

Women became the favorite topic of Orientalist painters, who through their art penetrated the harems and portrayed the forbidden subject in their paintings. A popular example is Eugène Delacroix's masterpiece, *Women of Algiers in their Apartment* (1834), which displays a lascivious world of idle women who lie adorned as if ready for unending festivities.

Orientalist painters were criticized for exploiting North African women as subjects for their own purposes and to the disadvantage of the people depicted. By creating a glamorous, eroticized Orient they distorted the image of the colonized women and rendered them mere exotic curiosities, setting the scene for a variety of fantasies.

Nevertheless, more damage was done to the image of North African women by the colonial photographers who rendered the remarkable photo-realism of the Orientalist painters even more real by photographing frozen instances of reality, and making them accessible to a wider audience, which is symptomatic of the strong hold of the French colonial power in North Africa at the turn of the twentieth century.

Colonial photographers turned their studios into fictitious harems, which they decorated with a host of oriental objects, and, in order to produce exotic picture postcards, hired female models and photographed them in erotic poses. They were usually half-naked, wearing heavy make-up and an enormous amount of Oriental jewelry, and often smoking cigarettes.

It is clear that these photographs were destined to lure a foreign viewer who knew little or nothing about the women of North Africa, and to respond to the photographers' phantasm with regard to these women whom they transformed into easily manipulated models who posed following their instructions. The colonial postcards were widely circulated among settlers and soldiers. They were sent to the metropolis as images of the conquered

colony, and were purchased by tourists as mementos from North Africa.

In his book *The Colonial Harem*, which he describes as a huge postcard being returned to its sender, Malek Alloula states:

Photography steps in to take up the slack and reactivates the phantasm at its lowest level. The postcard does it one better; it becomes the poor man's phantasm... The postcard is everywhere, covering all the colonial space, immediately available to the tourist, the soldier, the colonist... History knows of no other society in which women have been photographed on such a large scale to be delivered to public view... Moreover, its fixation upon the woman's body leads the postcard to paint this body up, ready it, and eroticize it in order to offer it up to any and all comers from a clientele moved by the unambiguous desire of possession (Alloula 1986, 4–5).

The colonialists' appetite for the exotic found a more vivid expression through colonial cinema, which surpassed by far the mute images of the photographers, to produce vivid fictional adventures from the colonies. The favorite subject matter in these films is forbidden love, which brings together a civilized white man and an ignorant savage North African woman (for example Jacques Feyder's *L'Atlantide*, 1921).

The degree of deceit propagated by the colonial media was immense. These forms of media made the outsider believe that North African women were to be found everywhere in the public sphere, whereas in reality they were not. On his first visit to North Africa, Pierre Raynal, who was lured by such portrayals, expressed his shock stating: "Women seem to have fled Africa" (Lucas and Vatin 1975, 96–9).

The written media were at first not interested in North African women; when they did become interested, they portrayed them as barbaric, uncivilized, evil, and lazy (see, for example, the colonial novels written between the 1920s and the 1940s). This image was later replaced by that of victimized, harshly treated women, dominated by ruthless North African men who denied them every chance for emancipation.

Responses from North African, but especially Algerian, women writers of the likes of Taos Amrouche and Assia Djebar came to demystify as well as address the distorted images propagated through colonial media. Gradually the image of the fatal seductress of the harem was substituted by that of the courageous woman fighter against colonialism (see, for example, Djebar's *Les Enfants du nouveau monde*, 1962).

The courage and heroism of such women was nevertheless overshadowed in the national media of the postcolonial era. Across North Africa women were not portrayed in the roles they played during

the liberation struggles of their countries. A good example is Gillo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers*. The film was made soon after independence and was financed by the Algerian government. Although the motor in the battle is definitely the women, who not only deposited all the bombs but also facilitated the movements of the men fighters, Pontecorvo's film shows them as helpers and not as leaders. In the film they speak very little, though they have a lot to say, mainly to younger generations of women, and only take action when they are given orders. The focus of the film is not the roles of women but the bravery of the male heroes.

It is important to add that *The Battle of Algiers* is less damaging to women than the films made by the North African male filmmakers, who never portrayed a woman in a leading responsible role in the revolution, but only focused on the male machismo. Such revolutionary women are only to be found in the writings of North African female writers (for example Leila Abouzeid and Assia Djebar).

The representations of women in the national media not only distort reality by overshadowing the leading roles played by women, but most importantly they strip them of the agency they enjoyed during the revolution and deprive new generations of women of role models they could emulate in the post-independence era.

While it might be expected that national media would deconstruct the negative images propagated by colonial media by promoting positive images in their place, it is surprising to find that these media produce alternative negative images of women.

A study of images of women on Moroccan television, conducted by the collective 95 Maghreb Egalité, "has shown how the thrust of Morocco's 1999 plan for the political and economic promotion of women is counteracted on a daily basis in programmes received in almost every home. Official policies in favour of women's advancement are often not reflected in the print and broadcast media, even when these are government-owned and government controlled" (CMF MENA 2000, 1).

North African media have a vital role to play in the advancement of women's rights on the one hand and the demystification of the negative images of Muslim women propagated across the Western world on the other, but it is a role that has yet to be fulfilled.

- S. Ben Ibrahim and E. Dinet, *Khadra, la danseuse des Ouled Nail*, Paris 1910.
- CMF MENA (Centre for Media Freedom-Middle East and North Africa), *Women's rights and the Arab media*, London 2000.
- P. Lucas and C. Vatin, *L'Algérie des anthropologues*, Paris 1982.
- G. Pontecorvo, *La battaglia di Algeri*, 1965; *The battle of Algiers*, 1966.
- Z. S. Salhi, Maghrebi women film-makers and the challenge of modernity, in N. Sakr (ed.), *Women and media in the Middle East. Power through self-expression*, London 2004, 53-71.
- , Memory, gender, and national identity in the work of Assia Djebar, in *Moving Worlds. A Journal of Transcultural Writings* 4:1 (2004), 17-30.
- L. Sebbar and J.-M. Belorgey, *Femmes d'Afrique du nord. Cartes postales (1885-1930)*, Paris 2002.
- D. Sherzer (ed.), *Cinema, colonialism, postcolonialism. Perspectives from the French and francophone worlds*, Austin, Tex. 1996.

ZAHIA SMAIL SALHI

## North America

Muslims in North America have migrated under very different historical conditions, from those accompanying Spanish *conquistadors* in the "discovery" of the New World, to slaves from Africa, and more recently, as immigrants, refugees, and migrants after the mid-twentieth century liberalization of immigration policies in both the United States and Canada. Muslims in North America have also come from very different national, racial, ethnic, and linguistic backgrounds, and the social relations of class, gender, disability, and sexual orientation additionally shape their communities. Despite this heterogeneity, representations of Muslim women, gender, and sexuality in mainstream North American media have been markedly homogeneous, simplified and simplistic, characterized by gross generalizations, distortions, misinformation, and omissions.

In his classic study of North American media coverage of Islam, Edward Said (1981) found Orientalist discourses that constituted "Islam" (and Muslims) as the absolute Other of "the West" (and Westerners) to be rife. Such reporting, he argued, served more to "cover up" Islam than to further understandings of the complexities of the religion itself or of the experiences of Muslims within the geopolitical order. In a more recent study, Karim H. Karim (2003) found the persistence of essentialized and racialized constructs in news reporting which represents Islam as "a source of global instability." In addition to print media, television and cinema have also contributed to the reproduction of stereotypes of Muslim men as hyper-

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Alloula, *The colonial harem*, Manchester, England 1986.
- S. Ben Ali and R. Pottier, *La tente noire, roman saharien*, Paris 1933.

masculine, misogynist fanatics, driven by hatred and revenge, as typified in films such as *Not Without My Daughter* (1991). Muslim women are cast as sensual, seductive, and exotic (*Hollywood Harems* 1999), as victims of Muslim men and cultures, or as duplicitous accomplices of murderous fanatics.

Muslim women have largely been represented in the media through the iconic image of the veil, signifier of their religio-cultural “backwardness” (Hoodfar 1993, Ahmed 1992, Bailey and Tawadros 2003). This standard trope of Orientalist discourse references not only cultural but also sexual difference, as noted by Yegenoglu. The veil thus also serves as a potent symbol of an uncontrolled, treacherous, and destabilizing female sexuality (Yegenoglu 2003). The different meanings that the practice of veiling has in the lives of the women who veil themselves are generally ignored by the media. Instead, the construction of a homogenized image of “the” veiled Muslim woman as oppressed enables it to function as a crucial signifier for a purportedly tyrannical Islam which sanctions, if not actively promotes, the domination of women. In contrast, the modernity of “the West” is presented as subscribing to the value of gender equality and proffering greater rights and freedoms to women (Mohanty 1991). The significant differences in the rights and entitlements of Muslim women in various Muslim societies are erased in this monolithic, hegemonic image (Hélie-Lucas 1993). In addition to being represented as a source of global instability, Islam is also constructed as the pre-eminent site of gendered violence, where practices such as gender apartheid, forced marriages, honor killings, female genital mutilation, and stoning are said to routinely characterize Muslim women’s lives (Razack 1998).

The visible presence of Muslim women in the United States and Canada has moreover been a site of considerable anxiety for these nations since their respective inception. As the markers of racial, cultural, and national difference, immigrant women’s bodies have been made primarily responsible for transmitting such “difference” onto subsequent generations (Dua 2000). Gendered immigration and citizenship policies historically sought to control the actual presence of immigrant women, including Muslim women, in North America, as well as their legitimate access to citizenship and claims to national belonging (Thobani 2000). Media representations played no small role in constituting these women as outsiders in the national imagination, demarcating the ideological boundaries of national communities in relation to them and simultaneously legitimizing their unequal rights.

Contemporary media representations in Canada focusing on cultural conflicts, oppressive cultures, and exotic customs attest to the ongoing anxieties regarding Muslim women’s commensurability with “national” values in their invariable narrations of the cultural deficiency said to shape these women’s lives (Jiwani 1998). News reports of Muslim women focus on the sensational, defining them mainly as “victims” of what Uma Narayan (1997) has fittingly termed “death by culture.” The inequalities and forms of violence they experience are neatly reduced to their essentialized and inherent cultural traits; the nation is then presented as a site affording them escape from religious and cultural control and offering them gender liberation. Muslim women’s “modernization,” signaled by the level of their assimilation, is upheld as proof of the nation’s civilizational superiority. Should the women “lapse” into their “cultural” and “traditional” ways by, for example, adopting the headscarf, the superiority and alleged universality of the nation’s values are threatened.

Since the attacks on the United States of 11 September 2001, Muslim women have become the cause for particular consternation in North America, their bodies the sites for waging the “clash of cultures” postulated by Samuel Huntington (1993). If media representations of these women were problematic before the attacks, they have become even more so in the unprecedented visibility thrust upon them in the ensuing “war on terror.” Rearticulating older Orientalist gendered tropes, the Bush administration and its allies dramatically interjected gender into the center of global political debates by identifying the “liberation” of Afghan (Muslim) women as a key policy objective of the war. News stories focused on the banning of Afghan women from public life by the Taliban regime, but removing this action from any historical or political context reduced it to the timeless practices of Islamic cultures. Media reporting did not allow space to address Afghan women’s oppression within political-economic terms, nor in the context of patriarchal colonialist and imperialist practices (see Arat-Koc 2005, Thobani 2007). Images of veiled Muslim women and girls became ubiquitous and the unveiling of Afghan women became synonymous with their liberation. Ghazi-Walid Falah’s study of American newspapers demonstrates that the dominant themes informing representations of Muslim/Arab women post-September 11 were either that of passive victims, with their victimization presented as being “alleviated by Western intervention,” or of political agents, motivated by “irrationality” and an alleged Muslim “pendant

for violence” (Falah 2005, 305–6). Such representations mobilized public support for United States foreign policy and the war (Arat-Koc 2005). Notably absent from media coverage has been a discussion of the impact of the United States led bombings of Muslim women, and of the opposition of many women’s groups to the war. Racialized and gendered constructs have also been widely brought into play by the media in support of the newly adopted anti-terrorist measures in the United States and Canada, which include racial profiling, increased state surveillance, and deportation, among others.

Depictions of “good” and “bad” Muslims are relentlessly deployed in current media portrayals of Islam and of Muslims, with gender relations being central to the drawing of this distinction (Mamdani 2004, Thobani 2007). Such a strategy of dividing the “good” natives from the “bad” has a long history in both the United States and Canada, dating from the period when “noble savages” were distinguished from the “evil savages” among Native peoples (see, for example, Francis 1992). “Good” Muslims are those who are seen to assimilate into the mainstream; the good Muslim woman distances herself from those women who wear the headscarf, the chador, or the veil. She acquiesces to United States imperial interests, and is appropriately grateful to “the West” for having been allowed to partake in its civilizational project. She is represented as eager to aid the West in its quest to “liberate” her co-religionists, especially the women, around the world. The good Muslim woman is defined as willing to propagate Western gender and sexual norms, while condemning her co-religionists for refusing to laud the civilizational superiority of the West.

Significant media coverage is also given to the “bad” Muslim woman, the woman who not only rejects but also defies Western gender norms and refuses to condemn her religion and its adherents. This is the woman who endangers the West by her embrace of Islam. She is the “Black Widow” of Chechnya, the suicide bomber of Palestine, the “Doctor Germ” and “Mrs. Anthrax” of Iraq. This Muslim woman is irredeemable. Those presented as the worst of the bad Muslim women are the ones who refuse to unveil themselves, who insist on wearing their scarves, chadors, *burqas*, and *hijābs*. These women contest the dominant media representations of the West as liberating Muslim women. In their embrace of Islam, they challenge the deeply embedded ideas of Western superiority by seemingly rejecting the “freedoms” enjoyed by Western women. The prevalence of such media

representations can only contribute to the further demonization of Islam, and the increased marginalization of Muslim women in North America.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam*, New Haven, Conn. and London 1992.
- S. Arat-Koc, Hot potato. Imperial wars or benevolent interventions? Reflections on “global feminism” post September 11th, in B. Crow and L. Gotell (eds.), *Open boundaries. A Canadian women’s studies reader*, Toronto 2005, 126–33.
- D. A. Bailey and G. Tawadros (eds.), *Veil. Veiling representation and contemporary art*, London 2003.
- E. Dua, The Hindu woman’s question. Canadian nation building and the social construction of gender for South-Asian Canadian women, in A. Calliste and G. Dei (eds.), *Anti-racist feminism*, Halifax, N.S. 2000, 55–71.
- G.-W. Falah, The visual representation of Muslim/Arab women in daily newspapers in the United States, in G.-W. Falah and C. Nagel (eds.), *Geographies of Muslim women. Gender, religion and space*, New York 2005, 300–20.
- D. Francis, *The imaginary Indian. The image of the Indian in Canadian culture*, Vancouver 1992.
- M. A. Hélie-Lucas, Women living under Muslim laws, in J. Kerr (ed.), *Ours by right. Women’s rights as human rights*, London 1993, 52–64.
- H. Hoodfar, The veil in their minds and on our heads. The persistence of colonial images of Muslim women, in *Resources for Feminist Research* 22:3/4 (1993), 5–18.
- S. Huntington, The clash of civilizations?, in *Foreign Affairs* 72:3 (1993), 22–49.
- Y. Jiwani, On the outskirts of empire. Race and gender in Canadian TV news, in V. Strong-Boag et al. (eds.), *Painting the maple. Essays on race, gender, and the construction of Canada*, Vancouver 1998, 53–68.
- K. H. Karim, *Islamic peril. Media and global violence*, Montreal 2003.
- M. Mamdani, *Good Muslim, bad Muslim. America, the Cold War, and the roots of terror*, New York 2004.
- C. T. Mohanty, Under Western eyes. Feminist scholarship and colonial discourses, in C. T. Mohanty, A. Russo, and L. Torres (eds.), *Third World women and the politics of feminism*, Bloomington, Ind. 1991, 51–80.
- U. Narayan, *Dislocating cultures. Identities, traditions, and Third World feminism*, New York and London 1997.
- S. Razack, *Looking white people in the eye*, Toronto 1998.
- E. Said, *Covering Islam. How the media and experts determine how we see the rest of the world*, New York 1981.
- S. Thobani, Nationalizing citizens, bordering immigrant women in late 20th century, in *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 12:2 (2000), 35–56.
- , Imperial longings, feminist responses. Imagining Canadian nationhood after 9/11, in D. E. Chunn, S. B. Boyd, and H. Lessard (eds.), *Reaction and resistance. Feminism, law and social change*, Vancouver 2007.
- M. Yegenoglu, Veiled fantasies. Cultural and sexual difference in the discourse of Orientalism, in R. Lewis and S. Mills (eds.), *Feminist postcolonial theory. A reader*, New York 2003, 542–66.



## South Africa

Muslims constitute 1.43 percent of the population of South Africa, and Islam tends to generate stories within an international frame of “culture debates” or “dissent,” for example the women’s magazine *Marie Claire*’s interest in South African Muslim women’s perspectives about scarves following the banning of headscarves in French schools. Otherwise, Muslim women rarely constitute the focus of media attention.

To understand current patterns of images of Muslim women in South Africa, one must look to longer histories of representation in the country. Islam arrived in 1658 when the Dutch East India Company brought Muslim slaves to the Cape colony, part of the territory that now constitutes South Africa. Slaves were termed “Malay” because of the use of Bahasa Melayu as a lingua franca in the areas around the Indian Ocean from which slaves were brought, although the term is often assumed to indicate a geographical origin. In reality, slaves came from East Africa, India, and Southeast Asia (Worden 1985, 7). In 1834, slavery was abolished under British occupation of the Cape.

Perceptions of slavery have profoundly influenced portrayals of Muslim women in South Africa. In contrast to characterizations of Islam in colonial North Africa and the Middle East as closed and veiled, in South Africa Muslim women’s (and men’s) bodies have been rendered highly visible through the discourse of the picturesque. In representations of slavery, the slave-holding society of the Cape has been portrayed as “mild” in comparison with New World slavery though, in fact, as a result of the high number of male slaves relative to male colonists, the exercise of control over slaves was often extremely violent (Keegan 1996, 16, Worden 1985, 4). Indigenous people, who resisted forced labor, were consequently portrayed in colonial discourses as prone to idleness (Coetzee 1988, 28). Images of Muslims served similar imperial interests, but took a different form. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century images of Muslims in the visual archives in the South African National Library portray “Malay” slaves as submissive, servile men and attractive, colorfully-dressed women. Continuing into the twentieth century in newspaper images of weddings and funerals and in books such as *The Cape Malays* (Du Plessis 1944), Muslims were portrayed as “quiet, kind, slow-speaking, fatalistic and passive” (Jeppie 1988, 3).

Perceptions of sexuality in South Africa have also been shaped by slavery (Gqola 2001). Domestic labor was the primary role carried out by slaves in

the 1820s and 1830s and at one point, because of the gender imbalance among settlers, slave women and Free Black women were a source of marriage partners for settlers. Women were also forced into sex slavery in establishments such as the Slave Lodge, which was founded at the turn of the eighteenth century and housed slaves owned by the Dutch East India Company, effectively acting as “Cape Town’s main brothel” (Keegan 1996, 20). Subsequent representations of Muslim women as exotic, skilled, and compliant is evident in visual art, cookbooks, and newspaper articles from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The artist Berni Searle addresses these images of the picturesque in her 1999 photographic installation “Colour Me.” In each panel the naked body of the artist is covered in the lush reds, yellows, or browns of spices, recalling Cape Town’s historical participation in the spice trade. In these photographs Searle appears not adorned with the spices but almost stifled by them – they cover her mouth and eyes. The photographs thus recall the forced availability of slave women’s bodies in the use of the Slave Lodge, and re-articulate the images of exotic, compliant “Malay” women in nineteenth-century paintings of the Cape.

The pattern of images of skilful but passive Muslim women was the dominant one from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century. This can be seen in newspapers, which featured familiar images of Muslim women as cooks and brides, and in cookbooks and travel narratives, where they provided local color.

In 1996, a story appeared in the South African news media that decisively interrupted the tradition of picturesque images of Islam in the country. On 5 August 1996, the front pages of the *Cape Times* and the *Argus*, the two main daily newspapers in Cape Town, marked the emergence of the group People against Gangsterism and Drugs, or Pagad, into national and international prominence with a story of the vigilante murder of a prominent alleged gangster and drug dealer, Rashaad Staggie. Significant in the media coverage of Pagad was attention to the group’s use of Islamic iconography, and the news stories featured images of faces masked by “Palestinian” scarves, violence, and militancy.

During the Pagad stories, the South African media tended to focus on recognizable themes linked to international discourses about Islam that were anachronistic in the context of Islam in South Africa (for analyses, see Pillay 2003, Bangstad 2005, Baderoon 2004, among others). The absence of women from the coverage, although women were part of the organization’s founding, mem-

bership, and activities, also drew attention (Dodd 1996). Dodd noted that in newspaper articles and television coverage of Pagad, she saw “Men with scarves. Men with guns. Men talking. Men shaking their fists.” Women were invisible, though they were often present in significant numbers at Pagad meetings. Dodd interviewed female members of the group and wrote that their views gave complexity to her understanding of the group itself. The women’s responses were not only varied but, in some senses, in tension with one another. Describing their use of scarves to cover their faces during public marches, the women asserted that “many of the movement’s women who are veiled are not veiled normally, but ‘because of the gangsters...they veil themselves because of the fear of exposure’” (Dodd 1996, 66). This unusual historicization of the matter of veiling within a local context appeared in an article in South African edition of the internationally-circulating *Cosmopolitan* magazine.

In the media as a whole the controversies that followed the Pagad stories from the mid- to late 1990s resulted in attempts to craft a South African media idiom of Islam, seen, for instance, in the *Cape Times* 1999 project “One City, Many Cultures.” This project, and others since, have attempted to craft more nuanced views of the complex and changing relations among people of different religions and political views in South Africa. Since the upheaval around the Pagad stories, images of Muslim women have been articulated by more varied sources, including Muslim-owned media. Muslim women have entered the media in larger numbers and some have become prominent as journalists, editors, and columnists. This has led to more varied and reflective perspectives on Islam and women in South African media. A significant trend is the increasing study of representations of Islam at universities and in media monitoring organizations, especially because of the attention to Islam in international media as a result of the Iraq war, the Palestinian–Israeli conflict, and the aftermath of 11 September 2001. Such intellectual enquiry has brought nuanced and compelling writing into the public sphere, often generating media discussions and opinion pieces.

The variety of representations of Muslim women has also been bolstered by attention to art and poetry, for instance the focus on Muslim poets in the program “An Nur” by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the state television. In general, however, Muslim women generally tend to be featured in religious programming, which is often quite conventional. The Internet remains underdeveloped as a news source, although most

media outlets have Internet versions. These tend to remain distinctly subsidiary. Radio is the most vibrant media organ in South Africa as a whole, and this is also the case for Muslim radio. The Muslim radio station “Voice of the Cape” had the country’s first female news manager, Munadia Karan, and journalists such as Nura Tape, who appeared on Radio 786 in Cape Town, have subsequently worked for Al-Jazeera.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- G. Baderoon, *Oblique figures. Representations of Islam in South African media and culture*, Ph.D. diss., University of Cape Town 2004.
- S. Bangstad, *Hydra’s heads. Pagad and responses to the Pagad phenomenon in a Cape Muslim community*, in *Journal of Southern African Studies* 31:1 (2005), 187–208.
- A. Dodd, *The women of Pagad*, in *Cosmopolitan*, November 1996; repr. R. Galant and F. Gamielien (eds.), *Drugs, gangs, people’s power. Exploring the Pagad phenomenon*, Claremont Masjid, Cape Town 1996, 64–8.
- I. D. Du Plessis, *The Cape Malays*, Cape Town 1944.
- P. D. Gqola, *Defining people. Analysing power, language and representation in metaphors of the new South Africa*, in *Transformations* 47 (2001), 94–106.
- S. Pillay, *Experts, terrorists, gangsters. Problematising public discourse on a post-apartheid showdown*, in H. Wasserman and S. Jacobs (eds.), *Shifting selves. Post-apartheid essays on media, culture and identity*, Cape Town 2003, 283–314.

GABEBA BADEROON

### Southeast Asia

The media, as has often enough been acknowledged, play a crucial and pivotal role in defining social consciousness. Within this, media openness toward society is “relative” (Nain 2004). By looking at the relationship between media, society, and the state in the context of social and political interests, this entry attempts to see the position and images of women produced by the media in three multiethnic countries: Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. In Indonesia, immediately after the downfall of the Suharto New Order regime in 1998, the newly elected democratic government implemented a new socio-political reform relating to press freedom (Abidin 2005, 56). Prior to this, government regulation of the Indonesian press was similar to that in place in contemporary Malaysia and Singapore where their respective governments continue to maintain tight control of the media. The public space made possible by Indonesia’s press freedom is now inhabited by heterogeneity of discourses, including those concerned with the presentation of women in general and Muslim women in particular.

Meanwhile in the Islamic state of Malaysia, a country that portrays itself as the model of a progressive Muslim society, the political dynamics, as well as the role of the press are quite different. In lacking democratic traditions, the role of the media, both within politics and in the tradition of the women's movement against the encroachment of Islamic conservatism, is less responsive to gender perspective for civil society. The South East Asian nations' press freedom rankings for 2005 are shown in Table 1; they provide a gauge/mirror of how the media in each country present factual information about any issue, including images of gender. Focusing on Indonesia, this entry examines media representation of women compared to that in Malaysia and Singapore.

#### WOMEN, MEDIA, AND THE STATE

At the beginning of 2006, Indonesia's Channel TV 7 – one of the 13 private television stations in Indonesia – broadcast a documentary about the 1950–65 regional Islamic rebellion against the Jakarta government. This continues to be an extremely sensitive national issue. Prominent in this program was the presentation of Cory, the wife of the South Sulawesi rebel leader, Kahar Muzakar. Portrayed wearing a white veil, this Eurasian of mixed Dutch and Javanese parentage, one of Kahar Muzakar's nine wives, described how she continued to lead the rebel movement against the Indonesian state after her husband's arrest and execution by the Sukarno government. In the name of Islam, she led a guerrilla war in the jungles of South Sulawesi and continued to implement Shari'a law in her efforts to achieve her husband's aim of establishing an Islamic state. This presentation of a Muslim woman as a central figure at a highly charged religious and politically sensitive historical moment, received no immediate critical public comment.

The decision to broadcast such a program was quite unusual for Indonesian media whether on television, in print, or online. Another media event, but one which proved both sensational and controversial occurred in August 2003 when the presentation of a "polygamy award" was broadcast. Almost all media companies – more than 200 daily newspapers, 20 tabloids, 500 radio stations, 14 television channels (including TVRI, the government's own channel) – ran stories on Puspo Wardoyo, the man who promotes this polygamy award. The *Jakarta Post* daily newspaper, for example, reported that he and his family (he has four wives) appeared in a series of programs for broadcast during the Islamic fasting month of Ramadan, which began 27 October 2003. In one episode, Mr. Puspo gathered his

Table 1: South East Asian nations' press freedom rankings

			Global Ranking 2005
2005	2004		
1	1	Timor-Leste	58
2	3	Cambodia	90
3	5	Indonesia	102
4	2	Thailand	107
5	6	Malaysia	113
6	4	Philippines	139
7	7	Singapore	140
8	8	Laos	155
9	9	Vietnam	158
10	10	Burma	163

Source: Malaysia Media Monitors' Diary 2005.

wives and 10 children at the house of his third wife in Jakarta to share a traditional *sabur*. He also led them in a prayer before eating. "Men are polygamous by nature. It's a legal way for them to have affairs," he was quoted as saying (*Wall Street Journal*, 24 November 2003). Even, the former Minister of Women's Affairs, Khofifah Indar Parawangsa (who is also a Muslim), joined Mr. Puspo in a talk show debate on TV 7 in 2004. Forming part of a "polygamy campaign," most daily Indonesian television soaps are available on almost all television channels; women are always portrayed as powerless, dependent, obedient to their husbands, or as other domestic characters.

All this points to the tension that exists between the idea of democracy and traditional Muslim notions that women should continue to remain unnoticed and be considered *lyan* or "the others." That tension is exacerbated by both the nature of media technology, which facilitates personalized presentation of and by women and the generation of mass populist campaigns, and the varieties of discourses within Islam and the wider community concerning the role and position of women in society.

In Aceh, the first Indonesian province where Shari'a law has been allowed by the government, issues of national and regional interest have become inextricably tied to the issue of gender. Here, national and regional media have publicized and sensationalized the impact of the new religious laws on women.

In 2004, SCTV in Banda Aceh broadcast the arrest of a girl by the Wilayatul Hisbah, otherwise known as *polisi syariah* (Shari'a police) because she was not wearing a veil, the appropriate female attire. The local media, while apparently neutral in presenting this news, clearly reinforced the message as the following quotation suggests: "Several police

and Brimop, Serse, Inteligent, and Polantas Poldan NAD, Saturday afternoon (24/1), conducted a spot check in order to educate young women and to warn women not wearing jilbab that they violate the Shari'a" (*Suara Pembaharuan*, 26 January 2004).

Such reports give a strong impression that these women are treated as criminals, and that not wearing a veil is considered a crime. The media also assist in disseminating an understanding of the law and, in this case, reinforce it. Once caught, as the following quotation shows, arrested women are required to read out and sign a declaration that in the future they will wear Islamic clothing: "I promise that in the future I will always wear Islamic clothing as demanded in the Shari'a" (*ibid.*).

Here, as in the earlier examples, national (and regional) conservative gender discourses tend to coincide and agree that a good woman must wear a veil. In this case, however, at the national level, in a multicultural, multiethnic, multireligious nation, the report of the enactment of Shari'a in Aceh was handled with more circumspection by the national media. The leading national daily, *Kompas* – it describes itself as the newspaper for opposition – for instance, felt it necessary to exclude from an article by one of its Aceh-based journalists a report that some Acehnese women violating Shari'a had their heads shaved.

In Malaysia, where 60 percent of the citizens are Muslim, Shari'a demands on women have been implemented in several states since 2000. In Kota Baru, the capital city of Kelantan state, women's dress codes have been strictly imposed and regularly monitored. In 2000, 23 Muslim women were fined up to 250 ringits (US \$625) each for not wearing headscarves while at work (Rataf 2000). The same Islamic law is in force in Trengganu state. This dress code law was implemented by Parti Islam Se-Malaysia (PAS, the main Islamic party of Malaysia). As in Aceh, these two Malaysian states have imposed Islamic laws independently of the national government. In other states in Malaysia, such as Kuala Lumpur, Johor Bahru, and Penang, as in other cities of Indonesia, Muslim women can be seen without veils or wearing either traditional or fashionable veil styles, while many continue to wear revealing Western dress exposing the curves of the female body.

More recently, however, in both Malaysia and Indonesia, what had been regional campaigns and localized legal platforms have begun to penetrate the national stage. In 2006, the Malaysian government began to consider the implementation of an Islamic Family Law (Undang-Undang Keluarga Islam). Several non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

protested on the grounds that this law would oppress women, in that it made it easier for men to practice polygamy and divorce (Zainah 2006, Pertez 2006). The federal government responded by chastising NGO protesters. Soon after, the leading national online daily newspaper, *Utusan Melayu*, reported: "Minister for women, family, and Social Affairs, Datuk Seri Shahrizat Abdul Jalil, strongly warned certain NGOs not to denigrate the purity of Islamic family law in this country by convincing the public that the new law will oppress women. With a strong voice she said: 'Don't poison Malaysian women'" (9 March 2006). The newspaper reinforced the Kuala Lumpur government's position in its headline: "Tidak Zalimi Wanita – NGO diingat Jangan Perlekeh Undang-Undang Keluarga Islam" (Not oppressing women – NGO reminded not to create problems about Islamic family law).

Many print and broadcast media in Malaysia are privately owned within the orbit of the state. As has been indicated in detail (Nain 2004, Yee-Ling and Man-Yee n.d.), all the major Malaysian broadcasting organizations – TV3, Mega TV, ntv7, MetroVision, and mass circulation newspapers such as *Berita Harian*, *Utusan Malaysia*, *New Straits Times*, *Star*, and *Shin Min Daily* are owned and controlled by the state (Nain 2004). The government's response to NGO criticism of legislation extending the application of Shari'a law is presented as a national defense of the Jabatan Penerangan Malaysia (Malaysian press council) and the government controlled press is required to report this as an example of governmental concern. Appealing to the ideals of pride and stability of the kingdom, that is, in terms beyond those of government laws and requirements, government criticism of NGO protest effectively denies any debate about the underlying – some would argue central – issue of women's rights. "National interest," it is implied, requires the suppression of women's voices expressing disagreement to the proposed family law (<<http://www.penerangan.gov.my/>>). The daily coverage by *Utusan Melayu* – with the widest circulation among Malay-speaking readership (Nain 2004) – at least helps to explain how the media assist the state; at the same time, it explains how the media create negative images of Muslim women. In Malaysia, media continue to depict women as inferior, as they have for decades.

By contrast, in Singapore, the government clearly censors the press. The supervision of the newspapers is under the Newspaper and Printing Press Act (NPPA) (<<http://countrystudies.us/singapore/>>). A study of the Asia Media Project in Singapore by

Yee-Ling and Man-Yee (n.d.) mentions that all 12 newspapers in Singapore are owned by Singapore Press Holdings. This creates a wide direct impact on freedom of speech and information flows. The senior minister, Lee Kwan Yew, who ruled Singapore from 1959 to 1990, stated that freedom of the press and news media must be subordinated to the overriding needs of the integrity of Singapore, and to the primary purposes of government radio and television stations operated by the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation, and under strict control by the Ministry of Information and the Arts and the Singapore Broadcasting Authority.

With Singapore's small Islamic minority, the media act as if nothing has happened among its three different ethnic communities. There is no trace in either print or broadcasting media of a picture or story featuring the conflict that occurred in local society. The multiracial and multireligious nature of the country is often regarded as the justification for the government's tight monitoring of the mass media (Yee-Ling and Man-Yee n.d.). The government is intent on promoting ethnic tolerance and multiculturalism; the emphasis is on tolerance of Islamic requirements. The head of the Centre for Contemporary Islamic Studies, Hussin Mutalib, argues that such tolerance supports the "cherished" national principles of "unity in diversity." Speaking from a minority position, Mutalib argues that in a multireligious society such as Singapore's, non-Muslim people should respect the wishes of Muslim women (Mutalib 2000, 5). In this case, arguably, the "desire of Muslim women," which as in the Indonesian and Malaysian examples is being defined centrally by Islamic councils, is being used to spearhead demands for general recognition of Islamic principles within Singapore society.

PORNO-ACTION AND PORNOGRAPHY  
BILL: DISCRIMINATION THROUGH  
WOMEN'S SEXUALITY

An interesting contrast has been taking shape in the current behavior of the media in Indonesia. As in Malaysia, in Indonesia religious restrictions on women, once established and limited to regional legislatures, are increasingly gaining legitimacy at a national level. This is despite the fact that constitutionally, unlike Malaysia, Indonesia, with its 88.2 percent Muslim community, is not an Islamic state.

Seemingly related to the successful implementation of Shari'a in Aceh, the current "porno-action," the campaign against pornography, in central Indonesia is explicitly targeting women. Negative

reporting on women from many Islamic media has implicitly designated women – especially those who are not Muslim – as evil. A "porno-action and pornography" bill was initially proposed by the government in 1999. But interest in it was only revived in a campaign that began in 2002 with the suppression of the sudden and vertiginous popularity of Inul, who shot to national television fame with her creation of a new *dangdut* performance. In 2002 to 2003, television programs in which she appeared consistently drew high ratings of up to 14 share points. Her shows were seized in many cities in all over Indonesia and also in Singapore, Malaysia, The Netherlands, Japan, and some other overseas countries. At home, Inul was accused of transgressing the boundaries of acceptable performance. Ulema said that her dance degraded the morality of Indonesians.

The Council of Indonesian Ulama (MUI), chaired by Din Syamsudin, took up the campaign, expressing concern that Inul's performances encouraged lustful acts and were not fit for public viewing. Ulema considered her *goyang ngebor* – the way she bent her knees and swung her rear up and down as if drilling into the ground – and her dress degrading to the morality of Indonesian people in general and the young generation in particular. The MUI, which had already declared a *fatwa* against pornography in July 2002, categorized her dancing as *haram* (unclean) (Nurbianto 2003). Budi Susanto, a researcher of cultural issues at the Yogyakarta-based Realino Studies Institution, points to the irony of a debate that linked "a music performance to religion [since] the people who watch the show don't think about religion when watching her performance" (ibid.).

However the issue quickly became very controversial and political, involving, amongst other prominent figures, K. H. Abdul Rahman Wahid, or Gus Dur, the former president of Indonesia, the leader of NU (Nahdatul Ulama, the biggest Islamic religious organization), who publicly disagreed with the MUI's *fatwa*. This led to further angry protests and contradictory positions being taken amongst the ulema themselves. The matter became the focus of the media and quickly gained a public momentum. Popular opinion ensured the debate gained powerful political voice. By 2005, the controversy had taken root politically and, heated by the recent (2006) plans to distribute *Playboy Magazine* in Indonesia, crystallized into an anti-pornography bill. Islamic groups have maintained pressure on the Indonesian parliament, the People's Consultative Assembly, to legalize the bill as soon as possible. The bill in turn has acted as a stimulus

for further widespread demonstrations of pro and anti demonstrators all over Indonesia.

The heat of the porno-action and pornography bill (RUU APP) controversies were also fueled by Rhoma Irama, the king of *dangdut*, who initiated the original campaign against Inul and similar public *dangdut* singers, whom he accused of damaging the original religious values of *dangdut*: “The government must soon legalize the anti-pornography and porno-action bill. This law is a corridor for the nation’s morality. We are a religious country. Indonesians must not imitate erotism which may break the nation’s morality” (*Hot Shot*, 8 March 2006). Similar statements mushroomed in almost all daily newspapers. The *Republika* daily (which has publicly proclaimed its full support for the deliberation of this bill), for instance, from 24 February to 24 March 2006 covered the RUU APP in 56 reports, only one of which presented a neutral view. By fully supporting the government to quickly legalize the bill, the clear message of this media voice was, “Let’s control the women.”

Almost all television news programs continue to emphasize the controversial core items of this bill. It contains eight articles designed to prevent women from wearing revealing garments or dancing in a suggestive manner. Violators of the pornography bill could face up to ten years in prison or a fine between Rp. 200 million and Rp. 1 billion (Chandrakirana 2006). Reinforcing the national bill is the fact that there are seven provincial cities and regencies (Cianjur, Garut, and Tasikmalaya in west Java; Tangerang in Banten; and Enrekang, Maros, and Bulukumba in South Sulawesi) which, through the authority given to them by regional autonomy, already have bylaws on how women should dress and act (*ibid.*). Tangerang regency, for instance, has implemented a prostitution law. One of its articles states: “Anybody whose gesture arouses suspicion that she/they are prostitutes may not be in the public street.” Here, such regulation shows how closely public morality and conduct should follow the teaching of Islam.

At the time of writing it was expected, although not certain, that the bill would be passed by June 2006. As reported on SCTV and almost all television news programs, among the immediate victims of such legislation would be many of Indonesia’s 180 ethnic groups, including those whose dress, social interaction, and behavior could fall foul of the prescriptions; one group, the Balinese Hindus, have already protested. But the proposals also affect the millions of devout Muslim and Christian women who feel offended by what the bill implies about all women. Kamala Chandrakirana, head

of the National Commission on Violence against Women, publicly expressed as her view what many believed privately, that the anti-pornography bill was not actually about pornography, but rather a systematic discrimination by the state against women.

While the case for the RUU APP bill is repeatedly defined in terms of saving the nation from moral decline, liberal media such as *Kompas*, SCTV, TV, TRIJAYA FM, Metro TV and Media Indonesia, which have a middle-class and elite audience, continue to assist feminists and ordinary women who see this campaign as inextricably linked to the government’s inability to overcome economic problems faced by the country, for which women are now having to carry the blame. Although Media Indonesia’s 22 reports on the RUU APP bill have generally supported it, Tato Laurens, a mainstream journalist and a member of the editorial council of this media organization expressed certain fears and voiced the view that there was no urgency for passing such a bill, making no secret of his attitude, and that of the press media he represented, toward the deliberation of the bill (Metro TV, 7 March 2006). He delivered the position of his media group for opposing the bill and suggested the parliament and the ulema involved should look more carefully at the issues of gender bias that were implicit in it.

In Indonesia, women’s organizations, who together have a history going back to the beginning of the twentieth century, have most powerfully expressed their opposition on behalf of Indonesian women. On 8 March 2006, International Women’s Day, a coalition of Indonesian women’s organizations led an *aksi damai* (peaceful demonstration) against the proposed bill in the center of Jakarta. It included women’s organizations such as Kohati, Serikat Perempuan Mandiri, Seroja, Perempuan Indonesia, Rahima, Perempuan Mahardika, and Lembaga Bantuan Hukum. It was a protest against the accumulated polemic that had been building up in support of the bill and, specifically, a protest against a case of harassment in Tangerang where, under the terms of the municipal legislation, a pregnant woman, Lilis, was arrested for looking like a prostitute while waiting for public transport to take her home from work.

Despite this opposition by women’s groups, their action appears to have had little impact: TRIJAYA FM reported on 12 March 2006 that PANSUS DPR (Parliament’s special committee) was optimistic that parliament would approve this bill (93 articles) as planned in June 2006. Din Syamsudin in *Republika* daily and SCTV on the same day once again

convincingly argued to the public that pornography must be cleaned up.

#### CONCLUSION

We have noted that press/media freedom has a significant influence in the openness of public representation of both images and factual information when it comes to the representation of women. While media representation of women in Singapore is “unseen” because it is tightly controlled by the government, a comparison of the representation of women in the media – on television, in print, and online – in democratic Indonesia and the Islamic state of Malaysia reveals that women are perceived as a social and political commodity of the government. However, whereas in Indonesia a range of images are represented, Malaysian media images of women remain stereotyped. As the Islamic government owns the major media companies, the media continue to confirm the official conception that regards women as second-class citizens.

In Indonesia, the broad range of media ownership, together with the legislated press freedom, at least ensures the possibility of alternative voices being aired, both in support of and against government initiated actions in regard to women. Since the enactment of press freedom, new ground has been broken in Indonesia in the variety of media images of women presented. While across all media, television stations, newspapers, and online media, the message of Islamic fundamentalist determination of Islamic dress code for women has been dominant in recent years, at the same time the media have also shown that women have become the target of Islamic conservative values. Equally important is that many different media companies have obviously presented Indonesian women – not only feminist elites and women’s groups but also grassroots women – as progressive, active, and somehow liberal. As the media role in the much debated case of the RUU APP bill illustrates, it has been able to create an image that Indonesian women in general are “vocal” as they attempt to counter the conservative agenda which ignores the fact that, although the majority of Indonesian people are Muslim, Indonesia is multireligious and multiethnic in nature. In this way, the Indonesian media uphold the Indonesian liberal traditions enshrined in the principle of press freedom.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- W. I. Abidin, *Politics, Judgment, Press. Indonesia* [in Indonesian], Grasindo, Jakarta, 2005.  
 S. Aliman, *Tudung. Beyond face value*, Singapore, 2002.  
 K. Chandrakirana, Group says women at more risk of abuse, in *Jakarta Post*, 8 March 2006.

- Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kementerian Malaysia, *The role and status of Malay women in Malaysia. Social and legal perspectives*, Kuala Lumpur 1991.  
 R. H. K. Heng (ed.), *Media fortunes, changing times. ASEAN states in transition*, Singapore 2004.  
 K. Husnna, *Jilbab. Sex and sexuality* [in Indonesian], Yogyakarta 2004.  
 Malaysia Media Monitors’ Diary, Malaysia’s press freedom ranking improves slightly to 113th place, 24 October 2005, <<http://www.aliran.com/oldsite/charter/monitors/2005/10/malaysias-press-freedom-ranking.html>>.  
 H. Mutalib, Preface, in S. Aliman, (ed.), *Tudung. Beyond face value*, Singapore 2002, 1.  
 Z. Nain, The media and Malaysia’s Reformasi movement, in R. H. K. Heng (ed.), *Media fortunes, changing times. ASEAN states in transition*, Singapore 2004, 124.  
 B. Nugroho et al., *Political media reports* [in Indonesian], Jakarta 2000.  
 B. Nurbianto, “Dangdut” singer Inul is too hot for many in Indonesia?, in *Jakarta Post*, 22 February 2003.  
 J. Pertez, Within Islam’s embrace. A voice for Malaysia’s women, in *New York Times*, 12 February 2006.  
 I. Rataf, *Malaysia. Islamic party enforces regulations on women’s dress code*, 23 March 2000, <<http://www.islamiconline.net/IOL-English/dowalia/news-23-3-2000/topnews2.asp>>.  
*Suara Pembaharuan* online, <[www.suarapembaharuan.com](http://www.suarapembaharuan.com)>.  
 C. Yee-Ling and W. Man-Yee, Asia media project – Singapore, Journalism and Media Studies Centre, University of Hongkong, n.d., <<http://jmssc.hku.hk/students/jmsscjournal/critical/elainandmargaret.htm>>.

VISSIA ITA YULIANTO

#### Turkey

Given the unprecedented speed with which various communication media have become global, it is not surprising that in Turkey individuals are becoming more and more active in using these means and consuming the information that they receive through these channels. The Internet, written, and visual media are indispensable parts of daily life. Television has become the most influential means of communication as it is available in almost every household. In this context, relations between different social groups are in part shaped by the media and there is an inclination to create agendas and form opinion through the media (Bilgin 1997, 138–41).

The social changes experienced by Turkish women in the twentieth century and the increasing importance attributed to women’s rights find their expression in the media. The increase in the number of working women is reflected in the success stories of professional women in the media; at the same time, the appearance of women on television entertainment programs is combined with an increasing exploitation of female sexuality in advertisements. This duality has produced a

paradoxical situation in terms of what people think about modern women.

This entry, based on primary research, examines what images and concepts of woman are reflected in the Turkish media and how they are linked with religion. A total of 43 articles, selected from various newspapers with different political attitudes (*Cumhuriyet*, *Sabah*, *Hürriyet*, and *Zaman*), were reviewed. In addition, 22 articles were selected from the three women's magazines with the highest circulations: *Cosmopolitan*, *Elle*, and *Elele*. Interviews were carried out, through focus groups, in order to examine the effects of the media images. The ages of the 29 participants (15 female and 14 male) varied between 20 and 54 and included university students, housewives, officials, and workers.

Analysis of newspaper discourse reveals two extreme tendencies. The first is a definition of woman who, as an individual, is entitled to do anything whatsoever and has proclaimed her independence. The other considers this type of woman to be the wrong representation of womanhood. There are also articles which emphasize the mistakes in the lives of women, and assert that some of the rights that women have acquired have led them to adopt a worse form of life than before. This view is often justified by reference to religion. More specifically, the following points can be highlighted from the discourse analysis:

1. The woman presented in the media is physically flawless. Beauty is projected as an important factor in women's success in their professional lives. This sets in motion a commercial cycle that affects the visual tastes of women and men and their patterns of consumption.
2. While the media reflect the image of the modern working woman, her problems are not dealt with sufficiently. Instead, her sexual identity is emphasized. The argument most commonly used to defend the use of feminine sexuality in the media is that woman is the sex that is looked upon with interest because of her aesthetic and physical structure. At the same time, women's desire to look like the type of woman represented in the media causes their physical and sexual aspect to come to the fore.
3. Like the society at large, the media are supportive of woman's existence in the public sphere. Yet they do not advocate the fulfillment of the conditions that would secure woman's place in public.
4. Women are assigned the role of consumers; men are required to work. By emphasizing such matters as the necessity of make-up for women,

the media instigate forms of behavior that put women in a secondary status in relation to men.

5. There are things that women must do for men and for themselves in accordance with the socially accepted definition of womanhood. Such activities as housework and ornamentation are partly done for men, reinforcing the status of woman as the "other" of man. Women are well aware of the distinction between their identity and men's identity.

Our data thus indicate that the woman presented in the media is independent and present in the public sphere. In addition, there is the image of the woman who has come to the fore with her sexual identity. Such types of woman are seen as not complying with Turkish religion and traditions. On the one hand, there is the modern, independent, well groomed and physically flawless woman, and on the other it is asserted that the type of woman represented in media is not acceptable to Turkish traditions, customs, religion, and family structure. It is often argued that a woman who lives a modern life will be an unhappy woman.

Sexual distinctions are also subjected to a hierarchy; the prohibition of visibility of the female body reinforces male dominance. Even when a woman thinks that she stands against falling into the status of an object by covering herself, in fact she expresses the visual preferences of men (Göle 2001). Besides, the privilege given to men to "look" at women leads to a sexual discrimination in favor of men in that it turns the female body into an object (Göle 2001). Industries such as fashion, cosmetics, and entertainment target women to a large extent. Feminine sexuality has become the foremost and maybe the most attractive product of the commercial world based on the commodity fetishism of the capitalist market. Dominance and dependence relations in real life governed by male-dominant values carry into the world of media as well (Güngör 2004).

Generally three images of woman are represented in advertisements:

1. The working woman. While working is mostly emphasized as housework, women are represented as working outside the home in jobs of secondary importance in comparison to the jobs of men.
2. The housewife. This is used to embody types of woman who need the suggestions of men, especially for cleaning materials.
3. The sex object. This is used in two ways. The object that is to be bought is what can be symbolized by representing woman as a sexual object.



The women used here are the “ideal” deliberated at the representative level; that is, they define the woman who is difficult to reach but constitutes the essence of femininity, rather than a woman who is aimed to create a one-to-one reality effect (Saktanber 1995).

Despite the fact that a modern type of woman is represented in the Turkish media, women in Turkey are not represented as “subjects.” The “otherness” of woman still continues, even if that principle has been changing.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- N. Bilgin, *Siyaset ve insan*, Istanbul 1997, 138-41.  
 N. Göle, *Modern mahrem*, Istanbul 2001.  
 N. Güngör, *Medya ve kadın*, 2004, <www.rtuk.org.tr/kitap/Medya-kad%C4%B1n.doc>.  
 S. Irzık, *Latife tekin’de beden ve yazı*, in S. Irzık and J. Parla (eds.), *Kadınlar dile düşünce edebiyat ve toplumsal cinsiyet*, Istanbul 2003, 201-25.  
 M. Narter, *Cumhuriyet algısı. Gençlerin gözünde siyasi kimlik*, Istanbul 2003, 28-32.  
 J. Parla, *Tarıbçem kabusumdur! Kadın romancılarında rüya, kabus, oda yazı*, in S. Irzık and J. Parla (eds.), *Kadınlar dile düşünce edebiyat ve toplumsal cinsiyet*, Istanbul 2003, 179-201.  
 A. Saktanber, *1980’ler Türkiye’sinde kadın bakış açısından kadınlar*, Istanbul 1995.  
 H. S. Tuksal, *Kadın karşıtı söylemin İslam geleneğindeki izdüşümleri*, Ankara 2001.  
 G. Tümer, *İslam’da kadın*, in *Kadın mitinginin 75. Yıldönümü uluslararası sempozyumu. Atatürk kültür ve dil tarih yüksek kurumu* 1996, Ankara 1996, 173-4.

MELTEM NARTER

# Representations: Proverbs, Adages, and Riddles

## Egypt and Sudan

The representation of women in proverbs in Egypt and Sudan is inseparable from concepts of the proper role of women in Muslim societies and the gender ideology that underscores the behavior and attitude of one sex toward the other. These ideas and concepts are embedded in historical precedents, legal formulations, and daily inter-gender transactions and are articulated in proverbs as well as through legends, poetry, jokes, or lullabies. The status of women in Muslim societies has never been static, or monolithic. Although the Qurʾān, the holy book of Islam, and the *sunna*, the collected practices of the Prophet Muḥammad, are indispensable sources on the subject, they are by no means the only ones. The Shariʿa, or Islamic law, which developed at least two centuries after the death of the Prophet, social class, geography, colonial experience, trade, and *ʿurf* (customs and traditions) are equally important in determining gender relations in any Muslim community.

### DEFINITION AND USE

Paremiologists, those who collect and study proverbs, are still in disagreement about what a proverb is, and how it functions in a particular social setting. Current scholarship seeks a more exact definition of the proverb: how it is constructed linguistically, and how it conveys meaning. The first is a quest to determine the literary and formative parts of the proverb, the shape and style; the second, to discover its social significance and substance. It is this second component of proverbs that is the concern of this entry. To determine the utility of proverbs in exploring social reality, a definition of the word “proverb” might include the following: it must impart folk wisdom and truth, and come across as authoritative and timeless, while its form must be metaphorically elegant, witty, balanced, aphoristic, rhythmic, and easily memorable and communicable.

The Egyptians and Sudanese admire orators with a clear and impeccable command of the techniques of verbal communication. Because they facilitate effective communication, proverbs are the idiom of choice among individuals in positions of authority. They are a means of adjudication, argumentation, or admonition among tribal chiefs, elders, and reli-

gious dignitaries. They also tend to be used mainly in the public as opposed to the private domain, which explains why, in the patriarchic and hierarchical societies of Egypt and Sudan, it is men rather than women who profit most from the use of proverbs. But men also exploit them to control women and keep them in their place. It is not surprising therefore to find men collecting and memorizing far greater numbers of proverbs than do women, and accordingly, using them more often.

### METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

There are several methodological problems in determining the status of Muslim women as portrayed in extant proverbs. First, like other parts of language, proverbs are “living organisms.” They are invented, understood, and appreciated by the community, circulated for shorter or longer periods of time, then for one reason or another may drop out of the oral idiom and be forgotten. Some of the Egyptian and Sudanese proverbs currently accessible in print are “fossilized” versions no longer in circulation. It is therefore conceivable that such proverbs may not reflect the current observable social status of women in these two countries, or the ideology that informs their Muslim populations. Second, proverbs available in print were collected, compiled, and published without context, that important social, political, and intellectual milieu which gives them coherence and relevance. Third, proverbs can be understood properly and the associated social situations clearly appreciated only if the following issues are examined: what are the protocols governing who can or cannot use proverbs, or particular types of proverbs? How does consensus on a particular proverb develop, and for what reasons? Are certain usages or choices gender, age, or trade specific? And what are the normal moral, social, economic, or political consequences once a selected proverb is uttered in a specific social interaction?

### PUBLISHED WORKS ON PROVERBS

Surprisingly there are few publications on Egyptian and Sudanese proverbs, and they are mostly in Arabic. However, many Egyptian proverbs are accessible electronically, but only in English translation and they deal in the main with ancient Egypt. The most significant compilations on the subject

include Na'ūm Shughayr's *Amthāl al-'awām fi Miṣr wa-al-Sūdān wa-al-Shām* (Folk proverbs in Egypt, Sudan, and [Greater] Syria), first published in 1894, with 1,526 proverbs from Egypt, and 533 from Sudan; John L. Burckhard's *Arabic Proverbs, or the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, which first appeared in 1830 with 872 entries; Aḥmad Taymūr Pasha's *al-Amthāl al-'āmiyya* (Folk sayings [in Egypt]), an important late nineteenth-century collection now in the Egyptian National Library and Archives; Babikir Bardī's three-volume work, *al-Amthāl al-Sūdāniyya* (Sudanese proverbs), which was published in Khartoum in 1963 and includes about 6,000 proverbs; and Saad Elkhadem's teaching text, *Life Is Like a Cucumber: Colloquial Egyptian Proverbs, Coarse Sayings and Popular Expressions*, published in 1993. Early compilers organized entries alphabetically, not by subject matter, with little or no analysis, while material available from the Internet lacks any clear pattern of organization.

#### WOMEN AS SUBJECTS

Proverbs pertaining specifically to Egyptian and Sudanese women constitute only a fraction of the published corpus on the subject; some 193 proverbs of a total of over 8,000 examined for this entry. This could be interpreted in one of two ways: either women are regarded as insignificant agents in the hierarchical and patriarchal societies of Egypt and Sudan, thus unworthy of proverbial comments, or the compilers of these works on proverbs were uninterested in material on women, or being males, unable to collect more of it. Both possibilities reflect the low status of females in Egypt and Sudan. Women fare better, however, as mothers and bearers of children, especially male children. Proverbs show admiration for womenfolk who ceaselessly strengthen the group with new members, and thus help maintain the honor and prestige of their respective ethnicity. Though the woman has other important roles as daughter, sister, wife, mother-in-law, or worker, it is generally her function as procreator that counts in these pre-industrial societies. Conversely, sterile women fare badly in proverbs, as they often do in public life.

#### THE CONCEPT OF "WOMAN"

The term *mar'a* in both the Egyptian and Sudanese colloquial language means woman in general. Invariably, she comes across in proverbs as crafty, stupid, mischievous, and deceitful. Rarely does she appear as a human being with moral values worthy of emulation or appreciation. It is considered unmanly for men to sit and converse with women.

*Al-farra um-jarāhāt wa-lal-qa'da ma'a al-banāt* (Bringing shame upon oneself by running away from battle is preferable to sitting and chatting with women). It is therefore advisable not to follow their counsel. *Shawrūhin wa-khālfūhin*, goes the Sudanese proverb (Ask them their opinion, and ignore it). At any rate, taking their advice is a remote possibility, according to the proverb: *Al-bitqūm dignu qubbal shārbu, shawir al-mar'a lat-shawru* (Take advice from a woman when a beard appears on a young man's face sooner than his mustache [deemed impossible]).

The Egyptians also declare that the three most humiliating conditions for a man are: association with women, even when brief and necessary; being in debt, even of a penny; and asking others, even for directions (*talāta khaymat dhull: al-mar'a wa-law marham; al-dīn wa-law dirham; wal-su'āl wa-law wayn al-sabīl*). Women are creatures with broken wings, says a Sudanese proverb (*al-mar'a maksūrat janāh*), whose brains are in their legs, not in their skulls (*'aqlaha al-mar'a fi sāqa*). Women are regarded as a bad influence on their daughters in situations where the father is weak. Woman is the metaphorical equal of a female mouse. An Egyptian proverb states *bitt al-fāra tatla' haffara* (on growing up, a mouse becomes a digger [thus destructive], like its mother). An equivalent proverb among the Sudanese is *al-bitt lay ummaha* (the daughter follows the example of her mother).

Women are also perceived as cunning, destructive, and quarrelsome. *In biddak tabtik rājil, sallit 'alayhu mar'a*, say the Egyptians (If you intend to destroy a man, unleash upon him a woman [perhaps his mother-in-law]). *Al-bayt al-wāhid yishīl miyyat rājil, mā yishīl maratayn* (A single house is big enough for one hundred men, but too small for two women).

#### WOMAN AS MOTHER

*Wiḥsha walāda khayr min ḥilwa 'aqir* declares an Egyptian proverb (a productive but ugly woman is better than a beautiful one who is sterile). This proverb and similar ones among Arab and African communities reflect the importance of children. They grow up to provide needed shelter, food, and protection for their aging parents in societies that lack public services. *Ishtabayna 'ala al-ṭalq yigi għulām* (from the mother's pain during delivery, we anticipated a male child). According to the logic of this proverb, male children are the only rational payoff of any complicated delivery, because they are regarded as more valuable. *In jāt al-dāda abann min al-wālda, di hinmiya fāsda* goes another Egyptian saying (if the midwife appears more compassionate

[for the child] than the mother, that is a dishonest feeling). The moral significance of this saying is that only mothers have absolute and unreserved love for their offspring and that all other claims of a similar relationship to a mother's child are dubious. *Ummi tiḥamni wa-tunkur ḥimīti, wa-marāt abūi tiḥimni bidūn ta'ām* (my mother feeds me and denies that I have eaten, while my father's other wife feeds me without food). Like the previous ones, this Egyptian proverb stresses the love and the concern mothers have for their children in what is often a poor and competitive environment. They also say: *Umm al-akbras ta'rif bi-lughātu* (the mother of the dumb child understands its language).

Up the Nile in Sudan there are also many proverbs that exalt the comparatively high status of the mother, and her unfailing care for her children. *Al-bay umma lat himmu* (He who is with mother, don't worry about him). She will certainly take good care of her children. Conversely, *al-bit bila umm, yā qabur dumm* (a girl brought up without her own mother is better dead). Her very survival is at stake while her socialization into the community is incomplete if effected by individuals other than her own mother. *Batn ummak mā bjīb kayak 'adu* (Your mother's womb will not bring forth an enemy of yours). Children of the same womb are expected to come to the support of one another regardless. And mothers are always there for their children, for *al-baqara mā ta'ya bay qurūnha* (the cow does not get tired of carrying her own horns). When speakers emphasize the strength of a bond or fidelity in a transaction, they say *hubb al-tifayl lay ummu* (like the love of the child for its mother).

#### WOMAN AS WIFE

Though respected and valued as mothers, women seem to be dreaded, even disdained, as wives and hated as mothers-in-law. The road for a woman to become a wife is full of hazards and insecurity. The Sudanese say: *Al-'ani lamma yumūt fī balu sharda, wal-mar'a lama tamūt fī bala ṭalqa* (the slave till death thinks of escaping and the wife till death thinks of divorce). The majority of the proverbs on women consulted for this entry actually deal with men's apprehensions and the difficulties of choosing the right partner in marriage, or keeping her under control once married. Suitors are admonished to marry only their first cousins, to marry into families whose social standing is above, not below that of the groom, to avoid women who have had children, to stay away from daughters of feeble and powerless fathers (such women are presumed to be hard to control), and shun women with no or meager financial resources or who are of slave ori-

gin. The Egyptians say: *Al-ragil bil-layl ghaḥīr wa-bil-nahār agīr* (the husband is guard by night, and slave [to his wife] by day). To protect the chastity of his womenfolk, the husband-father cannot enjoy sleep during the night, while by day he is busy satisfying the financial and social demands of the head of the family. As the Sudanese say: *Ab'id al-bayd min al-hajar wal-mar'a min ad-dakar* (keep eggs away from stones and women from men), or *Al-nār min sharīra, wa-banāt an-nisā mā fihin saghīra* (fire develops from a small spark, and daughters of women are women), so those responsible for their protection and safety must not lay down their guard.

Parents are advised to be stern and uncompromising in bringing up their daughters to be suitable wives. *Iksir lil-bint dil' yatla'a laba itnayn* (break one rib of your daughter and two new ones will grow in its place). *Ifjakh al-baṣala qubbal ma ṭabqa aṣala* (crush the onion before it turns into a poisonous viper). The idea is simple. Manhandling, even beating, will only ensure the well-being of the child and help bring her up as a proper girl ready for matrimony. Parents are cautioned, though, against hastily accepting any suitor for their daughter because, according to the Egyptian proverb, *Qabl ma tnāsib hāsib* (before saying yes to the man asking for the hand of your daughter, make sure that he comes from a good family with an unblemished pedigree). For *qu'ad al-dār wala zīgat al-'ār* (it is better for girl to stay home indefinitely than to find herself in a union that brings nothing but shame). *Al-bayra lay bayt abūha* (for a girl who fails to get married [literarily, non-salable goods], her father's house is the place to be). Faraḥ, son of Taktuk, the famous Sudanese Sufi who flourished in the eighteenth century, known for his wit and foresightedness, once advised his newly wedded daughter with these words, which are now proverbial: *Amlilu jufu, wa-amsihilu khūfu, wa in abaki Allāh yikuffu* (fill your husband's stomach, massage his feet, and if then he rejects you, Allah will punish him).

Parents are also encouraged to ensure the financial viability of their newly wedded daughters. *Addubin wa-a'īnu 'alayhim* (give them away in marriage, and help sons-in-law to provide for them), say the Sudanese, in the hope that the son-in-law would overwhelm his wife with wealth as she would overwhelm him with children (*in shā' Allāh yaghibha bil-māl wa-taghalbak bil-īyāl*). They stress such a financial commitment clearly in this proverb: *Itnayn tadūr ghinahum, rajil bintak wa-ṣahīb daynak* (the two persons you always wish to be rich are your son-in-law and your debtor), for the simple reason that a daughter with children has no home except

that of her husband, *itnayn wa-talitum ummuhum bila abūhum min yilummuhum*.

#### WOMAN'S OWN VOICE

Occasionally one comes across proverbs that may well have originated amongst women. Unlike the proverbs discussed earlier, which reflect male attitudes, these sayings are not as condemnatory, judgmental, or condescending. The Egyptians have a saying, also common in Sudan: *Al-ghayyar makhaddatu, ghayyar mahabbatu* (he who changes his pillow [his partner in bed] gives his love to someone else). Another is: *Sajam al-dallaktu wa-addāni 'anqartu* (Shame upon him who has enjoyed my massaging his body with the perfumed *dilka* [a mixture of flour, ground sandalwood, aromatic herbs, and perfumes], only to turn away and show me the back of his neck). The idiom expresses ingratitude and insensitivity, and is used by both men and women. Another proverb is: *Khūdi bakhtik min jūz ukhtik* (to have an idea of what marriage is all about, pay attention to how your brother-in-law treats your sister). A person does not have to travel far to widen his or her own experience. Or this one: *Al-khadīm mā mar'a, wal-rakūba mā dara* (a slave woman is not a wife, and a thatched shed is not the place to entertain guests). The slave woman is regarded as unfit to be a wife of a free man; she can only be a concubine. Or: *Rākib sirjayn wiqqā'a, wa-rājil maratayn diyyā'a* (the rider on two saddles [horses] is surely to fall, and the husband of two wives is a lost cause [each co-wife assumes wrongly that the other is taking good care of him]).

#### CONCLUSION

There are no definitive conclusions about the status of women in Egypt and Sudan that can be drawn from proverbs collected and published in book form or circulated on the Internet. This is because proverbs are spoken tools uttered in specific situations where they supplement rather than replace other media of communication. The proverb outside its context is a bird with featherless wings. It just cannot fly. Since only men compiled these sayings, the circumstances in which they were collected and the purpose of their effort are uncertain. There is little way of knowing whether these proverbs are representative of the entire genre, or the entire period between the coming of Islam to Egypt and Sudan in the seventh century to the present time. However, probing Egyptian and Sudanese proverbs accessible in print or electronically leads one to believe women are clearly not the equals of men in these societies. Like other culturally sanctioned means of communication and management, proverbs were

and remain an effective instrument that enables men to perpetuate hegemony and authority over their womenfolk and maintain a patriarchal and hierarchical social order as long as possible.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- I. H. Abdalla, Sudanese proverbs, in *Sudan Studies Newsletter* 17:3 (1997), 16–20.  
 —, Sudanese proverbs, in *Sudan Studies Newsletter* 19:4 (1997), 22–40.  
 Anon., *al-Hikam wa-al-amthāl*, Cairo 1965.  
 B. Bardī, *al-Amthāl al-Sūdāniyya*, 3 vols., Khartoum 1963.  
 J. L. Burckhard, *Arabic proverbs or the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1830.  
 S. Elkhadem (ed.), *Life is like a cucumber. Colloquial Egyptian proverbs, coarse sayings and popular expressions*, Fredericton, N.B. 1993.  
 J. Knappert, Mathal, in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, VI: 815B, Leiden 2000 (new ed.).  
 S. al-D. al-Munajjid, *Amthāl al-āama 'ind al-'Arab*, Beirut 1981.  
 N. Shughayr, *Amthāl al-awām fī Miṣr wa-al-Sūdān wa-al-Shām*, Beirut 1995. [First published 1894.]  
 A. Taymūr, *al-Amthāl al-āmiyya. English. Selections*, ed. and trans. S. Elkhadem, Fredericton, N.B. 1987. [First published in Arabic ca. late nineteenth century.]  
 W. P. Zenner, Ethnic stereotyping in Arabic proverbs, in *Journal of American Folklore* 83:330 (1970), 417–29.

ISMAIL H. ABDALLA

### The Gulf

The representation of women in the Arabic proverbs of the Gulf centers on marriage. This is understandable since marriage is the central event in the life of Muslim women and it is the natural course of behavior for a Muslim to establish a conjugal family. As it has been expressed by a *ḥadīth* transmitted by 'Ā'isha: "There is nothing better for a woman than a husband or the grave" (Ibn al-Jawzī 1994, 96).

Marriage is described from a number of angles and the picture drawn conforms to the regulations of Islam and the prevalent customs concerning marriage. One should, however, exercise some caution in the interpretation of proverbs, since – without disregarding their literal meaning – they can mean completely different things depending on the circumstances and contexts of their usage.

In these proverbs marriage is described in the following categories:

#### 1. A state to be reached

Marriage is an enviable state which is, however, not attained easily and thus often forms the subject of wishful thinking: "While I walk I make a wish for myself and say: My wedding shall be tonight." The primary aims of a father concerning his daughter should be to contract her mar-

riage: “Marry them off” is also the advice of the proverbs.

## 2. Selecting a wife

The principal point to be borne in mind in selecting a wife is worded as follows: “You have to look to the purity or good origin.” The wife’s descent is considered equally important from the point of view of future male children: “If you want a good son, select for him a good maternal grandfather and a good maternal uncle.”

## 3. Arranged

Marriage is arranged and the dower (*mahr*) plays a significant role in widening the possibilities for the groom to marry the woman of his choice: “Money brings the bride” and its even more explicit variant: “Money brings the sultan’s daughter.” The *mahr* is even regarded (Saudi Arabia) as enjoined in return for the man’s right to have legitimate access to cohabitation with a certain woman: “She said: Why did you, who are so ugly, marry me? He answered: With some money, my property.” Since weddings are arranged, the bride and the groom meet here for the first time: “Do not ask a bridegroom on his wedding night.”

## 4. Incest boundaries

Incest boundaries – as defined in the Qur’an (4:23) – are not to be overstepped, and intermarriage between relatives of the forbidden degrees is not approved of: “Keep flesh away from flesh lest it become rotten.”

## 5. Preferential marriage

Patrilineal cousin marriages have generally been preferred in Islam. The proverbs also speak in favor of marriages with the father’s brother’s daughter, the *bint al-‘amm*: “Keep the road though it be long, and marry thy paternal cousin though she be a wall-flower. He who is shy of his paternal uncle’s daughter does not beget children.”

Since a brother keeps in his mind the interests of his sister even after she is eventually married, men can get more assistance from brothers-in-law than paternal male cousins, since the latter can be allies of their sister, the wife: “Better to have a brother-in-law than a cousin [*ibn ‘amm*].”

## 6. Polygamy and divorce

Polygamy is proposed as a solution to marital problems: “Correct camels with a stick and women with women.” Islam does not view divorce lightly, and it is not advocated in the proverbs; on the contrary, the husband is called upon to be patient with his (first) wife: “You had better prop it up [a female date palm, a metaphor for the first wife] than plant a new one [in

its place].” Divorced women are regarded with some suspicion and the problems caused by the remarriage of either widowed or divorced women are treated in several proverbs: “I advise you to avoid [women with] ophthalmia, and women with children by a former marriage. She eats the property of the [present] husband, but yearns towards the one that has divorced her. She leaves her [legitimate] child and brings up her bastard one.” This view has already been attributed by al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) (1964, 163–4) to a sage who said: “Men who marry women get four sorts of wife: the wife who belongs wholly to her husband is a virgin; the wife who belongs half to her husband is a widow with no children; the wife who belongs one third to her husband is a widow with children from her former marriage; the wife who is her husband’s enemy is a divorced woman whose former husband is still living.” The wedding itself is also touched upon in some proverbs: “Nothing causes more anxiety than a wedding.”

## THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN

A full portrait of women is not provided by the proverbs; a few glimpses are, however, available. From among these, the most important seems to be that nothing can be gained from trying to know women: “Getting acquainted with women is a loss/shameful.” The aim of this proverb is not to present women in an unfavorable light, but to emphasize that men are not supposed to seek the acquaintance of strange women.

Women are described on the whole in derogatory terms and with injustice. They are presented as having no control over their own affairs: “The property is her father’s, and yet they give her food for the journey only in a palm-leaf basket.”

Women are often portrayed as already pregnant again while the previous child is still an infant, as in the following riddle: “Three were walking and arrived at a wadi which they crossed. The first one saw the water, waded into it and crossed over. The second saw the water, did not wade in it but crossed over. The third one did neither saw the water nor waded in it, but crossed over. How come?”

Motherhood is described in positive terms, and the merits of mothers are emphasized: “No one has ever been capable of substituting my mother. A wet-nurse is not the same as a mother.” The sex of the child plays an important role in determining the nature of mother–child relations, and the joys of a mother who gives birth to a daughter, a source of constant trouble (“Do not underestimate either a little spark of fire or a young girl”), are viewed as

short lived: “Like the joy of the mother of a girl.” Notwithstanding their controversial characterization, women are recognized as having influential power over men: “Women are the keys of men.”

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ‘A. Āl Nūrī, *al-Amthāl al-dārīja fī al-Kuwayt*, Beirut 1965.  
 M. b. S. Al Sudaīs, *A selection of current Najdi-Arabic proverbs*, Beirut 1993.  
 Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Counsel for kings*, trans. F. R. C. Bagley, London 1964.  
 K. b. ‘A. al-Humaydī, *Aqwāl ‘Umān li-kull al-azmān*, 4 vols., Muscat 1986–94.  
 —, *al-Takhātīr wa-al-taghbābī al-sha’biyya fī ‘Umān*, Muscat 1993.  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Abkām al-nisā’*, Cairo 1994.  
 A. S. G. Jayakar, Omance proverbs, in *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 21 (1904) 435–98.  
 ‘A. K. al-Juhaymān, *Min ‘asāṭīrīnā al-sha’biyya fī qalb Jazīrat al-‘Arab*, 3 vols., Beirut 1967–8.

KINGA DÉVÉNYI

### Iran

Men and women create and quote sayings freely and value their clever use in everyday life as well as in poetry, the political arena, advertisements, and jokes. Proverbs are documented for about a millennium, from Firdawsī and Asad Tūsī to Dihkhudā. Over a dozen collections are in print in Persian, and the Office for Persian Languages reportedly is compiling tens of thousands of sayings. Most proverbs comment on general human conditions and, in the absence of grammatical gender markers, are applicable to both sexes. Few are gender-specific, and fewer yet talk explicitly about women in the nearly 4,000 sayings analyzed by this author, although there are regional differences. Most collections are published by men, with an obvious bias for male themes and interpretations. (For example, “A long beard is a sign of stupidity” becomes “Long hair and short wit” in Abrīshamī’s English.) As used, proverbs often provide gender information lost in collections that do not identify speaker and context. Of all sayings, riddles and adages more likely deal directly, even bawdily, with sex.

Men appear in some 30 male occupations and in all major kinship categories; women are marked as relatives (mother, aunt) or by their tools (milk pail, spindle). They have no profession, but some recent sayings play on a working woman’s ill effect on her husband’s comfort: she serves bread and eggs for dinner or has an empty larder. As relatives, women appear positively as mothers and in

mother–daughter relationships; mostly positively as mother’s sisters; problematic as brides and wives; negative as co-wives, step-mothers, and mothers-in-law; and potentially dangerous to a man’s honor as sisters. Necessary for men and thus in the grand scheme of things, wives are capable of hurting as well as uplifting men, of bringing riches as well as ruin. In contrast to individualized men, women are likely to appear in categories (mother) and are even lumped together with objects that stand for happiness (rifle, bride) or for misfortune (lame donkey, ugly wife). Ugliness in women is deplored, but great beauty is seen as dangerous or evil and good housekeeping as incompatible with beauty-consciousness – the sayings describe women’s acceptable looks and conduct narrowly.

In this linguistic genre, men’s interests define women’s propriety, but the interpretation and actual use of proverbs are a function of power as well as gender. A woman may scold a daughter-in-law with a proverb one minute, and later use the same to defend herself against a son. Young people are warned away from passion, but a lusty old man is ridiculed as much as a widow who is after men. A poor man ought not to aspire to a beautiful wife, but a beautiful girl should not set her aims too high either. The hierarchical world of proverbs has tight morals and gender attributes, with women explicitly below and lesser than men. The great variation of themes and situations indicates that in real life people’s conduct veers greatly from an ideal norm. A house where “the hen’s cackling is louder than the rooster’s crowing” may mean shame for an ineffectual householder but “good for her” if said by the “hen’s” mother, and clearly suggests that some women rule their husband’s house.

As people use sayings mostly to criticize, moralize, entertain, and poke fun, neither sex is pictured entirely favorably. However, women and their concerns are less often the focus in sayings than are men and their pursuits, and thus women have fewer choices when they use this literary genre to comment on their situations.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Abrīshamī, *A dictionary of 800 Persian proverbs with English and French equivalents*, Tehran 1994.  
 A. Dihkhudā, *Amthāl va hikam*, Tehran 1931.  
 S. Habibian (comp.), *1001 Persian-English proverbs*, Bethesda, Md. 1999.  
 M. Maṣṣūrī, *Zarbulmathalhā-yi Īrānī*, Tehran 2001.

ERIKA LOEFFLER FRIEDL

## North Africa

The area covered in this entry is more accurately known as the Maghrib, which extends from Libya to Mauritania. The oral tradition of the Maghrib, particularly in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, is identical as regards the popular philosophy. Differences are most often limited to names of objects or popular expressions specific to a certain region, which makes the identification of the country of origin of the various proverbs, adages, and riddles a futile exercise. Similarities are most specifically noted in border cities and go back to a time of free circulation across the countries of the region.

The biased and at times derogatory representation of women, especially in proverbs, appears on two levels: explicit (clearly articulated) and implicit (in the unsaid that favors men at the expense of women). Generally, men conceive of no other place in society but a position of authority vis-à-vis women, in both proverbs and adages, as defined in the proverb: "When men go away, women play."

This position is coupled with a total lack of trust in a woman's word, but unquestioned confidence in a man's word: "Beware when a woman swears by your name, but sleep soundly if a man does the same." Women are viewed as a source of evil and temptation, surpassing Satan in malice and slyness: "What Satan needs a year to finish, a woman in a day accomplishes." This devilish view of women seems to dictate a recommendation for men to shun women's advice, lest they incur grave consequences: "Doing a woman's will leads you to hell." If compelled, however, to consult a woman, particularly his wife, a man has an option offered by the proverb that states: "Ask your wife for her point of view but do only what suits you."

It is somewhat surprising to find this negative view of women in Muslim societies; the Qur'an does not blame Eve for Adam's downfall, but holds them both equally responsible for disobeying God's recommendation. Women are in fact one of four sources of danger that men are advised to guard against, in addition to the Sultan (the political authority), the sea, and time. An adage places a seal of approval on this belief: "There is no identifiable valley in the mountain and no warm wind in winter. The enemy's heart is merciless and women do not keep their promise." The unsaid in such proverbs implies the weakness of men who find themselves overrun by a group traditionally regarded as the weaker sex.

Thus the public discourse provides justifications for this one-sided gender distrust due, to a large extent, to men's preoccupation with a public image

of dominance that tolerates women's control in the household. It is men's intimate knowledge of women's power that seems to motivate the punishment and chastisement of women as a preventive measure. A proverb recommends a man to beat a woman for no reason, because she must undoubtedly have done something wrong. There appears to be a permanent presumption of guilt that requires either corporal punishment, a stick to "cure," or a psychological approach, for example jealousy, as revealed in this proverb: "Punish women with women not with a stick."

Based generally on various personal experiences, proverbs have a tendency to contradict each other. This is true of proverbs related to women. Thus, in opposition to the antagonism toward women already mentioned, there are proverbs favorable to them, which allow that there are good and bad women. A very flattering proverb considers women to be the essence of patience. A strong woman in time of adversity is likened to a man. Another proverb goes further and cites women as one of three sources of joy for a man, together with horses and books.

Maghribi society expects from its women a lifetime of labor and almost no time for rest. The epitome of negativity is the sight of an inactive woman; hence cold coffee is as bad as an indolent woman. The proverb is reversible however, and can be read as follows: an indolent woman is like cold coffee. In its reversible form the proverb appears to hide another level of significance of a sexual nature, and could apply to sexually unresponsive women.

A camouflaged allusion to sexuality can also be detected in another proverb, which on the surface refers to men's right to polygamy, borrowing an image from rural societies, stating, "The change of saddles provides comfort." The choice of the saddle and the position of a rider on it are too obvious to dismiss as a mere simile for remarriage. It is counteracted by another proverb where the number of women/wives does not guarantee quality service. Like the preceding proverb it has a sexual undertone as it declares, "Four women and the water-bag is dry." Polygamy is not without risks, as explained in another proverb, which warns of difficulties, promising that a man with a second wife does not enjoy a single night of peace.

Generally, proverbs and adages seem to expect more of women than they do of men, in all aspects of their life. Good conduct, honorable behavior, decency, and devotion are required of women because "An indecent woman is like food without salt." This moral attribute is matched with a condemnation of extramarital relations for a man, one



of very few examples of reprimand intended for men: "Having a mistress is a disgrace, no matter her age."

Women acquire respectability as mothers and are placed well above the father despite the fact that men are the breadwinners in traditional societies. The father as a symbol of authority remains distant from his children, while the mother is seen as a source of unconditional love and great leniency, explained in this proverb: "The father brings up and the mother covers up." The special consideration paid to mothers in the *ḥadīths* of the Prophet Muḥammad must have impacted a society where a woman's strongest role is that of a mother. This position is reiterated in the following adage: "In trade the best activity is plowing and the mother is the most loving."

Respect for women grows with age, which explains a dislike for older women who do not act their age, a dislike that borders on age discrimination and reflects a preference for younger women: "Young women are desired and old women are a catastrophe." Another proverb disapproves of a man who marries an older woman: "From a place full of dames he returned with a wrinkled woman." It is probably for this reason that a proverb portrays women as extremely concerned about aging, thus giving men a subject for ridicule: "Women fear gray hair like sheep fear the wolf."

Riddles present a mixed bag as far as the image of women is concerned, some portraying them in a ridiculous manner that is not justified by the subject matter. An example is a riddle about the wooden frame of a peasant house, a *gourbi*, which reads: "Of two old women strangling an old man." Two negative elements appear in a riddle about the sun and the moon, which reads: "Of two sisters, one known for its sterility, the other gives birth to girls only."

Other riddles portray a positive image of women, some seductive like the one referring to corn: "The prince's daughter is covered with something silky, untie her or I would tie you to a donkey." Others are compassionate, revealing families' concern for their daughters' future: "Of one who is ours but serves the others, her life is miserable and her death is painful." Riddles in particular have revealed an ability to adapt to changes in societies, a characteristic that leaves the door open to a different, possibly more favorable, representation of women.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. A. Bamia, *The graying of the raven. Cultural and socio-political significance of Algerian folk poetry*, Cairo 2001.

M. Ben Cheneb, *Quelques adages algériens*, Paris 1928.  
 R. R. A. Giacobetti, *Recueil d'énigmes arabes populaires*, Paris 1916.  
 A. Khatibi, *La blessure du nom propre*, Paris 1974.  
 S. A. Shihi, *Proverbes inédits de vieilles femmes*, Fez 1930.

AIDA A. BAMIA

### The Ottoman Empire

A large corpus of collections of Ottoman Turkish proverbs, adages, and riddles drawn from classical literary and popular oral sources is available in published form, the majority dating from the nineteenth century. However, monographs on women, gender, and sexuality have not yet been produced. The material which forms the basis for this outline contains more on specific roles of women in society (mother, daughter, wife) than general characteristics of women. Although open to interpretation, the prevailing depiction of women in the data focuses on negative connotations. Themes such as women's oppressed situation or their undesirable characteristics are common.

Compared to proverbs, the representation of women in riddles is limited. Instead of the moralizing tone of the proverbs, a satirical approach can be found in the riddles (for example, "[What is] a black turkey, mounted on your mother? A chador"). The earliest collections provide many proverbs on sexuality using an exceedingly drastic and graphic language (for example, as an image for the impossibility of making used things look new: "It's impossible to make the vagina tight by contracting," fifteenth century). Over the centuries, as sexual taboos were codified, this kind of language, along with proverbs dealing with bestiality and the like, disappears from the literary sources.

Many positive attributes are assigned to women in maternal roles, for "there is no loving helper like the mother, and no place like Baghdad." Closeness and solidarity, especially between mother and daughter, are stressed. Primarily though, the mother is respected for her biological functions, such as child bearing and nursing, strikingly illustrated by a riddle: "I have three cows: of one of them, the milk is permissible (*halal*) but the meat (flesh) is prohibited (*haram*); of one, the meat is *halal* but the milk is *haram*; and of the third one both the meat is *haram* and the milk. – Mother, wife, sister." Remarkably, a skillful and industrious mother is held in higher esteem than a rich father, as illustrated in a fifteenth-century proverb: "It's better to stay behind with a mother who has one thimble than a father who has a hundred sheep."

Despite the positive connotations of woman as mother, having a daughter is primarily seen as a burden: she must be married off as soon as possible, as a sixteenth-century proverb with a nineteenth-century variant demonstrates: “At seven/fifteen a girl must be with her husband or in the ground.” While preparing for marriage, the girl is restricted to her father’s home, for “daughters and gold have to be hidden,” learning housework from her mother. In several proverbs men are advised what kind of wife to take. Good family background and youth (virginity) are preferred qualities, even for widowers (“Don’t take an old woman, even if she looks young and strong,” fifteenth century). It is also stated that you can never leave the choice to the girl, because then “she will pick a [fly-by-night] musician” (nineteenth century).

Marriage is essential for both men and women. A man needs a wife, like a woman (more explicitly) needs a husband. Premarital sexual relations are impossible, and “a woman who trusts in her lover will not get a husband” (fourteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries). It is the wife who is responsible for a prosperous home and marriage situation (“God does not destroy a home well kept by a woman, and God does not mend a home damaged by a woman,” fifteenth century, or “It’s the female bird that prepares the nest,” nineteenth century). Nevertheless, the wife is not held in great esteem. The husband is a fool to listen to her (“Damned is the home, where the hen clucks, and the rooster listens to her,” seventeenth century) and he should never share a secret with her.

A common motif found in the proverbs is the depiction of a newly-wed, innocent young woman as a victim of an evil mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law is expected to assume the role of the daughter of the house (“My daughter, I’m telling you! My daughter-in-law, you listen!”), sixteenth, nineteenth centuries). However, her foremost duty is to give birth to children as soon as possible (“[A father] should see his daughter behind the bride’s veil and his daughter-in-law behind the cradle”).

Apart from a mother’s honesty and virtue (“Bribery and drinking make our mother cry,” seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), only negative characteristics are associated with women in proverbs. Numerous proverbs depict women as prattlers and dishonest (a place where everyone is talking simultaneously and loudly “has turned into a women’s *hammam*,” nineteenth century, and “Talking is for women, acting is for men”, seventeenth century). Women tempt and manipulate men (“A beautiful woman and wine are sweet poisons,” seventeenth century); they are highly sexed, careless, and unre-

liable. Pointedly, women are known as “the devil in the humans” (nineteenth century). In addition, women are naive and stupid (“Her hair is long, her intellect is short,” nineteenth century), and not to be taken seriously (“A woman’s advice is only good for a woman,” nineteenth century).

The lowest social status is held by types who contradict traditional gender roles, namely effeminate men and prostitutes (“Even a woman is better than an effeminate man,” nineteenth century). Finally, as a strong counterpoint to the general themes of the proverbs, one sixteenth-century proverb advocates equal qualities in men and women, “A male lion is a lion, is then a female lion not a lion?”

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ö. A. Aksoy, *Atasözleri ve deyimler sözlüğü*, 2 vols., Ankara 1971, Istanbul 1989<sup>s</sup> (enlarged ed.).  
 İ. Başgöz and A. Tietze, *Bilmece. A corpus of Turkish riddles*, Berkeley 1973.  
 H. Bektaş, Çeşitli ülkelerin halk edebiyatlarında “kadın” la ilgili atasözlerinin bir başka yönü, in *Türk Dili* 550 (1997), 348–54.  
 P. N. Boratav, Quatre vingt quatorze proverbes turcs du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, restés inédits, in *Oriens*, 7:2 (1954), 223–49.  
 S. Buluç, Eski bir elyazmasında bulunan Türk atasözleri, in M. Canpolat, S. Tezcan, M. Ş. Onaran (eds.), *Ömer Asım Aksoy armağanı*, Ankara 1978, 11–26.  
 D. Dilçin, *Edebiyatımızda atasözleri*, Istanbul 1945, Ankara 2000.  
 Edirneli Ahmed Bâdi Efendi, *Armağan. Divan şürinde atasözleri ve deyimler*, ed. S. A. Beyzadeoğlu, M. Gür-gendereli, and F. Günay, [Cambridge, Mass.] 2004.  
 Ş. Elçin, British Muzeum’da [!] bulunan yazma bir Türk atalar sözü mecmuası, in Ş. Elçin, *Halk edebiyatı araştırmaları*, Ankara 1977, 165–76.  
 E. K. Eyüboğlu, *On üçüncü yüzyıldan günümüze kadar şürde ve halk dilinde atasözleri ve deyimler*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1973–5.  
 A. Gallotta, Lâtin harfleri ile yazılmış bir kaç Osmanlı atasözü, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 24/25 (1986), 235–49.  
 Güvâhî, *Pendâme. Öğütler ve atasözleri*, ed. M. Hengirmen, [Ankara] 1983, 1990.  
 V. İzbudak (ed.), *Atalar sözü*, Istanbul 1936.

HELGA ANETSHOFER

#### Turkey and the Caucasus

Although there is an extensive corpus of Turkish proverbs, riddles, adages, and other poetic forms collected and published since the end of eighteenth century, a thorough analysis that focuses on women and gender is lacking. The research of those who published work on the images of women in proverbs does not show a scholarly quality and expresses strong national sentiments (Birkalan 2002). In modern Turkish, the word for proverb is *atasözü*, which refers to words of male

sages, or the ancestors; in Ottoman Turkish it is *darb-ı mesel* (pl. *dürub-ı emsal* (Boratav 1965).

Proverbs not only reflect culture but also perpetuate the cultural dictates of the past, including fears, prejudices, and misconceptions of their predominantly male authors. Although proverbs supposedly express the wisdom of the *vox populi*, they should not be taken as expressing eternal truths and good morals passed down from one generation to the next. Simply said, proverbs express an idea in an artistic way (Boratav 1988, 124–5). As Beck asserts, “the imagery found in proverbs does not provide a direct *entrée* into the symbolic traditions of a culture at large” (Beck 1979, 24). It can be argued that because the term proverb implies the “words of the ancestors,” the message is expressed through patriarchal lenses. However, early scholars have highlighted them as “national treasures,” disregarding the patriarchal paradigms that govern the ideology of proverbs, proverbial sayings, and so on (Oy 1959). In this light, contrasting morals and ideals can be found in proverbs expressed within one culture. Moreover, it is not surprising that women should have been made a prominent theme for criticism and comment, the judgment passed on them being in most cases fairly evenly divided between what is in their favor or against them.

Curses, maledictions, and benedictions are a somewhat similar case. For example, in boys’ dueling, women’s sexual organs are taken as targets of assault. *Ananın amı* (your mother’s cunt) and *babamın kıllı damı* (my father’s hairy penis) are examples of young boys’ retort; this particular verbal exchange assaults the first person’s mother’s sexuality with the second person’s father’s penis (Dundes et al. 1987, 83).

*Mani* is a traditional oral genre most associated with the sentiments of personal life, composed and sung by men and women. Its poetic discourse is formulaic in structure, metaphoric in content, and lyric in tone. In some forms of *mani*, the dueling of “brides and mother-in-laws” can be found: *gözleri patlak gelin/çenesi hırtlak gelin/seni mezar kaçkını/suratsız hortlak gelin* (black-eyed daughter-in-law/weak-chinned daughter-in-law/fugitive from the grave/sour-faced goblin); *bahçe çapa istiyolu/işçi para istiyolu/düşük çeneli gelin/çamdan sopa istiyolu* (the garden wants a hoe/the worker wants money/big-mouthed bride/wants a pine-stick beating); *çarşıda et kaynana/başında bit kaynana/biz oğlunla yan yana/dışarı git kaynana* (meat at the market, mother-in-law/fleas on your head, mother-in-law/I’m side by side with your son/get out, mother-in-law) (Duvarcı 2002). In modern times, the mother-

in-law versus daughter-in-law conflict has relatively diminished, partly because of the increase in the number of nuclear families; however, most of the sayings in *manis* continue to circulate.

The nature, themes, and dimensions of these depictions can be grouped in different categories: *Bodur tavuk her zaman piliç* (A small chicken is always a chick) refers to a woman’s appearance. Women’s phases of life and their roles at different statuses are revealed: *Anasını babasını dinlemeyen evlat, kocasını saymayan avrat, üzengi ile yürüyen at, kapında tutma, durma sat* (do not possess and get rid of the following: a child who does not obey his/her parents; a wife who does not respect her husband; a horse which walks with a skewed back); *Babaya dayanma, kadına güvenme* (do not lean on [your] father, do not trust a woman); *Er kocarsa koç, karı kocarsa biç olur* (if a man gets old, he becomes a ram; when a woman gets old, she becomes nothing) (Duvarcı 2002). The last proverb implies the notion of women being inferior to men, but, through time, becoming “nothing,” as the culture regards old age for men as a sign of maturity and strength, but not so for women. There is a moral transformation which causes a reversal in character if not a reversal in roles.

Some proverbs are aimed at prescribing women’s proper behavior: *Erine göre bağla başını, tencereye göre kaynat aşını* (cover your head according to your husband and boil your food according to your pot); *Tarlayı taşlı yerden, kızı kardaşlı yerden* (advise a man not cultivate a stony field and not to marry a girl from a crowded family) (Duvarcı 2002, 92); *Kızını dövmeyen dizini döver* (if you do not beat your daughter, you will beat your lap) and *Kızı bırakırsan ya davulcuya, ya zurnacıya varır* (if you leave it to the girl, she would marry a drum player) are warnings about close parental monitoring and approval for marriage.

The basics of women’s life, love, sex, pregnancy, and childbirth, can be observed: *Çocuksuz kadın meyvesiz ağaca benzer* (woman without a child is like a tree without fruit) (Duvarcı 2002, 94). Female power in proverbs is conceptualized in terms of verbal talents, work, and knowledge: *Kadımın eli kaşık sapından kararr* (woman’s hand gets dark) and *Kadınlara tavsiye: kocanın iki tasından birini kıracaksın* (break one of the two pots in your husband’s house) reinforce social ideals of “proper” gender and religious behavior and imply that people should accumulate less.

A common metaphor in proverbs refers to women as “containers,” such as bottles and bags, certain animals (hens, cats, goats), or food (of all kinds):

*Kadının karnından sıpasını, sırtından sopasını eksik etmeyeceksin* (never let the woman not have the colt in her belly and the stick on her back), which can be best explained by the way that patriarchal culture emphasizes women's reproductive roles in society. Carol Delaney (1991) alludes to an important conceptualization of men and women in terms of conception: man is the seed and woman is the soil. Woman is seen in the realm of reproduction, or as a means to keep the family forging onwards by producing children.

Women with different social roles and status, such as wives, mothers, and daughters, "property," old women, and grandmothers, are depicted as inferior to men. This can be observed in the following example: *Saçı uzun akli kısa* (long hair, small brain), contrasting two characteristics of women. Nonetheless, when it comes to specific gender roles, such as motherhood or women as brides, woman is seen as an object to worship or adore. *Cennet annelerin ayakları altındadır* (paradise lies under the feet of mothers) is attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad to emphasize the high status of motherhood.

Proverbs are used not only in everyday speech, but also as essential elements of the epic tradition as seen in the examples of Kyrgyz and Kazakh people. Among the Crimean Karakaim peoples and in southern Anatolia proverbs are used in verbal games (Boratav 1988, 119, 123). Proverbs are recalled in public and private domains. In the private domain, positive roles include the wife, mother, and so-called household sage (role as manager, teacher, healer, and mourner); the negative counterparts are the scolding wife/mother, widow, and adulteress.

Riddles, which are simply metaphors, also contain the commonly held images of women. *Sütü yeyilir, eti yeyilmez* (Başgöz 1993, i, 290) (while the milk can be consumed, their flesh cannot be eaten) highlights the capacity of women to breastfeed. This "cannibalistic" underpinning, referring to flesh, blood, and so on is more visible in the description of the female genitals: "a plate of appetizer; oh how fresh it is; it's wet, never gets dry; it is salty, never goes rotten." In contrast, *Özü tatlı, sözü tatlı, candan daha kıymetli* (sweet in essence, sweet in talk, more precious than one's soul) refers to the role of women as mother, sister, and wife (Başgöz 1993, i, 45). The fetus of the pregnant woman is described as "the fish within the gutter, within the minaret" (Başgöz 1993, ii, 215). Brides are described as objects of praise: "a grain of pomegranate, a grain of light, she is one of a kind," recalling the palimpsest of poetic images in poetic discourse (Başgöz 1993, ii, 216).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A. Abou-Zeid, Honour and shame among the Bedouins of Egypt, in J. G. Péristiany (ed.), *Honour and shame. The values of Mediterranean society*, Chicago 1966, 243-59.
- L. Abu-Lughod, *Veiled sentiments. Honor and poetry in a Bedouin society*, Berkeley 1986.
- I. Başgöz, *Türk bilmeceleri*, 2 vols., Ankara 1993.
- B. Beck, Body imagery in the Tamil proverbs of South India, in *Western Folklore* 38 (1979), 21-41.
- H. A. Birkalan, Social life of genres. Examples from Turkish folk literature, paper presented at the First World Congress of the Middle Eastern Studies Association, Mainz 2002.
- P. N. Boratav, *100 soruda Türk halk edebiyatı*, İstanbul 1988.
- , *Philologiae Turcicae fundamentae. Tomum secundum*, Wiesbaden 1965.
- C. Delaney, *The seed and the soil. Gender and cosmology in Turkish village society*, Berkeley 1991.
- A. Dundes et al., The strategy of Turkish boys' verbal dueling rhymes, in A. Dundes (ed.), *Parsing through customs. Essays by a Freudian folklorist*, Madison, Wis. 1987, 82-117.
- A. Duvarcı, Atasözlerinde kadın kavramının değerlendirilmesi, in *Uluslararası Türk dünyası kadın kurultayı bildirileri*, Ankara 2002, 91-8.
- İ. Ç. Güner, Türkiye Türkçesi atasözlerinde kadın kavramı ve iletişi, thesis, Faculty of Language and History-Geography, Ankara University 2001.
- S. A. İspirli, Gelin kaynana kavgasının 4 bin yıllık geçmişi var, <<http://www.yenisafak.com.tr/arsiv/2005/ocak/01/hayat.htm>>.
- A. Keskin, Atasözlerinde kadın olgusu örneğinde dilin evrensel özelliği, in *21. Yüzyıla girerken yazında dil kullanımları (alışkanlıklar-yenilikler-aykırılıklar-sapmalar)*, Denizli 2001, 224-35.
- A. Oy, Tanzimat yazarları ve atasözleri, in *Türk Dili* 93 (1959), 500-3.
- P. Seitel, Proverbs. Social use of metaphor, in *Genre* 2 (1969), 143-61.
- C. Selek, Atasözlerinde kadın, in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* 6 (1961), 143.
- H. Storm, Women in Japanese proverbs, in *Asian Folklore Studies* 51:2 (1992), 167-82.
- S. K. Webster, Women, sex, and marriage in Moroccan proverbs, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14:2 (May 1982), 173-84.

HANDE A. BIRKALAN-GEDİK

## Yemen

Even though many women are now active in public life in Yemen, and the Yemeni constitution mandates equality without discrimination by gender, notions of women's traditional place in society limit the opportunities available to many women. Proverbs and folk sayings in Yemen reflect customary attitudes toward women and their position in the family and society. Through repetition and presentation as traditional wisdom, they teach and reinforce those attitudes.

Many proverbs define a woman as less than a man. It is often said that: "Women are deficient

in intellect and religion as well as inheritance.” Female deficiency is not only inherent, it cannot be overcome: “A she-camel is still a female, even if she bellows.” “Never trust one with ‘two holes,’ even a female goat.” Maleness too is inherent: “A boy is a male, even if he is a worm.”

Of course, Yemeni women have their own ideas and opinions. Proverbs warn against heeding them. “If you take your wife’s advice, you will regret it.” “A man who consults his wife should have his beard pulled out.” “If you follow a woman’s wishes, you become one.” “If you believe a woman, you are one.” The notion that listening to a woman makes a man less of a man hinders women’s full participation in decision-making in public life as well as family life.

Proverbs warn against giving a woman free rein: “A man eats until his stomach is full, but a woman eats until she has finished everything.” An occasional proverb exemplifies female self-effacement: “A woman says (to a man), ‘The meat is for you and the bones are for me.’” Women are to be reined in, but ideally, they limit themselves.

Femaleness is problematic in Yemeni society because family honor is bound to female chastity and propriety. Maintaining family honor against the potential disgrace of female impropriety can be a difficult burden: “A man who has a lot of daughters deserves sympathy.” “Marry your daughter off at the earliest possible age, and you are guaranteed safe from problems.” Still, one proverb advises to keep this problem in perspective: “Just take care of your daughter and don’t pay attention to others.”

In Yemen, family honor has traditionally been maintained by strict separation of women from men. The problem of female desire and temptation is incendiary: “Keep the gas away from the match.” A woman can be more easily shamed than a man: “A clay pot breaks faster.” And the onus for any illicit behavior lies with the woman. As for the man: “A dog won’t come unless it’s called.”

The choice of a marriage partner is a ripe topic for folk wisdom. Proverbs emphasize that marriage is a family matter and focus on the men. Men are advised to choose a wife for her family connections: “Don’t get married except among men.” “In choosing a wife, choose a good maternal uncle for your future children; that’s more important than money.” There is even a proverb to counter a potential groom who objects to a bride chosen for her family rather than personal attributes: “What is lacking from [the beauty of] her cheeks, her grandfather will compensate for.”

Many proverbs encourage marriage to a cousin or extended family member. “Choose the better

path even though it is long, and marry your paternal cousin, even if she is a difficult person.” Marriage within the family has multiple benefits: inherited property stays within the family; the marriage partners have been raised with similar values; a bride leaving her parents’ home is going among women she knows and trusts. Such benefits are portrayed as superseding more personal factors: “In marriage, the hellfire of a relative is better than the paradise of a stranger.”

Proverbs recommend marrying within one’s social level. “Every village should be built from its own stones.” “Each one eats from his own portion.” “He who marries from the street, his children come from the garbage pile” or “. . . his father was a dog.” “He who marries outside his kind, harms himself.” Still, another proverb presents a countervailing view: “You can pick a flower from a dog’s ass,” meaning that a good wife can be found from lower status groups (although a woman should not marry down).

Yemen’s proud heritage includes two powerful women rulers, the pre-Islamic Queen Bilqīs and the twelfth-century Queen Arwā bint Aḥmad al-Ṣulayhī; Bilqīs and Arwā are both popular names for girls. So it is not surprising to find a few sayings that celebrate women and their abilities. In Ḥaḍramawt, people relate the story of the fifteenth-century religious scholar, al-Shaykha Sulṭāna bint ‘Alī al-Zubaydī, who was challenged by a male counterpart: “But can a she-camel compete with a male camel?” She responded: “A she-camel can carry the same load as a male, and produce offspring and milk as well.”

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ḥasan Aḥmad bin Ṭālib al-‘Āmirī, 2000 *mathal min Ḥaḍramawt*, Ṣan‘a 2001.  
 L. Boxberger, *On the edge of empire*, Albany, N.Y. 2002.  
 al-Qaḍī Ismā‘īl al-Ikwa‘, *al-Ambāl al-Yamaniyya*, Ṣan‘a 1984.

LINDA BOXBERGER

# Representations: Qurʾān

## Overview

The Qurʾān clearly distinguishes between male and female, assigning specific categories and roles to both men and women. Verses in the Qurʾān also stipulate regulations and authorization for sexual relations between certain people and in certain circumstances.

## INTRODUCTION

Throughout the Qurʾān, people are classified and addressed according to different sorts of criteria including religion, economic status, genealogy, gender, and sexual practices. In the Qurʾān, men and women are commonly addressed together, using both the Arabic singular and the plural masculine, which can be and often is interpreted to be inclusive of both males and females. General commands and statements often begin with the phrase “You who believe...” or “People...” referring to both men and women. In other verses, such as 2:286 and 63:11, the Qurʾān uses the neutral term *nafs* (soul) to encompass both males and females, and perhaps non-human entities also.

In a limited number of cases the Qurʾān uses terms that apply specifically to women or to women and men together. For example, the terms *muslimin* (men who submit) and *muslimāt* (women who submit) are both used in 33:35. Ibn Kathīr cites a report that this verse was revealed when Umm Salama, a wife of the Prophet Muḥammad, complained that the Qurʾān did not mention anything about women. This verse also employs the terms *muʾminīn* (believing men) and *muʾmināt* (believing women) which are used as a pair in nine other verses (2:72, 24:12, 33:58, 33:73, 47:19, 48:5, 48:25, 57:12, 71:28). The term *muʾmināt* is used by itself without the reference to men in ten verses (4:25, 5:5, 9:71, 24:23, 24:31, 33:49, 60:10, 60:12, 66:5, 85:10).

A number of verses seem to establish that men and women are roughly equivalent in their obligations and rights before God. Verse 4:32, for example, states explicitly that God bestows his blessing “to men, the allotment they earn,” and “to women, the allotment they earn.” Rashīd Riḍā cites three reports that this verse was revealed when a wife of the Prophet Muḥammad or some women asked about receiving inheritance without being required to fight (*jihād*) for the community. Verse 49:13

addresses all people and, referring to the creation of men and women, says that “the most honored of you, in God’s sight, is the most righteous of you.” Verse 30:30 refers to the *fiṭra* (instinct) with which God has endowed all people, the instinct to the *al-dīn al-qayyim* (true religion). Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī cites a report from Abū Dāʿūd that this instinct comes from all people having been witness to the covenant made between God and the future descendants of Adam before being split into male and female.

Many of the narratives in the Qurʾān also make distinctions between men and women. Of all the characters mentioned by name in the Qurʾān, only one is a woman: Mary, the mother of Jesus, is named 34 times in the Qurʾān (3:33–47, 19:16–30, 23:50). According to Muslim exegesis, the Qurʾān refers to other women such as Eve (2:35–6, 7:19–25, 20:117–23), the wives of Noah and Lot (66:10), Sarah (11:69–72, 51:24–9), Hagar (14:37), the wife of Aziz or Potiphar (12:23–32, 12:51–3), Moses’s mother (28:7–13), sister (28:11–12), and wife (28:25–6), the wife of the Pharaoh (28:9, 66:11), the Queen of Sheba (27:23–44), and the mother of John the Baptist (3:40, 19:5–14, 21:90). Of these women, only Mary, Sarah, the wife of Aziz, Moses’s sister, the wife of the Pharaoh, and the Queen of Sheba play active roles and speak. None of these women are identified in the Qurʾān as being prophets, but some Muslim scholars, such as Ibn Ḥazm, argue that both Mary and the mother of Moses might be considered prophets because they received revelations directly from God.

The Qurʾān also refers to the wives of the Prophet Muḥammad. Verse 33:6 assigns these women the epithet “mothers of the believers,” and 33:32 states that they are unlike other women. Parallel to these verses, Ubayy b. Kaʿb and Ibn ʿAbbās are reported to have also called the Prophet Muḥammad the “father of the believers.” Verse 33:50 allows the Prophet Muḥammad special latitude in his marriages, and 33:53 commands that no one should marry his widows. Verse 33:53–5 also puts restrictions on people entering the household of the Prophet Muḥammad, and has been interpreted as a command to the Prophet’s wives that they be veiled when in public view. Mālik b. Anas reports that these verses were revealed confirming the advice of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to the Prophet Muḥammad. A

more general injunction regarding veiling is found in 24:30–1. Verse 66:1–5 refers to an incident in which the Prophet prohibited honey because of jealousy among his wives, and 24:11–26 is understood to have been revealed because of an incident of slander against one of Muḥammad's wives.

There are a number of narratives in the Qur'ān in which otherwise normal gender and sexual categories appear to be blurred. For example, 4:1 states that God created humanity from a single soul, dividing this soul into two to create mates. Also citing 49:13, al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī states that all human beings, male and female, big and small, weak and strong, come from this single soul. Muslim exegetes have interpreted this to imply that God first created Adam as an androgynous being before splitting humanity into male and female. Muslim exegetes see this androgynous human soul allegorized in the story of Joseph (*sūra* 12). Verses 12:23–34 describe the great beauty of Joseph and his desire to be imprisoned rather than seduced by the wife of Aziz and a group of women. The virgin birth of Jesus (3:47, 19:21) and the immaculate conception described in Muslim exegesis also puts special emphasis on the gender of Mary.

#### GENDER RELATIONS

The Qur'ān defines certain roles for men and women, especially in the context of stipulating the regulations for sexual relations and marriage. One of the more controversial verses establishing conduct for men and women is 4:34. This verse has been taken by Muslim and non-Muslim scholars to justify a wide range of activities and attitudes toward men and women.

The beginning of 4:34 states that men are *qawwāmūn* over women. Ibn Kathīr interprets this to mean that men are “established over women” meaning a man is woman's head, her guardian, sovereign over her, and the one to discipline her when she goes astray. The verse also states that this position of men is due to the fact that God has given more of his blessing to men, and because men provide maintenance for women from their property. According to Ibn al-ʿArabī this is because men represent the full scope of reason and discernment, religion and its observance, and because men are responsible to expend their property for the upkeep of society.

Later in the same verse, upright women are defined as being chaste and “guarding during the absence.” Al-Suddī and others interpret this to mean that a wife must protect her husband's property and herself as his wife during his absence. The

same interpretation is given in a saying from the Prophet Muḥammad cited by Abū Hurayrah, and is supported by the following lines in the verse.

Verse 4:34 goes on to instruct men who fear *nushūz* on the part of their wives to first admonish them, refuse to have sex with them, and to beat them. According to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib maintained that these three actions represent three stages in the man's punishment of his wife, but other exegetes state that the man selects the punishment that suits his wife's behavior. According to al-Qurtubī, admonishing means instructing according to the Qur'ān, and he provides a number of relevant verses. Ibn Kathīr cites reports from al-Bukhārī and Muslim that the Prophet Muḥammad said when a man refuses to share the bed of his wife because of her disobedience, the angels curse her until the morning. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī cites a report of the Prophet Muḥammad's treatment of his wives that is interpreted to mean that men who do not beat their wives are better than those who do. The jurist al-Shāfiʿī states that although beating is legal, it is preferable that the man not beat his wife, but if he does beat her it should be on her torso and fewer than 40 times.

The *nushūz* of the wife is defined as being something she says, such as cursing her husband when he calls her, or something she does, such as refusing him. Ibn Kathīr simply defines *nushūz* as the wife's disobedience of her husband, but also remarks that the husband also fears the punishment of God for his disobedience since God has required the right of the husband over her. Ibn ʿAbbās is reported to have said that the husband's “fear” of his wife's disobedience must be something of which he is certain, though Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī states that the “fear” is considered to be a state in which the husband suspects that something reprehensible will happen in the future.

Verse 4:128 addresses the circumstance in which a wife fears “disobedience” or “desertion” by her husband. No punishment is stipulated for the husband and the husband and wife are encouraged to arrange an amicable separation and settlement between themselves. Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī cites a report that Sawda feared the Prophet Muḥammad would divorce her so she offered to give her day with him to ʿĀ'isha. According to al-Jaṣṣāṣ, this verse means that a settlement is preferable to the husband mistreating or deserting his wife, and some of the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad maintain that such mistreatment is grounds for the wife to initiate a divorce.

## SEXUAL RELATIONS

Based on the interpretation of a number of verses in the Qurʾān, Islamic law establishes two categories of legal sexual relations: between husband and wife, and between a man and his concubine. All other sexual relations are regarded as *zinā* (fornication), including adultery and homosexuality.

Verse 2:236–7 establishes the relationship between the dower (*ajr*, *farīda*, *mahr*), the marriage contract, and sexual relations. According to al-Harrāsī, this verse was revealed when one of the Prophet Muḥammad’s followers married a woman and wanted to divorce her without first setting the dower. It is thus to be understood to mean that if the man and woman divorce before engaging in sexual relations and setting a dower, then the man is to give the woman a suitable gift. Ibn al-ʿArabī explains that if the divorce takes place before sexual relations but after setting the dower, the woman is entitled to half of the dower. In the case of divorce after sexual relations, the woman is due the entire amount of the dower. The whole dower is given to the woman in return for sexual relations which consummate the marriage contract, but according to the Ḥanafī jurist al-Qudūrī the woman is still entitled to the whole dower even if her husband is impotent as long as they had been together in seclusion conducive to sexual relations.

Verse 24:32–3 also emphasizes the necessity of the marriage contract for legal sexual relations. Ibn Kathīr cites a saying of the Prophet Muḥammad, recorded by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, that people should lower their eyes and guard their genitals. In his exegesis of these verses, al-Shawkānī explains that *ʿiffa* (abstinence) means avoiding fornication, meaning sexual relations outside marriage. This is addressed specifically to those who do not have enough money to afford a dower to propose a marriage contract (and to provide for the maintenance of the wife).

Although the regulations are not specifically mentioned in the Qurʾān, Islamic law does provide for legal sexual relations outside the marriage contract, in a relationship between a man and an unmarried slave woman whom he owns. Mālik b. Anas cites a report in which ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb says that when a female slave gives birth to a child by her master, then the slave becomes an *umm walad* (mother of a child, concubine). Citing a report preserved by Ibn Ḥibbān, al-Zurqānī mentions that Māriya was a concubine of the Prophet Muḥammad after giving birth to Ibrāhīm. The Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Qudāma explains that the father is not allowed to sell or transfer ownership of his concubine though he is entitled to have sexual relations with her, to employ

her service, to hire her out, and to marry her. Ibn al-Humām, in his commentary on the Ḥanafī law book of Abū Bakr al-Marghīnānī, adds that the slave owner must acknowledge the kinship of the child, and if the concubine is subsequently married and bears another child, then this child does not have kinship with the slave owner.

The Qurʾān also stipulates certain categories of women with whom men are prohibited from having sexual relations. Verse 4:22–4 lists mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts, nieces, wet-nurses, daughters of wet-nurses, wives’ mothers, daughters of wives from different fathers, wives of sons, two sisters at the same time, and women already married (excluding those captured as slaves). Muslim jurists allow further definition of certain categories such as the restriction against wet-nurses and their daughters. In his exegesis on 4:23, al-Suyūṭī cites a report given on the authority of ʿĀʾisha that there used to be a verse in the Qurʾān that stipulated that ten separate nursing periods were required to make sexual relations with a wet-nurse prohibited. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī points out that the prophet Jacob was married to two sisters at one time, and the prophet Abraham was married to Sarah who, by some accounts, was the daughter of Abraham’s brother Haran.

Verse 2:222 appears to prohibit sexual relations during menstruation. Verse 2:223 describes women as *ḥarth* (arable land) and instructs men to approach (or have sexual relations with) their “arable land” when they want. The *ḥadīth* collection of al-Nasāʾī preserves an account in which these verses are revealed when the Jews of Medina ask the Prophet Muḥammad about menstruation. Muslim cites a similar report, on the authority of Mālik b. Anas, in which it was the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad who asked about menstruation. Both accounts report that the practice of the Jews was to not eat or cohabit with menstruating women. The Prophet Muḥammad specifically restricts the injunction “to segregate the women” and “not go near them” in 2:222 to a prohibition against sexual relations with menstruating women. Men are thus allowed to associate with menstruating women, but menstruation does impose other purification rites upon women.

Outside marriage and concubinage, Islamic law prohibits sexual relations under the broad heading of *zinā* (fornication). Verse 24:2–3 establishes that male and female fornicators are to be flogged 100 times, and that fornicators are then allowed to marry only other fornicators or non-Muslims. Verse 4:15 states that women guilty of *fāḥisha* (obscenity) are to be placed under house-arrest until they die or God



ordains another way. According to many Muslim scholars, the Qur'ān used to contain another verse which stipulated that male and female fornicators were to be stoned to death. Ibn Ḥajar explains that this “stoning verse” was removed from the text of the Qur'ān but the *ḥukm* (legal precedent) of the verse remains in force. Mālik b. Anas maintains that the fornicators mentioned in this lost stoning verse are to be understood as “married” men and women, indicating that the punishment of flogging mentioned in 24:2–3 was intended for non-married fornicators.

Homosexual relations are also considered to be fornication according to Islamic law and exegesis of the Qur'ān. The exegesis of the story of Lot in the Qur'ān is clear in regarding sodomy as an egregious sin. In the exegesis of 11:82–3 and 53:53, Sa'īd b. Jubayr is reported to have described the stones of baked clay which God caused to rain down upon the people of Sodom for their sin. Qatāda says that angels threw rocks at the people of Sodom as part of their punishment. This death by stoning is compared to the stoning punishment stipulated for illegal heterosexual sex. In an opinion attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa, there is no punishment incumbent upon a man who sodomizes a woman based on the principle that this act is not tied to procreation, and that the penalty for fornication is intended to forestall the production of offspring whose genealogy is confused or unknown. Other jurists insist that any act of lust in which the result is the injecting of semen into another person constitutes sexual intercourse. Having sex with an animal does not count as fornication, but the animal must be destroyed and the human perpetrator is responsible for the value of the animal to its owner.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, *Tafsīr al-Samarqandī*, ed. M. Mu'awwad et al., Beirut 1993.  
 Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafāih al-ghayb*, Beirut 1990.  
 Muḥammad al-'Abarī al-Harrāsī, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Beirut n.d.  
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-'Arabī, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Beirut n.d.  
 Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-bārī bi-sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Beirut 1988.  
 'Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī al-mīlal wa-al-ahwā' wa-al-nihāl*, Beirut n.d.  
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid Ibn al-Humām, *Sharḥ fath al-qadīr 'alā al-bidāya. Sharḥ bidāyat al-mubtadā*, Beirut n.d.  
 Ismā'il Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'azīm*, Beirut n.d.  
 Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī and 'Abd al-Fatāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw, Cairo, 1992.  
 Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1994.  
 Mālik b. Anas, *al-Muwattā'*, ed. M. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, Beirut n.d.

- Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qudūrī, *Mukhtaṣar fī al-fiqh al-Hanafī*, Cairo n.d.  
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' li-al-aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Beirut 1985.  
 Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ḥakīm al-mashīr bi-tafsīr al-manār*, Beirut 1999.  
 Nawāl al-Sa'adāwī, *An al-mar'a*, Cairo 1988.  
 Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī, *Fath al-qadīr*, ed. Hishām al-Bukhārī and Khudr 'Ikārī, Beirut 1996.  
 B. F. Stowasser, *Women in the Qur'an, traditions, and interpretation*, Oxford 1994.  
 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *al-Darr al-manthūr fī tafsīr al-ma'thūr*, Beirut 2000.  
 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *al-Mīzān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Beirut n.d.  
 A. Wādud, *Qur'an and woman. Rereading the sacred text from a woman's perspective*, Oxford 1999.  
 Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī, *Sharḥ al-Zurqānī 'alā Muwattā'* al-Imām Mālik, Beirut 1990.

BRANNON WHEELER

# Representations: Romance Fiction

## Turkey

Popular romance reached its peak during the 1940s in Turkey. Women gained legal equality in the decade after the proclamation of the Republic in 1923; however, woman's body became a site of struggle for Westernization as an aspect of the modernization project. The visibility of women in the public sphere became a new subject for literature. The newly graduated young woman who went to distant corners of Anatolia to educate children and her struggle with the conservative local population became a very popular subject. The woman who was suitable for the ideology of the new republic, equal to man but not in conflict with the patriarchal structure, was one of the main figures in Turkish popular romance. This period also witnessed the publishing of etiquette books for women. Beginning in the 1980s, the romance novel ceased to be a genre defined by works of several major authors; romance became an element in general literature. It lost its informing and foundational function in relationships between men and women since liberal politics had begun to dominate economically and culturally. To create a woman appropriate to Kemalist ideology was no longer necessary.

### PORTRAIT OF A TURKISH WOMAN

Mükerrem Kamil Su, Güzide Sabri, Kerime Nadir, Muazzez Tahsin Berkand, Esat Mahmut Karakurt, and Ethem İzzet Benice are the best known romance writers of the period. The total number of books written by Kerime Nadir and Muazzez Tahsin Berkand is almost 80. Most of these books were first published as serials in daily newspapers and constituted one of the main sources for Turkish cinema for a long time. Among the favorite subjects of these novels are the unintended, and often disastrous, misunderstandings between lovers which last for years; virginity and honor; the comparisons between women in Turkey and Europe; women who are "suitable" for marriage and flirting; the cultural differences between Europe, Anatolia, and Istanbul; and the European woman as a "source of experience" for men. In almost all these novels, the main setting is Istanbul and the rural area is considered a place of seclusion for disappointed lovers. Generally, in Turkish popular romance, women

are expected to be pure and virtuous since they are considered to be one of the foundations of the new nation.

Romance is mixed with a sharp nationalism and the concept of honor in the novels of Mükerrem Kamil Su. Women and men who undertake secret missions during the independence war and women who fall in love with pilots and open skies are the main themes in this kind of fiction. Women in these books see pilots as angels, far from the evils of the worldly life, and love is consequently replaced with the love of God. When a woman receives a proposal from her lover or makes a decent marriage, she feels that she is getting closer to God since virtue is accepted as the hardest thing for women to preserve. Being virtuous means being chosen by a man. Its opposite is represented by a dance party with an abundance of alcohol consumed or a night spent with the beloved – both considered a "road to prostitution." A woman who followed such a path could only find "salvation" by living alone or, since water purifies, traveling by ship.

Güzide Sabri's novels usually includes men who have left their lovers because of illness since being healthier than a woman is seen as the foundation of a healthy marriage; lovers who grieve from sheer happiness; long-term separations due to misunderstandings; relatives who reappear after long years of absence; mothers and daughters who fall in love with the same man without knowing; malicious elderly women; lovers who cannot be together because of class differences; and women who marry men to protect their honor.

In the novels of Kerime Nadir, lovers travel because of mutual misunderstandings. The hero of the romance goes to a village somewhere deep in Anatolia to overcome his grief or to prevent himself from being an obstacle for his beloved in Istanbul. However, the main reasons for a heroine's journey to Anatolia are either to wash away her "sins" or to bury her troubled past in which something dreadful lies. In these novels, in order to forget the past heroes sometimes marry women from Anatolia, which means virtually any place in Turkey other than Istanbul, since the women in rural areas are accepted as virtuous and pure. Sexuality in Nadir's novels is considered immoral, described in an erotic language, and kept as an unspoken secret after marriage.

Ethem İzzet Benice builds his novels on the struggle between nature and society. Although society is “guilty,” it is also necessary to obey its rules. Woman is represented either as “terra incognita” or an ambivalent personality who tries to find a proper identity in society. That is why the main woman character in his novels is constantly under the attention of a doctor, a lawyer, or a secret friend. An unfortunate ending is usually in store for her. In their memoirs or confessions in the novels, women talk about the rules of men and society that restrain their desires.

In the novels of Esat Mahmut Karakurt, romance is mixed with adventure and women are defined through the nationalist men who fight against Nazi, Russian, or Chinese spies. Turkish women in his novels are represented as bold, self-assured, tough, and sexually active. Yet, in this guise, they need protection from men.

In Muazzez Tahsin Berkand’s novels, class difference between men and women is the main obstacle to love, yet the rich character, man or woman, could give up all his or her material wealth and denounce his or her family in the name of love. Romantic love equalizes women and men. A woman can be an ideal mother and housewife and a writer or musician at the same time in accordance with the ideology of the new republic.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

(All works published in Istanbul unless indicated otherwise.)

- E. İ. Benice, *Yakılacak kitap*, 1927, 1949<sup>6</sup>; *Çıldırın kadın*, 1927, 1943<sup>3</sup>; *Istrab çocuğu*, 1927, 1961<sup>2</sup>; *Aşk güneşi*, 1930; *Göz yaşları*, 1932, 1960<sup>6</sup>; *Beş hasta var*, 1932, 1961<sup>2</sup>; *On yılın romanı*, 1933; *Yosma*, 1936, 1961<sup>3</sup>; *Sen de seveceksin*, 1942; *Foya*, 1944; *Ben hiç sevmemişim*, 1947; *Pota*, 1956.
- M. T. Berkand, *Kıvılcım ve Ateş*, ?, 1968<sup>3</sup>; *Sen ve ben*, 1933; *Bahar çiçeği*, 1935, 1966<sup>3</sup>; *Aşk fırtınası*, 1935, 1970<sup>3</sup>; *Sonsuz gece*, 1938; *O ve Kızı*, 1940, 1971<sup>3</sup>; *Kezban*, 1941; *Mualla*, 1941, 1980<sup>9</sup>; *Bir genç kızın romanı*, 1938; *Bülbül yuvası*, 1943; *Dağların esrarı*, 1943, 1982<sup>9</sup>; *Perdeler*, 1943, 1960<sup>2</sup>; *Bir Garip İzdivaç*, 1944<sup>2</sup>; *Kalbin sesi*, 1944; *Küçük hanımefendi*, 1945; *Gönül yolu*, ?; *Nişan yüzüğü*, 1945; *Lale*, 1945; *Saadet güneşi*, 1944; *Çiçeksiz bahçe*, 1947, 1962<sup>3</sup>; *Aşk tilsimi*, 1949; *Çamlar altında*, 1949; *Gönül yolu*, 1950; *Sarmaşık gülleri*, 1950; *Sevmek korkusu*, 1953; *Aşk ve intikam*, 1958, 1981<sup>7</sup>; *Kırılan ümitler*, 1957; *Büyük yalan*, 1958, 1971<sup>2</sup>; *Bir rüya gibi*, 1958, 1981<sup>3</sup>; *Sabah yıldızı*, 1958; *Mağrur kadın*, 1958; *Büyük Yalan*, 1958; *Bir bahar akşamı*, 1966; *Bulutlar dağılınca*, 1967; *Uzayan yollar*, 1968, 1980<sup>4</sup>; *Işık yağmuru*, 1971; *İki kalp arasında*, 1972, 1976<sup>2</sup>; *Bir gün sabah olacak mı?*, 1972.
- E. M. Karakurt, *Dağları Bekleyen Kız*, 1927, 1954<sup>8</sup>; *Kadın severse*, 1959, 1974<sup>10</sup>; *Ömrümün tek geces*, 1940; *Allahsızlardık*, 1936, 1980<sup>13</sup>; *Ankara ekspresi*, 1946, 1961<sup>1</sup>; *Kadın isterse*, 1960; *Son gece*, 1938, 1973<sup>10</sup>; *İlk ve son*, 1940, 1945<sup>3</sup>; *Ölünceye kadar*, 1937, 1942<sup>2</sup>; *Sokaktan gelen kadın*, 1945; *Çölde bir*

- kızı*, 1936; *Bir kadın kayboldu*, 1948; *Aldatacağım*, 1940, 1970<sup>8</sup>; *Vahşi bir kız sevdim*, 1936; *Erikler çiçek açtı*, 1952, 1961<sup>3</sup>; *Son tren*, 1954, 1982<sup>6</sup>.
- K. Nadir, *Romancının dünyası*, 1981; *Dehşet geces*, 1963<sup>2</sup>; *Ormandan yapraklar*, 1969<sup>4</sup>; *Samanyolu*, 1959<sup>7</sup>; *Günah bende mi?*, 1954<sup>6</sup>; *Dert bende*, 1985<sup>4</sup>; *Gümüselvi*, 1979<sup>3</sup>; *Yeşil ışıklar*, 1933, 1969<sup>2</sup>; *Solan ümit*, 1973<sup>6</sup>; *Uykusuz geceler*, 1984<sup>9</sup>; *Esir kuş*, 1966; *Kalp yarası*, 1982<sup>9</sup>; *Gönül hırsızı*, 1992<sup>10</sup>; *Aşk hasreti*, 1984<sup>8</sup>; *Aşka tövbe*, 1985<sup>9</sup>; *Seven ne yapmaz*, 1972<sup>8</sup>; *Boşyuva*, 1962; *Saadet tacı*, 1980<sup>6</sup>; *Suçlu*, 1984<sup>7</sup>; *Pervane*, 1971<sup>3</sup>; *Aşk rüyası*, 1979<sup>6</sup>; *Sonbahar*, 1973<sup>8</sup>; *Funda*, 1971<sup>10</sup>; *Güller ve dikenler*, 1980<sup>3</sup>; *Suya düşen hayal*, 1982<sup>6</sup>; *O gün gelecek mi?*, 1981<sup>7</sup>; *Gelinlik kız*, 1972<sup>6</sup>; *Balayı*, 1973<sup>4</sup>.
- G. Sabri, *Nedret ölmüş bir kadının evrakı metrukesi zeyli*, 1923, 1939<sup>8</sup>; *Necla*, 1923, 1941<sup>2</sup>; *Gecenin esrarı*, 1934; *Hüsrân*, 1938<sup>2</sup>; *Yabangülü*, 1940<sup>5</sup>; *Münevver*, 1938, 1942<sup>2</sup>; *Mazinin sesi*, 1944; *Hicran geces*, ?.
- M. K. Su, *Sevgi ve istirabım*, 1934, 1938<sup>7</sup>; *Bu kalp duracak*, Balıkesir 1935; *Sus uyanmamış*, 1939, 1940<sup>2</sup>; *İsranca eteklerinde*, 1939; *Çırpınan sular*, 1941, 1943<sup>2</sup>; *Ateşten damla*, 1942; *Sızı*, 1943; *Dinmez ağrı*, 1944; *Bir avuç kül*, 1944; *Gizlenen acılar*, 1944; *Uyuyan hatıralar*, 1944; *Uzaklaşan yol*, 1944; *Kaybolan ses*, 1945; *Büyük rüzgar*, 1945; *İnanmadığım Allah*, 1946; *Bir avuç hatıra*, 1947; *İhtiras*, 1948; *Gençliğimizin rüzgarı*, 1955; *Özlediğim kadın*, 1959; *Aynadaki kız*, 1962; *Ayrı dünyalar*, 1964; *Ben ve O*, 1970, 1976<sup>1</sup>.

ASLI YAZICI YAKIN

# Representations: Sufi Literature

## Overview

Images of sex, gender, and women in Sufism have been influenced by the texts and teachings from the early and classical periods, which comprise images that are by Western contemporary standards equitable, admiring, and misogynistic – even in the work of a single author – and are the key sources for Sufism of all periods and geographical locations. Murata (2000), Ernst (1992), and Safi (2001) have shown that these texts have influenced, for example, the Sufisms of China, Southeast Asia, and North America. The intention of this entry is to outline some of the classical depictions and positions on sex, gender, and women that remain influential to this day in all periods and far-flung geographic locations.

### GENDER AND COSMOLOGY

Sachiko Murata's *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought* (1992a) is the main analytical work on gender relationships in Islamic cosmology and provides the basis for the comments in this section. Her work demonstrates that Muslim intellectuals from the earliest period and from diverse intellectual schools, including Sufism, conceive of the cosmos and the human being in gendered terms, and that these gendered images are rooted in the language of the Qur'ān and the Prophetic reports. Cosmological gender is the ground for understanding the complicated images of sex, gender, and women in the rest of the Sufi tradition.

The divine is typically discussed in terms of "Essence," "attributes," and "acts," in accordance with its differing relationships with the cosmos. The Essence of God is unnamable, receptive to all forms and delimited by none. Some Sufis state that this essential receptivity is feminine. Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 618/1221) calls the Essence the Mother in which the differentiated divine attributes are brought together as one (Murata 1992a, 76).

The Essence gives birth to the divine known through the feminine and masculine names and attributes through which God enters into relationships with creation. These are traditionally divided into the masculine names of majesty (*jalāl*) – associated with the attributes of severity, wrath, jus-

tice, distance, and magnificence – and the feminine names of beauty (*jamāl*) – associated with the attributes of gentleness, mercy, forgiveness, nearness, and intimacy. The feminine names outnumber the masculine names in keeping with God's unlimited mercy as compared to His limited wrath. "*Huwa*" or "He" is a name of God and the only third person pronoun used to indicate the divine in the Qur'ān and the prophetic reports. Even so, God as such is never specifically gendered either masculine or feminine. Rather, the divine takes on a gender attribution through the attributes' variegated relationships with the created things.

The "acts" are God's creative acts, the created things, and are manifest as gendered pairs. The Qur'ān consistently describes the things of the cosmos and human beings as having been created in "pairs" (*azwāj*), or more literally as "spouses." One set of pairs mentioned over 200 times in the Qur'ān is "heaven (*samā*) and earth (*arḍ*)."<sup>1</sup> Sufi thinkers typically read "heaven" as qualitatively masculine, high, majestic, and that which engenders effects. "Earth" is feminine, low, beautiful, and that which receives effects. The gendered terms "heaven" and "earth" refer to both the mythological cosmic entities, and all relationships between things in creation. The attribution of gender is at root qualitative, hence anything either male or female that produces an effect is a "heaven" and anything that receives effects is an "earth." It will be an earth when receiving effects and a heaven when enacting them on another thing. Each pairing will produce a result that will then be brought into a heaven/earth relationship with other things according to its multivalent relationships with those things.

These gendered pairs interact on all sensory and supra-sensory levels. Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) calls the interaction, "the marriage act that pervades all atoms." He uses the term *nikāḥ*, meaning both the marriage ceremony and the sexual union that seals the marriage contract.

God placed between heaven and earth a supra-formal conjunction and an attentiveness toward the children – the minerals, plants, and animals – which He desired to bring into existence in the earth. He made the earth like the wife and the heaven like the husband. The heaven casts something of the command that God revealed to it into the earth, just as the man casts water into the woman through intercourse. When the casting takes

place, the earth brings out all the strata of the engendered things that God has concealed within it (Murata 1992, 143).

This union is illustrated in depictions of the creation of cosmos and the first human being and the subsequent levels that unfold from them. The first created thing was the Universal Spirit. It was created without intermediary and is only potentially gendered masculine and feminine. In the second creative moment, the Universal Spirit is differentiated into the masculine Universal Spirit and the feminine Universal Soul. Their marriage produces the first child described by some authors as Nature, also known as the Womb in which the material world takes shape. Nature/the Womb is feminine inasmuch as it receives the imprint of the creative commands, but is masculine inasmuch as it exercises effects on the material world and gives birth to the created things.

The first human being created was Adam. Like the Universal Spirit, Adam was created without intermediary and is potentially gendered male and female. He is created of clay molded by God with “two hands,” understood to be God’s Majesty and His Beauty. Adam is thus made in His image and encompasses all the names of God in the form of human character traits. Adam only becomes gendered male with the creation of Eve.

The human being comprises these cosmic levels in the tripartite division of the spirit, the soul, and the body. The human spirit is equated with masculinity, heaven, light, all that is high, and intellect, while the body is associated with femininity, earth, darkness, all that is low, and appetite. The soul is a fire born from the meeting of the light of the spirit and the dense fuel of clay. It takes its qualities from both sides, so its gender is likewise ambiguous.

When human beings live in the world in accord with the command of God, they are receptive to the masculine command and are in turn properly masculine toward the world and so manifest their character traits in accordance with the divine. The spirit is feminine in respect to God, masculine in respect to the soul. In this case, the soul is feminine in respect to the spirit, and masculine in respect to the body. The body is feminine in respect to the soul and masculine in respect to the world.

Human beings reverse the proper orientation of the hierarchy with respect to some or all of their different character traits and in doing so establish disharmonious inter-relationships with the world around them and the levels above them. Sufis address and attempt to rectify this disharmony. As noted, the Qur’an says, “We created everything in pairs,” but the next verse begins, “So flee unto

God” (Q 51:49–50). For Sufis, the recognition of the divine order of the cosmos should result in a voluntary return to God through the rectification of one’s character traits.

Following the Qur’anic discussion of the soul, Sufis typically describe it as having three levels or stages of development. The first level or stage of the soul is *al-nafs al-ammāra bi-al-sū’* (the soul that commands to evil); the second is *al-nafs al-lawwāma* (blaming soul); and the third is *al-nafs al-muṭma’inna* (soul at peace [with God]). The lowest level belongs to those who are inappropriately feminine by being receptive toward the world and inappropriately masculine by being active toward God. The intermediate stage belongs to those who struggle to restore the proper orientation toward God through receptivity to the divine command and enactment of the boundaries of the Law in their lives. The highest level belongs to those who succeed in this struggle and have reached the final and highest stage of the development of the soul, the soul at peace with God.

#### “MEN” AND “WOMEN”

In Sufi literature, the feminine soul is often depicted as a woman and the masculine intellect as a man. The soul’s three levels are reflected in three types of women illustrating proper and improper femininity. Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) writes in the Sufi manual, *Qūt al-qulūb*, that if one knows the types of women, one knows the types of souls. The obscene woman displays the characteristics of “the soul that commands to evil,” the righteous woman displays the characteristics of “the blaming soul,” and the woman who is righteous, peaceful, and content displays the characteristics of “the soul at peace with God.” (Makkī 1997, II 409). Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273) often refers to the lower soul as a woman capable of transformation under the sway of the masculine intellect. In the opening story of his *Mathnawī*, Rūmī depicts the soul as a woman who undergoes the transformation from improper receptivity toward the material world to proper receptivity toward the intellect. The soul is a young woman dying from love of the material world in the form of a young man. She is cured by the intellect in the form of a male doctor who heals her by letting her lover waste away so that she turns her attention properly toward her king (Rūmī 1925, I:36–246).

Because the struggle to reassert proper femininity toward God is undertaken by the masculine intellect, it is described as one that can only be undertaken by “men.” Sufis might qualitatively say of a woman that she has become a “man” because of her

successful struggle on the path and that a man is a “woman” for having failed at it (Schimmel 1977a, 69ff). Umm Ṭalq said in the early second/eighth century, “My soul no longer possesses whatever it has an appetite for since God made me a sultan over it” (Jawzī 1983, no. 597). Sufis have also said that a woman who has reasserted the proper femininity of her soul by means of her intellect is a true woman or the best of men and women; in other words, she has perfected her humanity.

Sufis sometimes describe the struggle in terms of *murūʿa*, *muruwwa* (manliness), or *futuwwa* (chivalry, literally young manliness). These terms underline the complexity of what is understood by being a “man” in the struggle. “Manliness” is to be feminine and receptive toward God’s command and so properly masculine and active toward the world. In other words, it means that one struggles to manifest one’s character traits in harmony with the divine attributes in order to be an image of God in the world. But because God’s attributes are primarily feminine, a large part of being manly is to properly cultivate the feminine characteristics of kindness and selfless service toward others in the path of God. This struggle was embodied in the *futuwwa* movement in which both men and women strove to serve their companions selflessly (Murata 1992, 267–9, al-Sulamī 2000, 65–9, Hodgson 1974, ii, 126–31).

#### LOVE AND PASSION

Both male and female Sufis have used the language of love to describe the divine–human relationship; this tradition constitutes a “way of love” within Sufism (Irāqī 1982, 61–73, Safi 2001). God is given primacy as the active and masculine Lover of His feminine creatures based on the verse from the Qurʾān “He loves them and they love Him” (5:34). But the gender relationships shift when the male or female Sufi takes up the position of the consumed masculine lover who submits himself in the desire to draw near to the feminine Beloved and become intimate with “Her.” The goal is annihilation in the unity of the love of the divine.

The terms *maḥabba* (affectionate love) and *ʿishq* (passionate love) were used to describe the love relationship between the divine and human beings. “Affectionate love” was used more commonly in the early period, but the usage of the term can be equally as passionate as *ʿishq*. Some early women would weep, sometimes until they harmed their eyes, because they were separated from their Beloved in this world (al-Sulamī 2000). Nevertheless, some of the Sufi authors of treatises and manuals (Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, d. 465/1072; Abū

Bakr al-Kalābādihī, d. 385/995; and Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, d. 378/988) tend to emphasize love in terms of sober annihilation in and accord with the divine (Safi 2001, 227–8).

The use of *ʿishq*, on the other hand, brings out the sense of longing in both the human and divine lover and beloved. Because many of the divine attributes are only meaningful through their relationship with creation, God longs for creation in order to make manifest His beautiful names through it. Human beings should respond to the world as the manifestation of God’s Beauty and His longing for them with a corresponding longing for Him and a desire to return to the source of that beauty. This longing is famously depicted in the sayings and poetry of the school of love which includes such figures as Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (848/234), al-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/921), Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126), Farīd al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 617/1220), Rūmī, and Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389) (Safi 2001, 224).

#### THE CONTEMPLATION OF THE DIVINE IN THE FEMININE

The perfect contemplation of the divine in the world is through the feminine. In this view, all of creation is gendered female because it is primarily receptive toward God. Typically, Sufis understood woman to be the human counterpart to the cosmic feminine and the mirror of His creative activity (Schimmel 1977a, 98ff). Rūmī said of woman, “Woman is the radiance of God, she is not just your beloved. She is the Creator, you could say that she is not created” (Rūmī 1925, 1:2437; cf. Ahmed 1992, 168–9).

For some, especially in the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī, the moment of perfect self-disclosure of God occurs during sexual intercourse. It is the reflection of the divine creative moment in the activity of the male and the receptivity of the female, but also it is seen to encompass both masculine and feminine activity and receptivity as they act upon and react to each other (Hoffman 1992, 86–9, Murata 1992, 193–6).

The contemplation of the divine in the feminine is sometimes expressed in Sufi poetry of the school of love that takes either a woman or a beautiful young boy as its subject. Schimmel notes that in poetry that reflects on the divine beauty manifest through the world, there is no denial of human eroticism, rather human sexual desire is a reflection of the desire to be annihilated in union with the divine (Schimmel 1982, 288). In Ibn al-ʿArabī’s *Tarjumān al-ashwāq*, his poetic version of the contents of the last chapter of the *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, the graceful and

intelligent young Nizām is the both the manifestation of divine beauty and the girl Ibn al-ʿArabī desires (Wilson 1988, 78).

Aḥmad al-Ghazālī (d. 520/1126), Awḥad al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 635/1238), and Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāqī (d. 688/1289) are the major figures in Sufism associated with *shāhid bāzī*, literally “witness play,” or reflecting on divine beauty in the form of a beautiful youth. If Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) is to be believed, the practice of looking at beautiful youths was widespread in Sufism. (Ibn al-Jawzī n.d., 255–67). P. L. Wilson writes that the practice was deliberately chaste and thus tantric in nature, involving “the deliberate and ‘alchemical’ transformation of love, and even of sexual desire, into spiritual attainment, through a definite meditational practise” (Wilson 1988, 94, Safi 2001, 247).

#### THE BAWDY TALE

Some Sufi poetry makes use of the bawdy tale to instruct through satiric treatment of social mores. Rūmī, quoting Sanāʿī, says, “My dirty jokes are not dirty jokes, but instruction” (cf. Schimmel 1977b, 264). The major Sufi figures in this tradition are Rūmī, Abū al-Majd Majdūd al-Sanāʿī (d. 525/1131), ʿĀṭṭār, and Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Saʿdī (691/1292).

These tales contain, in some cases, nearly pornographic accounts of heterosexual and homosexual encounters, and even bestiality, although lesbianism is rarely mentioned (Sprachman 1997, 198–9). Sprachman notes the common trope of “the pitiless beloved” found in a number of these tales. A highly regarded religious figure falls in love with a young woman or boy who treats him with disdain, and the man utterly degrades himself in pursuing his desire. The most famous of these stories is ʿĀṭṭār’s “Shaykh Sanʿān” told in *The Conference of the Birds*, but Sanāʿī tells a version of the story that epitomizes the genre of the bawdy tale. Sanāʿī satirizes religious hypocrisy by showing it to be a greater wrong than pederasty. In the *Ḥadiqat al-ḥaqīqa wa-sharīʿat al-tariqa*, a Sufi shaykh and scholar from Herat pursues his desire for a young boy in the local mosque. An ascetic interrupts them and righteously berates the shaykh. But as the shaykh walks away shamed, the ascetic goes to the boy and finishes what the shaykh had started (Sprachman 1997, 199–201).

#### MARRIAGE AND CELIBACY

Although most Sufis in the early and classical period were married, the authors of the early manuals and treatises tend to valorize celibacy. In practice, celibacy seems to have been a stage on the path, or considered the best choice for those who would be too distracted from God by the obligations of marriage.

The texts depict marriage mainly from men’s perspectives, but there are sufficient accounts of women’s experiences to show that marriages, as one would expect, were perceived as difficult, supportive, or unremarkable for men and women alike. The difficulties of marriage are typically portrayed as a result of marital obligations that distract the seeker from God, and an unsympathetic spouse only increases this distraction (Hujwīrī 1911, 360–6, Makkī 1997, 399–431, Ibn al-Jawzī 1983, no. 614). But for all the trouble, even Abū al-Ḥaṣan al-Hujwīrī (d. 489/1077) – who has a generally negative opinion of marriage and women – passes along positive stories of married life with children (Hujwīrī 1911, 363). Other Sufis even spoke of witnessing the divine mysteries in marriage or of spending eternity in paradise with their wives and children (Murata 1992a, 181–96, 1992b, Baqlī 1997, 111–2).

For some Sufis, the trials of marriage are depicted in keeping with the Prophetic report, “Marriage is half the religion”; in other words, it is an ideal arena for the struggle with the soul (Murata 1992a, 199–202). For Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) marriage contains sexual desire within the boundaries of the divine Law and so properly orients the soul’s receptivity toward God (Ghazālī 1995, Murata 1992a, 258–9). Women may be depicted as a means on the path in these discussions and their treatment in this light has been interpreted as misogynistic (Hoffman 1992, Schimmel 1977a). Rūmī is often cited in this context for his seemingly questionable guidance for husbands in his *Fīhi mā fīhi*. Rūmī instructs his disciples to have forbearance in the face of women’s “absurdities” and “tyranny.” In doing so they will purify themselves through them, while their wives descend further into corruption. While many of these statements seem misogynistic individually, when the whole of the text is read, and its interpretative context is taken into account, an alternative reading is possible. The text is focused on getting these disciples to give up their jealousies and other petty character traits destructive to themselves and to their marriages by using their own prejudices against them (Rūmī 1993, 98–9). In terms of Sufi psychology, the one who struggles to practice patience and kindness will be transformed ultimately into a patient and kind person and, one assumes, a better husband.

Some authors considered celibacy to be best for men who might be too distracted by a wife and children to focus on their path. But because some of these authors doubted the possibility of marriage without distraction or even the existence of a worthy woman, they argued for celibacy as the ideal (see Ghazālī 1995, 165–82, Hujwīrī 1911, 360–6,

Makkī 1997, II:399, 402, Sarrāj 1970, 264–6). With some exceptions (Lawrence 1994), male celibates and those who support celibacy typically depict women in a bad light. Ibn al-‘Arabī, who is famed for his love and respect of women, himself went through an early period of celibacy during which he experienced dislike of women (Murata 1992a, 186). All the same, as Tor Andræ observes, lifelong celibates were rare even in the early ascetic period prior to Sufism (1987, 42).

Only a few marriages depicted from the perspectives of husbands and wives are reported to be celibate or nearly celibate. One of or both the spouses are reported describing the marriage as a mutually supportive companionship for the sake of God (Hujwīrī 1911, 362, Sulamī 2000, 65).

#### THE LIVING WOMAN DEBASED

Annemarie Schimmel and Jamal J. Elias argue that idealized gendered terminology debases women. Images that identify the soul with the feminine and the intellect with the masculine lend themselves to the identification of the living woman with the negative attributes of the feminine soul’s receptivity to the world. Rūmī’s metaphorical tales of women and men as souls and intellects demonstrate for Elias that Rūmī considered living women to be “spiritually and intellectually inferior to man because her animal attributes, or lower self, prevail over her spiritual nature” (Elias 1988, 220; see also Schimmel 1977b, 268).

Elias argues that the glorification of the cosmic feminine and the idealization of the exceptional women, who manifest and reflect the divine, diminish the living woman. He shows that one of the most famous stories expressing the love of the divine through the feminine, Laylá and Majnūn, can also be read as a story of the living woman forsaken for the divine image manifest through her. Majnūn becomes spiritually united with Laylá in his complete love for her such that he sees her everywhere. But because he loves the ideal feminine not the living woman, when Laylá comes to find him he rejects her for the manifestation of Beauty through her. Majnūn says to Laylá:

Go from me  
Your love  
Has stolen away my mind  
From you yourself.  
Once I was happy to see you  
But now  
I have lost interest  
In anything but Love (Elias 1988, 219)

Sufis sometimes used female physical attributes – interpreted as legal deficiencies among the exoteric scholars – as metaphors expressing deficiencies

on the path. Because menstruation bars a woman from the ritual prayer and fasting, some Sufis equate it with obstacles on the path that bar the seeker from approaching God (Schimmel 1977b, 268). In other cases, women’s legal deficiencies were characterized as literal ontological deficiencies. Schimmel and Elias understand this to indicate a general attitude toward women as “deficient” among Sufis. Elias argues that some women may have fasted excessively to halt their menstrual cycle in order to remove this “deficiency” (Elias 1988, 211). No matter the case, Sufis were not immune to misogynist assumptions and treatment of women.

One might point to the numerous images of women who are depicted surpassing men in intellect and spiritual accomplishment to show the positive attitude toward women in Sufism. But while some men repeated these anecdotes preserving and affirming this view of women (Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, d. 412/1021; Ibn al-Jawzī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī, d. 898/1492; and Ibn al-‘Arabī), others included so few stories or biographies of women in their works that woman’s contributions and participation in Sufism have become obscured (Sarrāj, Kalābadhī, Abū Nu‘aym al-Isfahanī, d. 430/1038, Qushayrī, Hujwīrī, and ‘Aṭṭār). The lack of representation in the texts compared to their actual participation is such that Cornell calls the history of women in Sufism “a veiled tradition” (Sulamī 2000, 15).

#### CONCLUSION

Images of sex, gender, and women in Sufism are complex, comprised of equitable, beautiful, and misogynistic depictions often derived from the very same cosmological gender images. Leila Ahmed writes that while many male dominated Sufi works incorporated the misogynist elements of its environment, they also included “elements rejecting misogyny and transcending definitions of human beings on the basis of their biology” (1992, 97). These images are complex precisely because the same issues in the wider Muslim society are so complex. The whole of a Sufi’s statements must be considered in their historical and interpretative contexts to adequately assess the nature of the positions taken as well as their influence on later Sufism (for an example of this approach, see Lawrence 1994).

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

##### PRIMARY SOURCES

- Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Tarjumān al-ashwāq. A collection of mystical odes by Muḥyī’dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī*, trans. R. A. Nicholson, London 1911.  
Farīd al-Dīn al-‘Aṭṭār, *The conference of the birds*, trans. A. Darbandī and D. Davis, London 1984.



- Rūzbihān Baqlī, *The unveiling of the secrets. Diary of a Sufi master*, trans. C. Ernst, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1997.
- Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī, *Breaking the two desires*, trans. T. J. Winter, Cambridge 1995.
- Aḥmad al-Ghazālī, *Sawānīb. Inspirations from the world of pure spirit*, trans. N. Pourjavady, London 1986.
- ‘Ayn al-Qudāh al-Hamadhānī, *A Sufi martyr. The “apologia” of ‘Ain al-Qudāt al-Hamadhānī*, trans. A. J. Arberry, London 1969.
- ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-Jullābī al-Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb. The oldest Persian treatise on Sufism*, trans. R. A. Nicholson, London 1911.
- Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Irāqī, *Divine flashes*, trans. and comm. W. C. Chittick and P. L. Wilson, New York, 1982.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sifat al-ṣafīya*, ed. I. Ramaḍān, Beirut 1999; partial trans. J. Nurbaksh, *Sufi women*, New York, 1983.
- , *Talbīs Iblīs*, ed. H. al-Ḥajj, Cairo n.d.
- Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhi, *The doctrine of the Sufis*, trans. A. J. Arberry, Cambridge 1991.
- Awḥād al-Dīn Kirmānī, *Heart’s witness. The Sufi quartrains of Awḥādud-dīn Kirmānī*, trans. B. M. Weischer and P. L. Wilson, Tehran 1978.
- Abū al-Tālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), *Qūt al-qulūb fī mu‘āmalāt al-mahbūb wa-waṣf tariq al-murid ila maqām al-tawḥīd*, Beirut 1997.
- Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *The Mathnawī of Jalālud-dīn Rūmī. Edited from the oldest manuscripts available, with critical notes, translation and commentary by Reynold A. Nicholson*, London 1925–40.
- , *Discourses of Rumi*, trans. A. J. Arberry, Richmond, Surrey 1993.
- Abū ‘Abd Allāh Musharrif al-Dīn b. Muṣliḥ Sa’dī, *The rose garden*, trans. E. Rehatsek, New Brunswick, Australia 1990.
- Abū al-Majīd Majdūd Sanā’ī, *Hadīqat al-ḥaqīqa wa-sharī‘at al-tariqa*, Tehran 1980.
- Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Early Sufi women*. Dhikr an-niswā al-muta‘abbidāt aṣ-Ṣūfiyyāt by Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān as-Sulamī, ed., trans., and comm. R. E. Cornell, Louisville, Ky. 2000.
- Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-lum‘a fī taṣawwuf*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Egypt 1970.
- Abū Muḥammad Ja‘far al-Sarrāj, *Maṣārī‘ al-‘ushshāq*, Beirut n.d.
- S. Karabas, The use of eroticism in Nasreddin Hoca anecdotes, in *Western Folklore* 49:3 (1990), 299–305.
- B. Lawrence, Honoring women through sexual abstinence. Lessons from the spiritual practice of a pre-modern South Asian Sufi master, Shaykh Nizam ad-Din Awliya, in *Journal of Turkish Studies* 18 (1994), 149–61.
- S. Murata, *The Tao of Islam. A sourcebook on gender relationships in Islamic thought*, Albany, N.Y. 1992a.
- , Mysteries of marriage. Notes on a Sufi text, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), *The Legacy of Medieval Persian Sufism*, London and New York 1992b, 343–51.
- , *Chinese gleams of Sufi light*, Albany, N.Y. 2000.
- R. Roded, *Women in Islamic biographical collections. From Ibn Sa’d to Who’s Who*, Boulder, Colo. 1994.
- O. Safi, The Sufi path of love in Iran and India, in P. Z. Inayat Khan (ed.), *A pearl in wine. Essays on the life, music, and Sufism of Hazrat Inayat Khan*, New Lebanon, N.Y. 2001, 221–66.
- A. Schimmel, *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1975.
- , *My soul is a woman. The feminine in Islam*, New York 1977a.
- , “I take off the dress of the body.” Eros in Sufi literature and life, in S. Coakley (ed.), *Religion and the body*, Cambridge 1977b, 262–88.
- , *As through a veil. Mystical poetry in Islam*, New York 1982.
- , *A two-colored brocade. The imagery of Persian poetry*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1992.
- M. A. Sells, *Mystical languages of unsaying*, Chicago 1994.
- , *Stations of desire. Love elegies from Ibn ‘Arabi and new poems*, Jerusalem 2000.
- M. S. Southgate, Men, women, and boys. Love and sex in the works of Sa’dī, in *Bulletin of the Society for Iranian Cultural and Social Studies* 17 (1984), 413–52.
- P. Sprachman, Le beau garçon san merci. The homoerotic tale in Arabic and Persian, in J. W. Wright Jr. and E. K. Rowson (eds.), *Homoeroticism in classical Arabic literature*, New York 1997, 192–209.
- P. L. Wilson, *The drunken universe. An anthology of Persian Sufi poetry*, trans. and comm. N. Pourjavady, New Lebanon, N.Y. 1987.
- , *Scandal. Essays in Islamic heresy*, New York 1988.

LAURY SILVERS

## SECONDARY TEXTS

- L. Ahmed, *Women and gender in Islam*, New Haven, Conn. 1992.
- N. Amri and L. Amri, *Les femmes soufies ou la passion de Dieu*, St. Jean de Braye, France 1992.
- T. Andræ, *In the garden of myrtles. Studies in early Islamic mysticism*, trans. B. Sharpe, Albany, N.Y. 1987.
- R. W. I. Austin, The feminine dimensions in Islamic thought, in *Journal of the Muhyiddin Ibn ‘Arabi Society* 2 (1984), 5–14.
- W. Chittick, *The Sufi path of love. The spiritual teachings of Rumi*, Albany, N.Y. 1983.
- , *Sufism. A short introduction*, Oxford 2000.
- J. J. Elias, Female and feminine in Islamic mysticism, in *Muslim World* 78 (1988), 209–22.
- C. Ernst, *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany, N.Y. 1985.
- , *Eternal garden. Mysticism, history, and politics at a South Asian Sufi center*, Albany, N.Y. 1992.
- , *The Shambala guide to Sufism*, Boston 1997.
- M. G. S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam. Conscience and history in a world civilization*, 3 vols., Chicago 1974.
- V. Hoffman, Mysticism and sexuality in Sufi thought and life, in *Mystics Quarterly* 18 (1992), 82–93.

# Representations: Sufi Women, Early Period, Seventh–Tenth Centuries

## Overview

Early pious and Sufi women participated fully in the ascetic and Sufi communities as teachers, preachers, and companions undertaking a mainly ascetic practice involving pious service, fasting, night vigils, and poverty.

The first/seventh and fourth/tenth centuries cover the early period of Islamic ascetic piety and much of the period of pre-institutionalized Sufism ending in the fifth/eleventh century. A number of Islamic movements look back on the early pious ascetics as the forebears of their own practice and attitudes, and Sufism begins to develop out of this tradition sometime in the early to mid-second/eighth century.

The two main primary sources for early pious and Sufi women are *Dhikr al-niswa al-muta'abbidāt al-Ṣūfiyyāt* of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) and *Ṣifat al-ṣafwa* of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200). Sulamī's *Dhikr* is edited and translated with annotations and an introduction by Rkia Cornell. Her introduction and extensive annotations to her translation constitute the first analytical work devoted to early pious and Sufi women. It is widely referred to in this entry and citations from Sulamī's *Dhikr* are from her edition.

Ibn al-Jawzī includes 231 entries on women (not including the family of the Prophet) in his *Ṣifat*. It is the main source for information about early pious and Sufi women. His entries depict famous and less remarkable women giving a more balanced picture of the period than that drawn by the biographies of exceptional women found in other sources. Javād Nūrbaksh translates some of Ibn al-Jawzī's entries in his *Sufi Women* (1983) and Ruth Roded gives an interpretive summary of the contents of Ibn al-Jawzī's sections on women in her *Women in Islamic Biographical Collections* (1994).

Although Sufis writing in the periods before and after Sulamī and Ibn al-Jawzī would have had access to biographical notices on these women, many of the texts have only occasional references to them. Evidence suggests Sulamī may have had four textual sources with sections on women that were probably available to early Sufi writers (Sulamī 2000, 51–3, Alikberov 1995). Important texts such as *Kitāb al-lumā'* by Abū Naṣr Sarrāj (d. 378/988), *Kitāb al-*

*tā'arruf* by Abū Bakr al-Kalābadhī (d. 380/990 or 385/995), *al-Risāla* by Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (465/1072), and *Kashf al-mahjūb* by Abu al-Ḥasan Hujwīrī (469/1077) do not mention pious or Sufi women often in their works. Qushayrī was a late student of Sulamī, yet he includes no women in his biographies. In most cases, the texts mention the ancient women of the Qur'ān, Muḥammad's wives and daughters, or the nearly legendary Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya. Ibn al-Jawzī himself criticizes Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣḥāhānī (d. 430/1038) for including only very small numbers of women in his extensive compendium of biographical notices *Hilyat al-awliyā' wa ṭabaqāt al-aṣfiyā'* and indicates that he considered it an irresponsible editorial choice (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat*, 12). For this reason, Cornell calls the history of women in Sufism “a veiled tradition” (Sulamī 2000, 15ff).

It seems that a path of great piety was open to women who ardently aspired to it. The anecdotes in Sulamī's *Dhikr* and Ibn al-Jawzī's *Ṣifat* describe women from all levels of society and regions in both periods traveling, praying publicly, and secluding themselves in mosques for long periods, visiting with men in all manner of gathering places, and strolling with them in the streets. Ruth Roded finds that average Muslim women, scholars, and Sufis alike had greater freedom of movement than is assumed now and that seclusion of women may have been an ideal “more honored in the breach” (Roded 1994, 138). Nevertheless, the reports indicate that the women who enjoyed these freedoms were either exceptional women or average women in exceptional circumstances. There is no evidence to show that average women in average circumstances enjoyed the same freedom of movement. If Ibn al-Jawzī's entries are representative, then women made up nearly a quarter of participants on this path. The active participation of women in the early period underscores the strangeness of their relative lack of representation in the early texts.

The goal of male and female companionship was support and guidance on a path of inward struggle (*mujābhada*) to overcome the negative aspects of the soul. This is understood to be a masculine struggle with the soul to make it properly receptive and feminine toward God's command. Umm Ṭalq

said in the early second/eighth century, “My soul no longer possesses whatever it has an appetite for since God made me a sultan over it” (Jawzī 1999, no. 597; cf. Sulamī 2000, 118, 294). In some cases, exceptional women were called “men” on the path meaning they had mastered their souls (Schimmel 1997, 69–80). In the early period the exceptional woman might also be called the best of all men and women or, as Dhū al-Nūn said of Fāṭima of Nishapur, a “true woman” (Sulamī 2000, 144).

In some rare cases there is an indication that such freedom of companionship was problematic. While a number of anecdotes tell of individuals and groups of women secluding themselves in mosques for long periods of prayer, in one anecdote an unknown woman is told it would better if she were to perform her lengthy prayers at home (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat*, no. 474). A common trope in the anecdotes indicates that, despite good intentions, some men were distracted from God by an aspect of their female companion’s sexuality such as henna on her hands (Schimmel 1997, 40). Rarely, the intimacy necessitated by companionship between a teacher and his or her student is noted to compromise the relationship. Rābī’a al-Azdiyya (d. ca. early third/ninth) and Samnūn al-Muḥibb (d. after 298) each had a companion who fell in love with them (Sulamī 2000, 128). It is reported that Samnūn’s companion sought revenge by publicly accusing him and other Baghdad Sufis of having sex with her every night (Sarrāj 1970, 498–9, Ernst 1985, 99).

In the early period of pious worshippers, women were formal directors on the path of inward struggle of both men and women. In his *Ṭabaqāt*, Sulamī consistently uses the term *sāhib* (companion) and, sometimes *ustādh* (teacher), to indicate a formal relationship of spiritual direction (*tarbiya*) between a teacher and his or her subordinate. According to Sulamī, Mu’adhiyya bt. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Adawiyya (d. 83/702 or 101/719) and Rābī’a al-‘Adawiyya (d. 185/801) had several female companions (Sulamī 2000, 84, 88, 96, 102, 164, 264–8). Shabaka (no date) led women through spiritual exercises including seclusion in underground cells (Sulamī 2000, 90). Rābī’a al-Azdiyya directed a male companion (Sulamī 2000, 128). Fāṭima of Nishapur (d. 223/838) and Ḥukayma (early third/late eighth century) are called *ustādh* (teacher) in Sulamī’s notices. Sulamī quotes Dhū al-Nūn naming Fāṭima his *ustādh*, hence he understands Dhū al-Nūn to claim her as a shaykh (Sulamī 2000, 144). Umm al-Ḥusayn bt. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān (early fourth/late ninth century) directed women in female chivalry (*niswān*) (Sulamī 2000, 238). Other sources also indicate women were influential spiritual directors;

Unayda (early fourth/tenth century) is reported to have had 500 male and female students (al-Hama-dhānī 1969, 51).

Cornell observes that with the growth of Sufism out of the early period of piety, women tend to enter into formal relationships of spiritual direction under men rather than women (Sulamī 2000, 65). During that period, women had access to and were companions of male shaykhs and the male members of their communities.

Women were also less formal guides as mentors and preachers. Rābī’a al-‘Adawiyya is called a *mu’addiba* (mentor) by Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/777) (Sulamī 2000, 76). She was an informal and widely acknowledged influential guide to the men who came to visit her. There are numerous anecdotes of women teaching men and women during informal visits to their homes or at the homes of others. Some women were famed as preachers. Sha’wāna (second/eighth century) and Wahāṭiyya Umm al-Faḍl (fourth/tenth century) were female preachers from the early pious and Sufi periods. Well known pious and Sufi men and women would come to hear them (Sulamī 2000, 106, 226). Some women gained a reputation for being candid in their efforts to guide others and are noted for humbling both unknown men and those of great repute.

Informal guidance was also given in the context of familial relationships. Although the prevalence of celibacy in the early period has been observed by scholars (Sulamī 2000, Elias 1988, Hoffman 1992), more pious and Sufi women can be proved to have been married with children than those who were not. Women and men as wives, husbands, mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers, and sometimes children offered memorable words of inspiration and guidance to one another (on children, see Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat*, nos. 1023–31). One of the most important relationships of guidance is that between mother and child. Many sayings by pious or Sufi women are transmitted by their grown children.

The early pious and Sufi women were mainly ascetic in their practice, meaning they were noted for their voluntary poverty (*faqr*), their trust in God to provide for their needs (*tawakkul*), their scrupulousness (*warda*), frequent fasting, and standing in prayer all day or night. There are only a few reports of extreme asceticism. An unnamed wealthy woman from Kufa is reported to have stood the night in prayer and fasted during periods of such intense heat that her skin turned black (Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat*, no. 478). Elias notes that such fasting would cause the cessation of menstruation and so would allow the women to pray continuously like men (Elias 1988, 211). But these reports must be balanced by

numerous other reports of women who undertook ascetic practices such as frequent fasting and night vigils yet were married and bore and raised children. Many of these women may have entered into lives of extreme asceticism and celibacy after their children had grown and their husbands had died. The present evidence suggests instead a diverse group of women who undertook ascetic practices to varying degrees and were entirely celibate in small numbers.

A cornerstone of male and female companionship was to be of service to one's teacher or shaykh and peers. In some cases, women were servants of their female and male directors, and wealthy women often donated much or all of their money in service to the early pious or Sufi community. Cornell has discovered that a number of the women were practitioners of a female form of *futuwwa*, a movement stressing service to one's companions, called *niswān* (Sulamī 2000, 54ff).

Early pious women were more likely than early Sufi women to express their worship of God in the language of love and through weeping. Their sayings reflect their pain of being separated from God in this world of appearances and their rejection of anything that might distract them from their true Beloved. A few of these women wept until they harmed their eyes. They wept over their separation from Him in this world and their fear of being banished to the Fire for any lack of constancy. Cornell reads their attitudes and practices in terms of Christian asceticism and its hatred of the body and the world (Sulamī 2000, 61 ff). Their sayings may also be read to indicate that they saw this world as a distraction inasmuch as God is not witnessed in it, not because it is inherently sinful. Mu'mina bt. Bahlūl said, "Oh most Beloved, this world and the next are not pleasurable except through You. So do not overwhelm me with the loss of You and the punishment that results from it" (Sulamī 2000, 86).

The reported sayings give some indication of the intellectual activity of early pious and Sufi women. The women sometimes gloss verses from the Qur'ān or prophetic reports. One gloss on a report expresses the notion of God's annihilation of the human being through remembrance (*dhikr*) such that one witnesses one's subsistence through Him. Fāṭima al-Barda'iyya (mid-fourth/tenth century) said, "Complete remembrance in God means that you witness yourself being remembered by the One you are remembering, while maintaining constant remembrance of Him. Therefore, your remembrance is annihilated in His remembrance. His remembrance of you subsists beyond space and time" (Sulamī 2000, 150).

Although these women did not participate in the same numbers as men, they were participants in and contributors to all aspects of the early pious and Sufi path of inward struggle.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

- 'Ayn al-Qudāt al-Hamadhānī, *A Sufi martyr. The "apologia" of 'Ain al-Qudāt al-Hamadhānī*, trans. A. J. Arberry, London 1969.
- Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sifat al-Safwa*, ed. I. Ramaḍān, Beirut 1999.
- Muḥammad b. Sa'd, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, Beirut 1960–8.
- Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, *Kitāb al-lumā'fī taṣawwuf*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Egypt 1970.
- Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī, *Early Sufi women. Dhikr an-niswā al-muta'abbidāt al-Ṣūfiyyāt by Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān as-Sulam*, ed. and trans. R. E. Cornell, Louisville, Ky. 2000.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

- A. K. Alikberov, Genre *ṭabaqāt* in early Sufi tradition in C. V. de Benito and M. A. R. Rodriguez (eds.), *Actas, XVI Congreso UEAI*, Salamanca 1995, 23–30.
- N. Amri and L. Amri, *Les femmes soufies ou la passion de Dieu*, St. Jean de Braye, France 1992.
- T. Andræ, *In the garden of myrtles. Studies in early Islamic mysticism*, New York 1987.
- J. Elias, Female and the feminine in Sufism, in *Muslim World* 78 (1988), 209–24.
- C. Ernst, *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany, N.Y. 1985.
- V. Hoffman, Mysticism and sexuality in Sufi thought and life, in *Mystics Quarterly* 18 (1992), 82–93.
- J. Nūrbaksh, *Sufi women*, New York 1983.
- R. Roded, *Women in Islamic biographical collections. From Ibn Sa'd to Who's Who*, Boulder, Colo. 1994.
- A. Schimmel, "I take off the dress of the body." Eros in Sufi literature and life, in S. Croakley (ed.), *Religion and the body*, Cambridge 1977, 262–88.
- , *Mystical dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1985.
- , *My soul is a woman. The feminine in Islam*, New York 1997.
- M. Smith, *Rabi'a. The life and work of Rabi'a and other women mystics in Islam*, Oxford 1994.

LAURY SILVERS

# Representations: Theater

## Arab States

During the last century and a half, theater in the Arab world developed from borrowed beginnings into highly experimental forms. Plays are often performed regionally, especially during annual competitions or in annual drama festivals, which have proliferated in the last decades, most notably in Damascus and Cairo. More recently, competitions or festivals have also been held in some Gulf countries (Dubai, Bahrain, Qatar, and Kuwait). Theater has thus come a long way from the end of the nineteenth century, when Sulaymān al-Qardāhī first introduced his wife as the first Arab woman to act on a stage. Today, women's experience, skill, and enthusiasm as professional entertainers allows them to take on unprecedented innovative roles, in which they sometimes even impersonate men. The theater is thus in many ways a realm in which women can enter the public discourse even in conservative Muslim societies.

Theater in the Arab world engages and affects the most urgent issues of its time; indeed, it makes no claim to detach itself from its surrounding world. Many plays comment on the limits of middle-class, patriarchal values, and others discuss how women are trapped in social conditions that sometimes leave little room for individual expression. Relatively few women playwrights have succeeded in making names for themselves, unlike the growing number of women poets and novelists. However, Fāṭḥiyya al-'Asal, Nihād Jād, and Nawāl Sa'dāwī, the well-known feminist, have written plays that were successfully produced on the stage in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

In Egypt, *Bi-lā aqni'a* (Without masks), by al-'Asal, was a great box office success, as was *Alā al-raṣif* (On the pavement) by Jād. In both plays the authors debunk traditional stereotypes. Here we are far afield from the work of Aḥmad Shawqī, 'Azīz Abāza, and 'Alī Aḥmad Bā-Kathīr, who in many ways were also concerned to revive an interest in poetic dramas and to innovate verse forms in them. These dramas provided a vehicle for the renaissance of Arabic poetry rather than a way of delving deeply into the heroine's psyche. At best the depiction of women was commingled with social themes, whereas the heroines depicted by women

playwrights allow women in those roles to present genuine performances of female psychological interiority.

The well-established Festival of Experimental Theater, held annually in Egypt, draws troupes from all over the world, including Latin and South America, Asia, and Africa. Many Arab troupes also participate. These experimental plays bring to Arab audiences daring experiments in form and content, including multimedia presentations, mime, and dance. Earlier, women were cast in roles as mere symbols and did not have the capacity for creating their own voices. Instead they were mediums of exchange or tokens of patriarchal power. Experimental theater has given women opportunities to cross boundaries and shake up conventional notions of male and female, of nationality, and of identities that were previously conceived as unchangeable.

In the plays of 'Azīz 'Abāza, Walīd Ikhlāṣī, and 'Abd al-Ṣabbūr, the authors sought at best to raise political consciousness. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Sharqāwī's famous play about the Algerian female militant Jamīla Bouhreid, the famous resistor of French colonialism during the Algerian war of independence, was performed in the mid-1960s in Damascus. Though Sharqāwī was a great poetic dramatist, he did not examine the psyche of "the woman." Granted, the heroine Bouhreid had transgressed traditional roles, but many historical antecedents existed in earlier Islamic histories of women who sacrificed their lives for their countries – Arabic versions of the French martyr Joan of Arc. Thus the notion of women as symbolic objects continued to be central in plays written by male dramatists, plays that were adopted and adapted by different Arab producers and directors.

Sexual masquerading, where men are disguised as women, often plays a central role in the plots of plays. The comedies of both film and stage plays abound in this form of entertainment, which seems to sit well with audiences of all types. Women masquerading as men elicit equally enthusiastic responses from audiences eager for comedy, but not in more serious dramatic situations. The more a male actor perfects feminine traits, mannerisms, and reactions, the more his success is assured; but women expertly impersonating men, however, are less well received. Nevertheless, women impersonating

men in comedies of a burlesque nature are equally applauded for their dramatic performances, as is often reflected in written reviews.

Ṣa'd Allāh Wannūs, one of the great Arab writers and Syria's best-known playwright, who died in 1997, was known for having succeeded more than any other author in breaking down traditional barriers between the stage and the audience. Three of his plays treat the political climate of defeat by spurring the audiences into political action: *Haflat samar min ajl khamṣa Ḥuzayrān* (Soiree in honor of the fifth of June) in which a play within a play handles the defeat of 1967 as a discussion between the director and author and members of the audience get physically involved in the events; *al-Malik huwa al-malik* (The king is the king); and the controversial *Ṭuqūs al-ishārāt wa-al-taḥawwulaāt* (Rituals of transformations and signs). In *Ṭuqūs*, set in late nineteenth-century Damascus, the central plot, which involves a woman's sexual behavior, challenges ingrained taboos, shakes social mores, and consequently causes total disarray.

Many plays of the last decades of the twentieth century set a trend of borrowing form and content from Arab history that spans the whole range of early Islamic, medieval, and early modern heritage. The *Thousand and One Nights* is of course a rich resource for playwrights, who can use its framing technique along with traditional forms of early theater *muhabazatiyya*, where audience-actor interaction was abundant. *Muhabazatiyya* were street actors in Cairo who were similar to the performers of crude burlesque that entertained the masses during medieval times. Edward Lane speaks of the *muhabazatiyya* in his writings and says that fairly basic representations of women's roles were performed by men. In addition, the great Alfrīd Faraj astutely used *turāth* or heritage in many of his plays, such as *ʿAli Janāh al-Tabrīzī*. His repertoire has an abundance of female roles that are highly sought by major female actors of the Arab stage.

MONA N. MIKHAIL

### The Ottoman Empire

Several different forms of traditional folk theater existed in the Ottoman Empire. For example, village plays that had a ritual function were performed in the countryside whereas in large cities (mainly Istanbul and Izmir) folk theater functioned as entertainment. In the nineteenth century, Western-oriented theater also developed in big cities.

In traditional folk theater the actors were men who performed female as well as male parts. When

a performance took place before an all-female audience, however, female actors performed both male and female parts. The main characters in these plays were men, and the most important female role was reserved for the beloved. In the village plays, such as *Arab Oyunu* (The Arab play) or *Kız Kaçırma Oyunu* (Kidnapping a girl), the most important female role was that of the innocent virgin who is abducted. In other plays female representations were reserved for the roles of wives and brides (Özhan 1999, 95–127).

Other forms of folk theater developed in the big cities, such as the shadow puppet theater (Karagöz) and, closely related to it, the *orta oyunu* (lit. performance in the middle), a Commedia dell'Arte-like theater in the round. In these plays the main characters were also male. The most important female character was the Zenne (Female) (for an elaborate overview see And 1985, 475–6). Women from all kinds of social groups and ages were represented. The Zenne was often a girl of easy virtue, as in *Bursali Leylâ* (Leyla from Bursa) (And 1985, 436) or *Kunduracı Oyunu* (The shoemaker's play) (And 1985, 447). Even when she impersonated a housewife she did not hesitate to fall for the Çelebi (Dandy), such as Karagöz in *Kanlı Nigâr* (Bloody Nigar) (And 1985, 444). Smaller female roles were representations of servants, slaves, dancers, gypsies, and supernatural creatures such as witches.

During the nineteenth century, mainly French and Italian companies visited Istanbul and Izmir. Ethnic minorities established their own theater companies, and the Ottomans soon followed, stimulated by the Ottoman court. Ottoman playwrights drew inspiration from contemporary European trends in theater: realism and naturalism for serious works and melodrama and vaudeville for comedy (on the issue of women on stage see "Arts: Theater: Turkey," in this volume, 149–50).

Out of the *orta oyunu* developed a new form of improvisation theater, *tuluât*. Women impersonated the mother, the housewife, the young girl, and servant roles. Performances consisted of short plays alternating with a *kantocu* (related to the French *chansonette* and the Italian *kanto*), a singer and dancer who performed between the acts of the play. Theater companies also performed and made fun of corrupted plays of Western playwrights (Nutku 1999, 89–94).

Molière was often translated and adapted with Turkish authors transferring the setting to a Turkish environment while retaining Molière's plot. The representation of women in these plays, therefore, did not differ much from the original French version. From the second half of the nineteenth century

onwards Turkish authors wrote plays themselves. Comedies were by far the most popular; however, inspired by such classic authors Schiller, Racine, Corneille, Shakespeare, Dumas (father and son), and Hugo, playwrights tried to develop tragedy as well. Because of heavy censorship it was difficult to write about topics concerning contemporary Turkish society (And 1972, 165).

The representations of women in these plays are very diverse. Authors such as Namık Kemal and Abdülhak Hamid (Tarhan) presented emancipated women, who liked to remain in control. Zekiye, the heroine in Kemal's famous play *Vatan yahut Silistre* (Fatherland or Silistre, 1872), follows her beloved when he joins the army to defend the fatherland (Çalışlar 1994, 291–2). She puts on men's clothing and fights shoulder to shoulder with him. Nowhere in the play is the question raised of whether Zekiye's behavior is decent for a Muslim woman. The women in Abdülhak Hamid (Tarhan)'s plays are all thoroughgoing women and rulers of their countries or their social environments, such as Sumru in *Eşber* (1880) (de Bruijn 1997). Together with her brother Eşber, Sumru rules the Punjab and tries to withhold Eşber and her lover, Alexander the Great, from a destructive war.

In this half-Westernized society, domestic issues related to women were the order of the day. Many plays, therefore, discussed marriage settlements, marrying off, marriage problems, honor, and slavery. In Namık Kemal's *Akif Bey* (1874), Dilruba is represented as a cold-blooded greedy cheat (Çalışlar 1994, 12–14). Gülnihal, in the play by Namık Kemal (1873) of the same name, takes firm action to prevent İsmet, whose child's nurse she is, from being married off to an old man instead of her lover, the popular hero Muhtar Bey. In *Hazan Bülbülü* (Autumn nightingale, 1913) by Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, Şahenda, a poor orphan raised by a rich family, is married off to a rich, old widower (Çalışlar 1994, 126–8). Her lover, a young man without means, marries another girl, and she, unhappy, has an affair with her son-in-law.

Many authors created plays inspired by Islamic folk stories and historical occurrences. Rezaizade Ekrem based his *Çok bilen çok yanılır* (Even when you know a lot, you can make many mistakes, 1874) on the *Thousand and One Nights* cycle (Çalışlar 1994, 68–9). Lütfiye, the daughter of a lawyer in Maraş, takes revenge on the jealous, deceitful district governor, who wants to prevent her marriage with İhsan Bey. She makes the governor divorce his wife and marry the ugly, mentally defective daughter of the owner of the coffeehouse.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. And, *Meşrutiyet döneminde Türk tiyatrosu, 1908–1923*, Ankara 1971.  
 —, *Tanzimat ve istibdat döneminde Türk tiyatrosu, 1839–1908*, Ankara 1972.  
 —, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu, köylü ve halk tiyatrosu gelenekleri*, İstanbul 1985.  
 P. de Bruijn, *The two worlds of Eşber. Western orientated verse drama and Ottoman Turkish poetry by 'Abdülhak Hâmid (Tarhan)*, Leiden 1997.  
 —, Molière on the Turkish stage, in *Journal of Turkish Studies. Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları. Essays in Honour of Barbara Flemming*, ed. Ş. Tekin, G. Alpay-Tekin, and J. Schmidt, 1 (2002), 93–105.  
 A. Çalışlar, *Tiyatro oyunları sözlüğü (Türk tiyatrosu)*, ii, İstanbul 1994.  
 Ö. Nutka, The genre brought about by reform. Tuluat theater, in M. Özhan (ed.), *The traditional Turkish theater*, Ankara 1999.  
 M. Özhan, Dramatic village performances, M. Özhan (ed.), *The traditional Turkish theater*, Ankara 1999.

PETRA DE BRUIJN

# Representations: Visual Arts

## Overview

### EARLY MODERN REPRESENTATIONS

Representation of gender as a significant element in Islamic visual art is primarily a product of modernity during the last two centuries, before which gender depictions in painting remain largely stylized. During the early modern period (fifteenth–eighteenth centuries), individualism and realism gradually transformed Persian, Ottoman, and Mughal painting. A set of miniature portraits from late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Delhi and Lucknow depict courtesans and women in *zenana* interiors, conventions that were also taken up by photography in the later nineteenth century. In Qajar portraiture in Iran, in order to suppress widespread homosocial desire under European influenced normative heterosexuality, the exposed breast became visible to clearly demarcate the erotic object as female, as argued by Najmabadi (2005).

### ORIENTALIST EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIONS

Depictions of gender roles in nineteenth-century European paintings were deeply informed by Orientalist presuppositions. In the works of French artists such as Delacroix, Ingres, and Gérôme, excessive and decadent sexuality became strongly correlated with arabesque motifs. This was especially pronounced in Gérôme's paintings, where smooth brushwork and meticulous attention to architectural facades and dress create a compelling illusion of the ahistoricity and otherness of the Orient at the very moment when Middle Eastern society was rapidly transforming as a result of European colonialism and local modernization efforts. This nineteenth-century Orientalism influenced other Western artists and subsequent representational practices in other media. European photographers also constructed images of the Oriental woman as sexually available for the camera's gaze. Colonial postcards of Algerian women from the early twentieth century collected by Alloula (1986) never show Algerian women as fully nude, but pose them in premodern harem interiors with "traditional" jewelry and head covering even while their breasts are fully exposed, sustaining the fantasy of a timeless Orient characterized by a play of sexual prohibition and availability. Cherry (2000)

has shown how even British feminists from the nineteenth century indulged in "cultural and gendered cross-dressing" in Algeria, yet continued to render the Algerian landscape and its people from a European imperialist vantage point. Modernist artists in the twentieth century, such as Matisse, abandoned realism, but continued to work with the odalisque, now depicted in flattened patterns of color – a formalist escape into a feminized, aestheticized Orient. Orientalist depictions of the Muslim remain powerfully present in current Western visual representations.

### NATIONALISM AND MODERNITY

During the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century in Iran, Egypt, and Turkey, the nation was routinely allegorized in nationalist print media political cartoons as a woman whose honor was under threat from imperialist depredations. The modernizing public sphere was marked by publications of photographs in print media of women's fashions, activities in educational and other institutions, and in public displays of unveiling. In Mahmud Mukhtar's monumental neo-Pharaonic sculpture *Egypt Awakening* (1919–28), installed at the entrance of Cairo University, the figure of a woman unveiling represents both national freedom and women's liberation. In architecture, the transition from traditional gender-segregated urban housing to modernist bungalows and apartments has profoundly affected gender relations, a topic which requires further comparative study. Recent publications of photographic archives in the Middle East by the Arab Image Foundation, Daman-dan (2004), and others, promise to open up new understandings of early and mid-twentieth-century gendered modernity of everyday life.

### CONTEMPORARY ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS

Recent art by women influenced by Islamic culture has powerfully investigated gender and the body, in painting, photography, video, and installation formats. Indonesian artist Arahmaiani's controversial painting *Linga/Yoni* (1994) depicts the Hindu male and female genital symbols alongside Arabic calligraphy to point out the absence of gender balance in Muslim society. She has also created installations and performances that critique



consumerist, gendered globalization. Rummana Husain's installations and performances before her death in 1999 dealt with the complex intersections of gender and Muslim history in an India where secularism was increasingly under attack from Hindu fundamentalism. In an extended photo-essay, Dayanita Singh has sensitively explored the social and spiritual biography of a Muslim eunuch in Delhi, India. In Pakistan, Naiza Khan in her *Henna Hands* series (2001–2) stenciled silhouettes of nude female figures on public walls of Karachi with henna paste (Figures 21, 22). These ephemeral public works comment upon the gendering of public space, by deploying a normally intimate ritual of female body decoration outside. Trained as a miniature painter, Lahore-based Aisha Khalid has made works that explore veiling and its relation to domesticity. The minimalist space and repetition of arabesque pattern, which also recall colonial floor tiles, create an enclosure from which no escape is possible – the woman merges into the decorative background itself, interchangeable with objects of furniture and drapery. Drawing upon the iconography of the Iranian Revolution, Shirin Neshat (Iran/United States) has created a threatening yet seductive photographic series, *Women of Allah* (1993–7), showing armed women covered in chadors and overlaid with ornamental patterns and calligraphy of poetry by Persian women. Her video works since 1998 allegorically explore issues of women's place in public life in Muslim societies. Marjane Satrapi (Iran/France) has illustrated a series of graphic novels, *Persepolis*, which utilize her personal coming-of-age story in post-revolutionary Iran and Europe, to comment on larger social issues. By opening up her familial space in her photographs and videos, Jannane al-Ani (Iraq/United Kingdom) deconstructs Orientalist visualizations of the seductive otherness of the harem. Loosely based on Delacroix's Orientalist painting *Women of Algiers in Their Apartment* (1834), Houria Niati's (Algeria/United Kingdom) expressionist painting *No to Torture* (1982–3) foregrounds the relationship between aesthetics and colonialism in French control of the gendered and colonized Algerian body.

Migration, exile, and their gendered inflections are recurrent themes in contemporary art. The cartoonist Boudjellal (Algeria/France) deploys the veiled female figure to index the separation of Algerian men in France from their families and villages. Mona Hatoum (Palestine/United Kingdom) has powerfully evoked the pain of exile in her video, performance, and installation works. In her video *Measures of Distance* (1988), Hatoum's voice reads letters from her mother in Lebanon, while the video

image shows the naked maternal body behind the text of the letters themselves, the handwritten Arabic script akin to a barbed wire fence. In her series *Sexy Semite* (2000–2), Emily Jacir (Palestine/United States) placed personal advertisements in the New York publication, the *Village Voice*, seeking Jewish partners, conceptually highlighting the absurd use of Israel's "Law of Return" as being the only way by which a Palestinian might possibly return to Palestine. Zineb Sedira (Algeria/United Kingdom) and Susan Hefuna (Egypt/Germany) explore delimitations of interior and exterior space in traditional North African architecture by photography and installation-based recreations of arabesque patterns and screens (*mashrabiyya*). In their works, the separation of space by gender intersects with the geographic condition of exile and diaspora.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Alloula, *The colonial harem*, Minneapolis 1986.  
 Arab Image Foundation, <<http://www.fai.org.lb>>.  
 D. Bailey and G. Tawadros (eds.), *Veil. Veiling, representation and contemporary art*, Boston 2001.  
 B. Baron, *Egypt as a woman. Nationalism, gender, and politics*, Berkeley 2005.  
 T. Ben Zvi, *Self portrait. Palestinian women's art* [in Hebrew, Arabic, and English], Tel Aviv 2001.  
 D. Cherry, *Beyond the frame. Feminism and visual culture. Britain 1850–1900*, London 2000.  
 P. Damandan, *Portrait photographs from Isfahan. Faces in transition*, London 2004.  
 A. Douglas and F. Malti-Douglas, *Arab comic strips. Politics of an emerging mass culture*, Bloomington, Ind. 1993.  
 F. M. Göçek, *Political cartoons in the Middle East*, Princeton, N.J. 1998.  
 S. Hashmi, *Unveiling the visible. Lives and works of women artists of Pakistan*, Islamabad 2002.  
 Haus de Kulturen der Welt, *DisORIENTATION. Contemporary Arab artists from the Middle East*, Berlin 2003.  
 R. Issa, R. Pakbaz, and D. Shayegan, *Iranian contemporary art*, London 2001.  
 F. Lloyd, *Contemporary Arab women's art. Dialogues of the present*, London 1999.  
 A. Najmabadi, *Women with mustaches and men without beards. Gender and sexual anxieties of Iranian modernity*, Berkeley 2005.  
 S. Nashashibi (ed.), *Forces of change. Artists of the Arab world*, Washington, D.C. 1994.  
 L. Nochlin, The imaginary Orient, in L. Nochlin, *The politics of vision. Essays on nineteenth-century art and society*, New York 1989, 33–59.  
 Nooderlicht Foundation, *Nazar. Photographs from the Arab world*, curated by W. Melis, New York 2004.  
 N. Patnaik, *A second paradise. Indian courtly life, 1590–1947*, New York 1985.  
 A. Rath, *Taboo and transgression in contemporary Indonesian art*, Ithaca, N.Y. 2005.  
 D. Singh, *Myself Mona Ahmed*, Zurich 2001.

## Arab States

The representation of women's sexualities and gender in the visual arts of the Arab states has a long and rich history, yet this past is often overlooked by narratives that focus on the introduction of the female body in figurative art in particular as a sign of progress and social liberation. In the context of the colonial encounter, representations of women, gender, and sexualities in the visual arts have been the subject of vibrant cultural negotiation. According to the sources available for this entry (and it is the goal of this entry to stimulate inquiry rather than offer conclusions), figurative images of women or womanhood in Arab material cultural production aligned with the imported concept of "Art" started first with portraits of "great women" (1890s–1920s), then became anonymous undressed woman (1920s–1950s), later to become anonymous nationalistically garbed woman (1950s–1980s), and most recently individualized explorations of woman as a universal category. However, taking into consideration the construction of architectural monuments in Arab empires as signs of female sexuality (see later), women and gender have long been represented in Arab art, though not in ways that could or should be circumscribed by notions of art-making associated with the Western academy.

As patrons of architectural projects in Muslim and Arab kingdoms, royal and upper-class women created monuments that represented their social selves and gender roles to an urban public. The ability to amass funds and command construction on a grand scale has been linked by architectural scholars to women's status as contributors to dynastic prosperity and authority through their proper sexual conduct as faithful mothers, sisters, or wives of male sovereigns. In this sense, imperial Muslim architecture was an especially effective means for making the royal female visible to her subjects, but it also rendered her, and by corollary her sovereign, vulnerable to the subjects' critical reception (Peirce 2000). Thus, female-patronized imperial architecture such as tombs, mausoleums, *madrasas*, and mosques at once made visible for Arab publics prominent women's positions as models of piety, political advisors, and/or protectors of imperial legitimacy (in terms of lineage) and reproducibility (in terms of procreation) (Hambly 1998) and at the same time called upon those publics to scrutinize feminine sexual propriety and generosity. In short, women who created imposing architecture were those who were the products of pure, religiously elevated lineages and contributed to them by bear-

ing a son, and were now sexually retired (Peirce 2000). Throughout the Ottoman Empire and the medieval Muslim world, architecture spawned by and speaking to prosperous female sexuality was a vibrant and crucial part of urban landscapes (Blake 1998, Thys-Senocak 2000).

As Fairchild Ruggles has remarked, since the 1860s, discourse on reform in Islamic regions of the Arab world has pivoted around the rights and roles of women and has been linked "to larger questions of national identity, colonialism, class, modernity, and social and economic advancement" (2000, 1). Public representations of women during the 1890s–1920s consisted mainly of paintings, and later photographs, of "great women" who had excelled in the social sphere in their capacity as relatives of prominent men. These were generally rendered in a grave, realistic manner associated with images of the Venetian aristocracy: stylized physiques; stiff, frontal poses; highly elaborated apparel; minimal background; and executed in self-effacing brushstrokes and delivered in dark veneer, gilt frames. These images mostly survive in family collections, supporting the notion that they were commissioned to reinforce familial prestige and distinction from local society but in terms of familiarity with specific non-local allies. Such pictures found their verbal counterpart in journalistic reports of women whose charity, hygiene, thrift, ingenuity, and education augured a swiftly progressing nation. Painters such as Habib Srur (Cairo, Beirut 1860–1938), Hussein Bikar (Cairo, 1912–2002), and Osman Hamdy Bey (Istanbul, 1842–1910) funded their careers through this trade. It should be noted that in this area, artists active in the Levant were unlike their contemporaries in Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, although many of them trained in similar European or Turkish institutions, for the latter appear to have painted only generalized pictures of womanhood, not portraits (Benjamin 2003).

However, with the crystallization of nation-states in the region during the 1920s–1940s, public representations of anonymous women became more common, especially in the form of postcards but also in paintings and newspaper cartoon illustrations. Frequently the women in such images were scantily dressed or not dressed at all, and the desire their bodies were thought to provoke naturally in men symbolized a challenge and appeal to proper public behavior (Alloula 1983, Thompson 2000). While European colonists produced much of this corpus, a substantial portion was created indigenously as the visual component and catalyst to intense debates about modernization in the local press. Such art practices helped many to think of

modernity as a wilful, disciplined honing of the mind (culture) over the body (nature). Aligned with this discourse, these “anonymous nudes” helped introduce the idea of womanhood as a universal condition, grounded in the female body, and woman’s social status as indexical of the degree of a nation’s capacities and eligibility for liberation. Postcard nudes produced by colonialist photographers and oil-paintings produced by “native sons” were circulated among Arab audiences to develop a taste for modernity in the form of new, aggressively imported and formulated social systems. Muṣṭafá Farrūkh (1901–57) was among the painters most closely identified with this trend in Beirut, and his autobiography (Farrūkh 1986) offers a strategically amusing account of his learning to draw nudes in an Italian atelier, paralleling the process with that of a coming-of-age rite. What is striking is the degree to which painting of the female nude was conceived of as a national initiation ritual. Not only were male painters supposed to learn to control their physical urges before the naked model and transform these into idealizing, ennobling compositions, but audience members were to learn to control their impulse to reject the subject matter or to embrace it crudely. They were to see in it an expression of intellectual and technical mastery of the very notion of art (cf. Nochlin 1999, 217) and hence, civilization.

Somewhat overlapping with the trend toward anonymous female nudes was a trend toward anonymous nationalistic feminine costumes. If the nudes wore the idealizing skin of classical, humanist theology (Salomon 1996), their dressed counterparts equally wore uniforms of nationalism, patriotism, and ethnic purity. Women comprised especially important foci for embodying the nation, given the role of females in patrilineal kin reckoning. Their rootedness to a given territory as expressed by their distinctive dress both symbolized and encouraged a belief that national and cultural integrity were natural and in need of vigilant defense. One can also discern in such images an upper-class fetishization of peasants and nomads who, through national boundaries, were now their compatriots. In this sense, ethnically garbed peasant women signified a fecund sexuality that commanded elite control and guidance. The paradigm of peasant motherhood has, unsurprisingly, been among the most popular images of female sexuality in the Arab world since the 1950s. Both male and female artists have participated in this unremittingly popular theme. Outstanding among them have been Palestinian painter Tammām al-Akḥal (b. 1935) and her husband Ismāʿīl Shammūṭ (1930–2006), Armenian

artist Paul Guirogossian, and Jordanian sculptor Muná Saʿūdī (b. 1945).

Since the 1980s, more and more female artists have undertaken to use their own bodies to critique and transgress the many systems of value and meaning based upon exclusion of women: colonialism, patriarchy, orientalism. It is important to note that some of these women have long worked in this topos; what is significant is that they have recently come to be embraced by audiences (in the Arab world and abroad) seeking an image of an active, self-determining female. For the women themselves, this reclaiming of womanhood and enlarging of women’s possible social roles has been most effective through that creative medium, for it is here that women can rework an image of their gender and sexuality which at the juncture of colonialism was both symbol and medium of communal identity and merit, and which, to quote Algerian novelist Assia Djebar, despite decades of anti-colonialist action, “is still perceived no differently, be it by the father, husband, and more troublesome still, by the brother and the son” (Djebar 1992). Prominent in this realm of using visual arts to reform social relations have been Kāmāla Ibrāhīm Iṣḥāq (Sudan, b. 1939), Houria Niati (Algeria, b. 1948), Muná Ḥāṭum (Palestine, b. 1952), and Rīm al-Jundī (Lebanon, b. 1965). While their styles and media range widely, a common theme running through them may be the ambivalence their work suggests between sensual revelation and abandon, on the one hand, and resolute social critique on the other. This implies that the binary between body and mind posed by colonial art systems for indigenous citizens-to-be continues to be a main source of creative tension for Arab art-making.

Starting in the 1990s, galleries and museums based outside the Arab world have sought out Arab women artists to participate in international forums. Examples include “Forces of Change: Artists of the Arab World” (1994), “Women Beyond Borders” (March 2003), and “Imagining Ourselves” (June 2006). Here Arab women artists’ representations of their gender and sexuality in an Arab framework have been considered crucial components for fleshing out a global female experience. In such exhibitions, the alleged universality of art and womanhood become the background for considering cultural inflections of gender and sexuality. Unsurprisingly, such forums have been most interested in women thought to be typical of the Arab or Third World (veiled, Muslim, or poor) (Winegar 2004).

These image phases sketch out, retrospectively, a coarse periodization of motives for producing

art dealing with women's gender and sexualities: social stratification and affirmation; nationalist assimilation to universalizing standards of cultural production; nationalist independence movements intertwined with a new tourist and ex-patriot market; and, currently, internationally stratified art worlds invested in finding a Third-World truth or, perhaps, sisterhood. Taken as motives, these phases become less insistently temporal, revealing co-presence of modes of image-making in the same period, and lose their sense of linear development. Still, it is important to notice to what degree the very act of representing woman's gender or sexuality in the contemporary Arab states has come to be a marker of civilizational status and merit.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- W. Ali, *Contemporary art from the Islamic world*, London 1989.
- M. Alloula *The colonial harem*, trans. M. Godzich and W. Godzich, intro. B. Harlow, Minneapolis 1983.
- R. Benjamin, *Orientalist aesthetics. Art, colonialism, and French North Africa*, Berkeley 2003.
- S. Blake, Contributors to the urban landscape. Women builders in Safavid Isfahan and Mughal Shahjahanabad, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998, 407–28.
- A. Djebar, *Women of Algiers in their apartment*, trans. M. de Jager, Charlottesville, Va. 1992.
- M. Farrūkh, *Tariqī ilā al-fann*, Beirut 1986.
- G. R. G. Hambly, Becoming visible. Medieval Islamic women in historiography and history, in G. R. G. Hambly (ed.), *Women in the medieval Islamic world. Power, patronage, and piety*, New York 1998, 3–23.
- H. Khal, *The woman artist in Lebanon*, Beirut 1978.
- S. Nashashibi, Elements of empowerment. Support systems in women's art practice, in F. Lloyd (ed.), *Contemporary Arab women's art*, London 1999, 70–100.
- L. Nochlin, Body politics. Seurat's poseuses, in L. Nochlin, *Representing women*, London 1999, 216–37.
- L. Peirce, Gender and sexual propriety in Ottoman royal women's patronage, in D. Fairchild-Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000, 53–68.
- D. Fairchild Ruggles, Vision and power. An introduction, in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000, 1–16.
- E. Said, *Orientalism*, New York 1978.
- N. Salomon, The Venus Pudica. Uncovering art history's "hidden agendas" and pernicious pedigrees, in G. Pollock (ed.), *Generations and geographies in the visual arts. Feminist readings*, London 1996, 69–87.
- L. Thys-Senocak, The Yeni Valide mosque complex of Eminonu, Istanbul (1597–1665), in *Muqarnas* 15 (1998), 58–70; repr. in D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000.
- J. Winegar, Siyāsāt al-fann wa-al-thaqāfa fi Miṣr, in *al-Adab* 52 (January 2004), 52–5.

KIRSTEN SCHEID

## The Ottoman Empire

Figural representations in the art of the Ottoman Empire occur in only a few media: illustrated manuscripts, painted ceramics, metalware, and textiles. With the exception of manuscript painting, representations of humans are rare, and depictions of women almost nonexistent. This entry provides an overview of how women were represented in Ottoman painting and, after its invention, photography, from the sixteenth century until the end of the empire in the early twentieth century.

The rich tradition of Ottoman miniature painting includes the detailed histories produced by court historians, imperial portraiture, and illustrated epics, poetry, and religious stories of the prophets. Women are depicted occasionally in these miniature paintings, but until the middle of the nineteenth century, they appear in a limited number of contexts, when the story chosen for illustration requires their presence, and almost never as named individuals. In paintings of crowds or ceremonial events, if they appear at all, women are far from the center of the action. To cite only one example, in a 1597 image of the funeral of the *valide sultan*, the female mourners watching the ceremony in the street are literally relegated to the margins of the page, barely visible.

Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century miniature paintings show more diverse roles for women. While still appearing as court dancers, musicians, or spectators, women are also shown enjoying themselves in outdoor settings and in more socially marginal positions as prostitutes or illicit lovers, as in illustrations of the eighteenth-century Hamse of Atayi. No longer relegated to the margins in these paintings, women are also the central figures in many of the single page paintings intended for inclusion in albums, produced by the eighteenth-century artist Levni and his contemporaries. Although depicting the familiar types, and not intended as individual portraits, Levni's paintings nonetheless present a much wider range of representations of Ottoman court women than earlier manuscript illustration.

In the nineteenth century, there were important changes in the appearance, function, and patrons of Ottoman painting. By the second half of the century, painters trained in military schools, Paris ateliers, and beginning in 1883, the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul, and they worked in oil paints or pastels at easels. Their subject matter resembled that of their European counterparts: landscape, still life, and portraiture. This break with past traditions is particularly obvious with regard to representations of women. The number of women's portraits

is striking. Painted by well-known Ottoman artists such as Halil Paşa and Osman Hamdi Bey, the sitters look straight out of the picture plane, confronting the viewer directly and confidently. The women depicted in these portraits were generally members of the elite, highly placed women who, earlier, would not have been visible to men outside their own families.

The arrival of photography in the major cities of the Ottoman Empire in the 1840s led to a further increase in the circulation of images of women. Based on the number and variety of photographic portraits that have survived, it is clear that many Ottomans embraced the new medium of photography with enthusiasm. As was the case with nineteenth-century painted portraits, women frequently commissioned photographic portraits of themselves, or at least consented to have their portraits made. While numerous portraits of royal women have survived in the Topkapı Sarayı archives, there are also depictions of Ottomans of other social classes, among them group portraits that include the women and girls of the family. Beginning in the 1880s, amateur Ottoman photographers could take pictures of their family and home life, thus determining the manner in which they presented themselves photographically. The family portraits of Ali Sami, for example, obviously a collaboration between photographer and family, offer a very particular view of the family as they chose to represent themselves. With these developments, the representation of women completely exploded from its original bounds, no longer pushed to the margins of the painted page or limited to an elite clientele or to particular political or social contexts.

The most immediately recognizable representations of Ottoman women are no doubt the harem women who were a common subject of Orientalist artists and many photographers. Nineteenth-century Ottoman photographic portraits of women in domestic interiors, or Levni's single page paintings of court women are certainly also representations of harem women, in the sense that the term refers to any adult women living at home. Yet in their original context these images would not have been interpreted in the same eroticized way as the paintings and photographs of "harem women" produced for a tourist audience. While sexualized images of women definitely existed in the Ottoman context, as for example, in the eighteenth-century manuscripts that contain illustrations of illicit lovers or other sexual encounters, the erotic charge of these images resided in the activities depicted in the image, not the mere inclusion of women.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- T. Atagök, *Cumhuriyet'ten günümüze kadın sanatçıları/Contemporary women artists*, Istanbul 1993.
- B. İnel and B. İnel, Discovering the missing heroines. The role of women painters in early modernist art in Turkey, in *Middle East Studies* 38 (2002), 205–12.
- R. Lewis and N. Micklewright (eds.), *Gender, modernity and liberty. Middle Eastern and western women's writings. A critical sourcebook*, London 2006.
- N. Micklewright, "Musicians and dancing girls." Images of women in Ottoman miniature painting, in M. C. Zilfi (ed.), *Women in the Ottoman Empire. Middle Eastern women in the early modern era*, Leiden 1997, 153–68.
- , Negotiating between the real and the imagined. Portraiture in the late Ottoman Empire, in İ. Schick (ed.), *M. Uğur Derman armağanı/M. Uğur Derman festschrift*, Istanbul 2000, 417–38.
- J. Raby et al., *The Sultan's portrait. Picturing the house of Osman*, Istanbul 2000.
- G. Renda (ed.), *Woman in Anatolia. 9000 years of the Anatolian woman*, Istanbul 1993.
- D. Fairchild Ruggles (ed.), *Women, patronage, and self-representation in Islamic societies*, Albany, N.Y. 2000

NANCY MICKLEWRIGHT

### Southeast Europe

#### THE EARLY PERIOD

At the end of nineteenth century, for Europeans with Victorian sensibilities, Southeast Europe (the Balkans) was still a part of the "Orient." People from the region were seen as childlike, exotic relics in a living ethnographic museum, possessing an authentic but archaic past. Over time, elites in the Balkan nations had assimilated much of this imposed role, followed by later attempts to establish their own sovereignty in the region as well as to forge clear national identities. These issues have permeated and informed the visual arts of the region, especially oil paintings, and had a particular impact on the representations of women, including Muslim women.

In the early 1880s, Serbian artist Djordje Krstic produced a series of paintings portraying rural peasant life in "the southern provinces of the fatherland." He represented women dressed in traditional, multi-layered clothing, their bodies entirely hidden to ensure modesty. Their headdresses and headscarves, decorated with ducats, and their embroidered vests and long sleeved blouses identified them both ethnically and as idealized women while turning the observer's attention away from their physical bodies. In marked contrast to the prevailing Orientalist pictorial discourse, the public nudity of women was completely inconceivable as was the stereotype according to which a woman of the East spends her life in leisure as

she awaits her fate to provide sexual pleasure. In contrast, women in Krstić's paintings were involved in productive activities and active physical labor, emphasized by their carrying a load of grain, a hoe, a jug, or a distaff.

Djordje Krstić was a painter commissioned by the Serbian court to paint a series of paintings that would appeal not only to the indigenous elites but also to foreigners. It is precisely because of this that the women were portrayed as modest, moral, and diligent, that is, behaving in the manner which both groups wished them to. In this representational mode, there was no place for indecent and potentially offensive content, nor was there room for criticism of social conditions. Yet the painted images possess an unmistakable lack of authenticity, most notably in the use of folkloric costumes for everyday labor; the formal dresses make them seem more like participants in a wedding procession than like women involved in their daily toil. Krstić's staged reality was ultimately an inauthentic fantasy.

Also a Serb, Paja Jovanović represents the other extreme, that of the Orientalist voyeuristic painter and, in fact, Jovanović received his artistic and commercial stimulus from a famous Vienna *Orientalist* (German, Orientalist painter), Leopold Karl Müller. Like Krstić, Jovanović conducted research on peasant life: he traveled throughout the Balkans, making sketches, gathering impressions, and purchasing costumes, all of which he took back to Vienna. Yet rather than accurately rendering what he had witnessed, he resorted to painting the exoticized illusions that the public expected. Even a cursory look at his *A Woman in the Oriental* (oil painting, ca. 1884) clearly confirms that the exposed and emphasized female body was the sole preoccupation of the artist, while those bodies that were covered, and as such most characteristic of the Islamic world, received only minimal treatment. The main image in the work, an obvious odalisque-derived representation, is a woman who is shown as passively seductive. Ignoring moral boundaries, she offers a different type of sexuality, one that is unrestrained by feelings of guilt. Yet the painting is no more than a product of Viennese *salon* society, reflecting its surroundings and not the realities of their subject matters' lives.

In the years to follow, only in the works of German-born Babet Bachmayer Vukanović (who married a Serbian painter) does one discern an interest in the local, albeit romanticized. By the beginning of the twentieth century most artists from the region were more interested in depicting the Western lifestyle. Vukanović's sympathetic genre scenes selectively represented reality, with an obvious

intent of inculcating positive feelings toward these simple folk. In her representations of female bodies there are no signs of tiredness or the hardships of poverty, but neither were there signs that these women were just sexual objects. Instead, timelessness dominates her paintings, which are populated by exotic, fairytale-like beauties.

#### THE PERIOD OF THE WORLD WARS

The period between the World Wars was marked by the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – later called the Kingdom of Yugoslavia – and the nascent visual expression of a “European identity” as new narratives were invented to distance the nation from its non-European cultural elements. Although the political motivations had changed, there was yet again a lack of accurate representations of Muslim women. Instead, they were mostly depicted as part of stereotypical genre compositions or even landscapes. Again demonstrating archaic survivals or an “idyllic unspoiled past,” these works are always connected with rural culture, such as in Jovan Bijelić's 1930 oil painting, *Sabat kula in Travnik* (The Travnik clock tower). Rare exceptions can be found, for example Serbian Sava Sumanović's *Turkish Bath* (oil painting, 1926), painted in Paris and an obvious elaboration of Ingres' famous Orientalist painting of the same subject, or Montenegrin Milo Milunović's likewise exoticized (and Paris-executed), *Moslem Women* (oil painting, 1932).

Immediately after the end of the Second World War, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPYR) was founded. According to the new cultural policy of this Communist state, socialist realism became the only acceptable form of art. Ideologically, socialist realism expressed principles of brotherhood and equality for all nationalities and ethnic groups – Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, Bosnians, Macedonians, Montenegrins, as well as Muslims and Jews – living in the FPRY. It also proclaimed gender equality. Consequently, the visual representations of women changed: they were no longer subjects per se but instead were regularly represented as female allegorical figures in numerous decorative art works, generally murals or mosaics. These figures were distinguished by easily recognizable traditional costumes from each of the six republics – Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Slovenia – making up the FPRY. In a number of art works, all of the six allegories/republics are symbolically shown joined together or dancing in a circle. Apart from certain specifics regarding regional costumes and hairstyles, the allegorical figures are not

differentiated in any other way, particularly not in the sense of any ethnic or racial features; instead, they are depicted as idealized representations of youth, well-being, and beauty, sometimes with gender-related attributes such as holding a baby or harvesting food. Still, the egalitarian use of traditional ethnic costume in these representations ideologically underscored class and racial equality, the affirmation of populism, and the triumph of socialism over bourgeois society. Members of ethnic groups, including Muslim women and men, were portrayed under the general rubric of national equality and unity. Their characteristic ethnic clothing was the only distinguishing mark to be deployed when an image of the harmonious life and brotherhood of Yugoslavia's peoples was needed.

Despite the crucial political rupture with the Soviet Union during 1948 when Tito's Yugoslavia opened itself to the non-Communist world and when socialist realism was rejected in favor of international modernism, the representational ideals of equality and harmony remained unchanged. Gender-related topics were not considered relevant to the project of international modernism, which was characterized by formalism and pure expression in the arts, despite the fact that there were many women artists.

#### THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

The last decade of the twentieth century brought the complete destruction of all cultural ideals as well as the disintegration of Yugoslavia itself and brutal civil wars. Only then did artists start responding to their specific social and political surrounding, no longer joined in the global Yugoslav art scene, but now divided into separate ethnic and religious entities: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia. Most of these artists had a strong, critical response to this tragedy, responses that were expressed in highly personalized and localized ways that evoke postmodernism.

Marina Abramovic's performance piece *Balkan Baroque* (video and performance, 1997) is made up of two parts. The first is a triptych – suggestive of Orthodox Church icons – of video screens. Two screens hold images of her parents (who were Yugoslavian Partisans and dedicated Communists with a mixed Serbian and Montenegrin marriage) while a central video image shows the artist in two different roles: as a scientist explaining the story of the Balkan “Wolf Rats” – creatures who when placed in unbearable conditions tear each other apart – and as a stereotypically Balkan woman, a slovenly tavern folksinger and dancer.

The second part of the work is composed of an installation of three copper vessels filled with water that suggests spiritual cleansing and a giant pile of animal bones, and the performance by Abramovic who assumes the identity of an epic maternal figure, symbolically representing purification, mourning, and meditation, while sitting amidst the bone pile, singing and polishing the bones in a kind of appalling ritual.

Two works by Milica Tomic: *I am Milica Tomic* (video, 1998/9) and *Milica Tomic and Roza El-Hassan driving in a Porsche and thinking about overpopulation* (billboard, 2000), explore national, social, and political identity, making strong artistic statements demonstrating that the political is the personal. The first work deals with the deep personal dilemma of this Christian Serbian artist regarding her national identity and questioning the substance and logic of the very concept. The second work has more transcendent meanings including playing on the word “overpopulation” that is represented in a witty manner by three people driving in a Porsche meant for two, people who are moreover aliens in a foreign country, representing different genders, family/ethnic origins, and socio-religious backgrounds.

In her 2003 public work *Bosnian Girl* (black-and-white photographs displayed on posters, billboards, magazine ads and postcards), Šejla Kamerić explores upsetting issues of personal, national, religious, and political identity. She meets the gaze of the observer in her self-representation of the “Bosnian girl,” a beautiful young woman who is looking at us from behind a graffiti text that reads: “No teeth...? A mustache...? Smel [sic] like shit...? Bosnian Girl!” written by an unknown Dutch soldier on the wall of the army barracks in Potocari, Srebrenica in 1994–5. For the artist, who is a Bosnian Muslim and who lost her father in the war, *this* is a work of individual revolt, strongly politically engaged and highly gendered. It is, at the same time, the work of an artist who goes beyond personal and collective tragedies and transforms traumatic experience into art.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Abramovic, *Cleaning the house*, London 1995.  
 —, *Balkan Baroque*, 1997, image available at <[www.online.newschool.edu/iat97/Venice/FPP/abram.html](http://www.online.newschool.edu/iat97/Venice/FPP/abram.html)>.  
 S. Cupic, The politics of representation as a projection of identity. Female body in context of its oriental construction in Serbian art, in *European Journal of Women's Studies* 10 (2003), 321–34.  
 Š. Kamerić, *Bosnian Girl*, image available at <[www.sejlakameric.com/art/bosnian\\_girl.htm](http://www.sejlakameric.com/art/bosnian_girl.htm)>.  
 —, *Others and dreams*, Frankfurt am Main 2004. [Artist's catalogue.]

- M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York 1997.
- M. Tomic, *Milica Tomic and Roza El-Hassan driving in a Porsche and thinking about overpopulation*, image available at <[www.secession.at/fassade/15\\_e.html](http://www.secession.at/fassade/15_e.html)>.
- , *The work of art in the state of exile*, Belgrade 2003.  
[Catalogue for the 50th Venice Biennale.]

SIMONA CUPIC AND LIDIJA MERENIK



# Representations: The Wiles of Women Literature

## Overview

In a wide range of Islamic cultures the notion of “the wiles of women” has found expression in many literary genres. In poems, tales, Qur’ānic commentary, and books of history, women are often portrayed as inherently deceitful, and men are warned of the power of “women’s guile.” While ancient Near Eastern and pre-Islamic understandings of gender contributed to the content of these literary expressions, the form that they take is thoroughly Islamic. Accounts of women’s wiles are most often referenced to the story of Yūsuf in Sūra 12 of the Qur’ān. In that Sūra, “the master’s wife” attempts to seduce the young servant Yūsuf, and when she is rebuffed she places the blame on Yūsuf, asking her husband “what is the recompense of him who purposes evil against thy folk, but that he should be imprisoned?” When Yūsuf demonstrates his innocence, the master declares “this is of your women’s guile; surely your guile is great.” The Arabic phrase *kayd al-nisā’* (guile or wiles of women), a variation on the phrase in Sūra 12, has become the most frequent designation of this theme in Muslim culture.

When, in Sūrat Yūsuf, the master’s wife is accused by her husband of acting out of guile or deceit; it is not only her individual guile that is condemned, rather it is the guile of all women. “This is of your women’s guile; surely your guile is great.” Al-Baydāwī, in his commentary on the Qur’ān, notes that in the Arabic phrase *min kaydikunna*, “The plural pronoun is addressed to her and to those like her, or to women as a whole.” Though the actions of one woman are condemned in this story, the concept of *kayd* is generalized and applied to all women.

That generalization, first hinted at in the grammatical construction of the phrase “your women’s wiles,” is then made explicit in the subsequent plot development in Sūrat Yūsuf. There we read that “certain women that were in the city said the Governor’s wife has been soliciting her page; he smote her heart with love; we see her in manifest error.” To counter this gossip the wife invited her companions to a banquet and presented them with fruit and knives. She then called Yūsuf into the room. Overcome by his beauty they cut their hands and exclaimed, “this is no mortal, he is no other but a noble angel.” “So now you see,” she said, “this

is he who you blamed me for. Yes, I solicited him, but he abstained. Yet if he will not do what I command him he shall be imprisoned, and be one of the humbled.”

The Qur’ānic exegetes, who helped develop an emerging Wiles of Women literature, saw guile and gossip as going hand in hand, thus evoking another common Near Eastern stereotype of female behavior. Commenting on the wife’s comments to her invited women guests, Ṭabarī elaborates “this is the one on whose account you blamed me: I asked of him an evil act, but he proved continent. And after he had loosened his trousers he remained continent. I do not know what appeared to him. But if he does not do what I order – that is, have intercourse – he will be imprisoned and brought low.”

An analysis of the use of the term *kayd* in the Qur’ān indicates that “guile” or “deceit” is a misleading translation of the Arabic original, and that *kayd* is a quality attributed to men and women. “Artifice” or “stratagem,” terms that do not have pejorative connotations, would be more appropriate translations of *kayd*. Elsewhere in the Qur’ān *kayd* is not a stratagem of men and women only, it is also utilized by God against unbelievers. There are at least 34 uses of the Arabic root *k-y-d*. in the Qur’ān, and a number of them refer to God’s actions. In Sūrat Yūsuf itself (12:76) God’s *kayd* is celebrated; in Sūra 7:182 we also find *kayd* as an attribute of God.

Some scholars see these references as lessening the power of the attribution of *kayd* to women. Women are not the sole possessors of *kayd*; it is not inherent in them. *Kayd* is not necessarily female evil; rather it is a neutral attribute, a quality that can be used for good or for evil.

Both the Qur’ānic commentarial tradition and the *ḥadīth* elaborate greatly on the encounters between Yūsuf and his master’s wife – who, though unnamed in the Qur’ān, is called Zulaykha in most Islamic sources. Another rich source for “Yūsuf” elaborations is the histories of Ṭabarī and later historians. There the Joseph narrative is included in the long descriptions of the saga of the Israelites. In both the histories and the commentaries the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykha receives a great deal of attention. Their story often eclipses those of other figures in the narratives.

Atension expresses itself within these elaborations of the Yūsuf and Zulaykha encounters. While Zulaykha is always portrayed as wilful and instigating, Yūsuf's portrait is more open to nuance and interpretation. Some (as in Ṭabari's comments cited earlier) tell us of Yūsuf's desire for Zulaykha: he is tempted, but does not act on his impulses. Other portraits of him negate this desire component – he is “too pure” to experience desire, or to even plan to be in a situation in which he might experience desire, and thus all the blame is shifted to Zulaykha. So, even if women are not the sole possessors of *kayd*, their *kayd* is greater, and they are to blame in situations where men are “tempted.”

Through the elaborations of Sūrat Yūsuf in both the commentarial tradition and historical accounts the Wiles of Women theme spread through the cultures of the Islamicate. A thirteenth-century compendium of Islamic folklore, *The Subtle Ruse*, presents all of Sūrat Yūsuf (and not only the Potiphar's wife episode) as a series of stories of *kayd*. The anonymous author of this work retells each of the episodes of the story, indicating in each how the characters are constantly deceiving others or being deceived themselves.

A collection of stories dedicated to the Wiles of Women is the fifteenth-century *adab* work, *Makā'id al-niswan* (The trickery of women) by the belletrist Ibn al-Batanūnī. Arranged in the chronological order of the classic Islamic histories, the book draws much of its material and inspiration from the commentarial and historical elaborations of the Yūsuf and Zulaykha cycle. In Ibn al-Batanūnī's understanding, from the beginning of time until the century of the author, women's ability to seduce and control men has been a constant danger to the best and worst of men. Yūsuf resisted temptation, but many others have failed – and men are in this work warned against attempts similar to Zulaykha's, attempts that repeat themselves in each generation. In the stories of some Muslim saints who have resisted women's advances, Yūsuf appears to them in a dream to bolster their faith.

A view of *kayd* as a dominant factor in human behavior permeates the greatest collection of Islamic folklore, *Alf layla wa-layla*, the *Thousand and One Nights*. One full section often included in the anthology, the *Sindibādnāma*, is dubbed by some English translators as *The Malice of Women*, though on closer examination it is not only the *kayd* of women that is celebrated here, but the *kayd* of all beings: men, women, and the jinn, those spirit beings, “created from unsmoking fire, . . . who exercise direct and formative influence upon the affairs of humanity.” In this section of the *Nights*, much is

made of “women's *kayd*,” and the spirit in which these tales are told encourages the translation of *kayd* as “malice,” for the protagonists delight in the results of their trickery. After hearing tales of women's guile, the women of the story then have their opportunity to counter-attack. They respond by relating corresponding tales of the “wiles of men.” Despite the obvious advantages granted to their male antagonists (they get to tell their stories first, and have more of them to tell), the women acquit themselves honorably.

*Sindibādnāma* was based on a Persian saga of the ninth century C.E., a saga which some Muslim scholars traced to an Indian prototype but which most scholars now accept as a Near Eastern work. Later translated into Arabic, it became one of the core elements in the formation of the loosely-defined corpus of tales that made up the *Thousand and One Nights*. But before its inclusion in that corpus, the *Sindibādnāma* was translated into Syriac and Hebrew. These translations preserved both the framework and engaging contents of the saga, whose Persian original no longer survives. Culturally appropriate details give each version a unique flavor.

The narrative device used to structure or “frame” the *Thousand and One Nights* is in itself a tale of the wiles of women and the wiles of men. Both King Shahriyār and his brother Shahzamān discover that their wives have deceived them in their absence. Discouraged and disillusioned, they leave their respective kingdoms and set off for the wilderness. There they have an adventure that proves to them that even the jinn are helpless before the wiles of women. And here, in the opening chapter of the *Nights*, the Potiphar's wife motif is cited by the captive woman who tricked the jinn despite her dire situation and then forced Shahriyār and his brother to have sex with her.

This encounter fuels Shahriyār's resolve never to trust a woman again: “he took an oath that every night he would go unto a maid and in the morning put her to death.” Shahrazād, his vizier's daughter, saves the women of the kingdom with her masterful storytelling abilities. She entertains and intrigues Shahriyār and at the end of the 1001 nights of her storytelling (during this period she bears the King three sons) the King rescinds his order and a great celebration is held.

In one manuscript tradition of the *Nights*, direct linguistic reference to Sūrat Yūsuf appears in one of the vizier's related tales: “The Story of the Husband and the Parrot” is used to “prove” the deceitfulness of women. He addresses the King, saying “Oh King, I have informed you of this only so that you may

know that the wiles of women (*kaydahunna*) are mighty.” This is a rephrasing of Potiphar’s words to Zulaykha.

Non-Muslim minorities produced their own versions of the Wiles of Women literature. In the case of Jewish texts, these elaborations were influenced by the Rabbinic commentarial tradition on Genesis 39, which drew heavily on earlier Midrashim about Joseph and Potiphar’s wife. Jewish storytellers of the thirteenth century produced the *Mishlei Sendebbar*, a Hebrew version of the *Sindibād-nāma*. This version contains a delightful story which affirms the world-view of the Wiles of Women literature while at the same time subverting the notion that women’s cunning can be anticipated. The story tells of a man who thought he had written down all the wiles of women. At the last stopping-place on his journey, he boasts to the governor’s wife of his accomplishment. She immediately makes overtures to him and as he is about to succumb, she shouts for her husband. The stranger faints of fright. When the governor arrives, his wife says merely that the visitor was so sick he almost choked when she fed him. When the governor departs, she asks the stranger whether he had notebooks and he, despairing, admits that his research has been in vain. “The distinctive feature of the Hebrew collection is the freeing of the woman at the end; in other versions she is killed or otherwise severely punished” (Epstein 1967).

One understanding of *kayd* encompassing accounts of the wiles of women and those of men bases itself on the use of the term *kayd* in the Qur’an, and on the way post-Qur’anic Islamic narrative assigns *kayd* characteristics to both women and men. The Wiles of Women literature in general, and the *Thousand and One Nights* in particular, narrate, and critique, the wiles of both genders. For many tales of the “malice of women” there is a parallel tale of “the malice of men.” “In the attribution of guilt neither gender is spared” (Goldman 1995, 48–52).

Whether one understands *kayd* to be the sole province of women, or a province women share with men, the power of the *kayd* story in Sūrat Yūsuf rendered the story itself dangerous in the eyes of some clerical authorities. Long before the question arose of how a modern feminist reader might understand the Yūsuf and Zulaykha narratives, some Muslim authorities tried to distance women from the possibility of ever encountering the story. “Women should be prohibited from learning Surat Yūsuf, since hearing the parables of that tale may lead them astray from the law of chastity” (Nāṣir al-Dīn Tūsī, quoted in Merguerian and Najmabadi 1997).

In the *Shāhnāma*, Firdawsi’s eleventh-century rendering of the Iranian national epic, a Wiles of Women tale is embedded within the larger narrative of the history of Kaykāvūs, the great Persian King. This is the tale of Siyāvush and Sudaba, a tale patterned on the Potiphar’s wife motif. The advice of the sages and their ruminations on truth and falsehood in the often opposing narratives of men and women is a central theme of contribution to the Wiles of Women literature.

#### REVISIONIST READINGS AND REINTERPRETIVE VENTURES

Employing “gender skepticism,” some contemporary feminist readers of the Wiles of Women literature have suggested alternative and subversive readings of stories commonly understood to be anti-woman. Some suggest “reinscribing *Kayd* as wit...transforming the tales into stories of women’s wisdom and wit.”

Many feminist critics have identified a misogynist strain within the Wiles of Women literature. Fedwa Malti-Douglas’s *Woman’s Body, Woman’s Word* identifies the misogynist strain in the *Thousand and One Nights* frame story and embarks on a feminist reading of the *Nights*. In her analysis, Malti-Douglas identifies three elements: woman’s sexuality, woman’s speech, and woman’s guile. “Shahrazad demonstrates to her literary cousins and descendants that an intimate relationship must be created between writing and the body. The mistress of the word is a mistress of the ruse as well...If Shahrazad was able to manipulate discourse, it was at a price...In the end Shahrazad relinquishes her role of narrator for that of perfect woman: mother and lover.” As Malti-Douglas notes, before Shahrazād enters the story, all women in the frame story are sex objects. With Shahrazād, desire shifts from the biological to the narrative plane (Malti-Douglas 1991).

There have been repeated attempts to reclaim Shahrazād as a feminist foremother for contemporary women writers and storytellers. Najmabadi (2000) rejects this notion. She sees the uses of Shahrazād’s speech as part of a “patriarchal ruse – to insure a break with the world of women.”

Other feminist scholars focus on the exegesis of Sūra 12: “The construction of the notion of womanly guile upon the foundation of Sura 12 begins with the earliest known commentaries on the Qur’an. These commentaries accomplish a shift from the Qur’an’s emphasis on a test-for-prophethood plot to one more concerned with producing a moral lesson about the dangers of female sexuality and a woman’s guile, and thus the necessity for

punishment” (Merguerian and Najmabadi 1997). Contemporary Muslim critic Abdelwahab Bouhdiba sees these stories of heightened ardor as a positive, affirming portrayal of female sexuality. On the women of the city cutting themselves: “the emotion felt at the sight of Joseph was so great that the charming assembly was seized by a collective physiological pain... The eroticism here derives from the divine, angelic character of Joseph. Love and prophecy are identified; the beautiful reveals the sacred.” But Merguerian and Najmabadi (2000) read Zulaykha’s punishment (as related by Kisā’ī and others) – as making “Bouhdiba’s 20th century attempt to salvage Zulaykha for an Islamic positive appreciation of female sexuality rather incredible.”

Returning to the exegetical issues referred to at the beginning of this entry, much of the Wiles of Women literature is referenced to and influenced by the verse in Sūrat Yūsuf that condemns the *kayd* of women. It serves us well to be reminded that the voice speaking in this verse is that of al-‘Azīz, the master of the house. There is no manifest reason that we should take this to be God’s condemnation of women. But that is the way many of the classical commentators have interpreted the story. As two contemporary critics remind us, this attribution of a condemnation of women’s sexuality to God, rather than to a jealous husband, serves to reinforce misogynistic stereotypes. Retelling the tale of Yūsuf and Zulaykha in a contemporary feminist manner can free us from those stereotypes and highlight the literary, rather than the theological or proscriptive, aspects of the narrative.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- M. Epstein, *Tales of Sendenbar*, Philadelphia 1967.  
 S. Goldman, *The Wiles of Women and the Wiles of Men*, Albany, N.Y. 1995.  
 F. Malti-Douglas, *Woman’s body, woman’s word*, Princeton, N.J. 1991.  
 G. K. Merguerian and Najmabadi, Zulaykha and Yusuf. Whose “best story?” in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997), 485–508.  
 A. Najmabadi, Reading “wiles of women” stories as fictions of masculinity, in *Arabic Abwab* 22 (Fall 1999), 131–45; repr. in M. Ghoussoub and E. Sinclair-Webb (eds.), *Imagined masculinities. Male identity and culture in the modern Middle East*, London 2000, 147–68.  
 K. Rowe, To spin a yarn. The female voice in folklore and fairy tale, in R. Bottigheimer (ed.), *Fairy tales and society*, Philadelphia, 1986, 53–74.



# Name Index

- Abāza, ‘Azīz, 544  
 ‘Abbādī, Maryam, 347  
 Abbas, Shemeem, 59, 190  
 Abbot, Nabia, 196, 197  
 Abbot (theater group), 149  
 ‘Abd ul-Majīd, Ḥakīm, 390  
 ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (grandfather of the Prophet), 351  
 ‘Abd al-Raḥman, Fāṭima, 347  
 Abdalla, Amna, 166–167  
 ‘Abduh, Shaykh Muḥammad, 213  
 Abdul Jalil, Datuk Seri Shahrizat, 511  
 Abdul Khabeer, Su’ad, 103  
 Abdul-Baki, Kathryn, 25  
 Abdurahimova, Firuza, 67  
 Abdykalykov, Aktan, 432  
 Abikeeva, Gulnara, 98  
 al-Abnūdi, ‘Atṭiyāt, 30  
 Abouzeid, Leila, 23  
 Abraham/Ibrāhīm, 216–217, 318, 319, 321  
 Abramovic, Marina, 544  
 Abru, Shah, 500  
*Ābsbār-i nastaran* (Elegant fountain, Pazhwāk), 16  
 Abū al-‘Azā’im, Muḥammad Māḍī, 401  
 Abū Bakr, 409  
 Abū al-Faḍl, Mizā, 456  
 Abū Ḥanīfa, 532  
 Abū Ḥayyān, 403  
 Abū Hurayrah, 530  
 Abu Jaber, Diana, 25, 26  
 Abū Naṣr, Mūna, 30  
 Abū Nuwās, 489  
 Abul Fazl, Mirza, 260  
 Academy of Dramatic Arts (Sarajevo), 146  
 Aceh, 277, 445, 510–511, 512  
*Ada apa dengan Cinta?* (film), 101–102  
 Adam, 403  
 al-‘Adawiyya, Mu’adhiyya bt. ‘Abd Allāh, 542  
 al-‘Adawiyya, Rābī‘a, 190, 227–228, 542  
 Adile Hatun (Ottoman princess), 395  
 Adivar, Halide Edib, 28, 38–39, 143, 180, 210, 242  
 “Advice for the Adornment of a Beloved”  
 (poem, Abru), 500  
*Afghan Women* (play, Sharif), 151  
 Afghānī, ‘Alī Muḥammad, 417  
 al-Afghānī, Jamāl al-Dīn, 213  
 Afghanistan,  
   early Islam in, 204  
   folk dancing and folk singing in, 41–42, 45, 46  
   modernization of, 211  
   music in, 457  
   poetry in, 77  
   popular culture in, 96–97  
   storytelling in, 125  
   Western media coverage of women in, 506  
   women performers in, 4, 41–42, 48, 49, 65, 96, 457  
   women writers in, 15–16, 96  
 Afīfī, Muhammad, 286  
 Afḷākī, Aḥmad, 202  
 Africa (see also East Africa; North Africa; Sub-Saharan Africa; West Africa), 453  
   actresses in, 35–36, 37, 112, 149  
   immigrants from, in Europe, 27  
   music in, 194  
*African Epic Series* (Indiana University Press), 450  
 Afzhal-Khan, Fawzia, 24, 151  
 Aḡaoḡlu, Adalet, 427  
 Agha, Zubeida, 162  
 Agop Vartovyan (Güllü Agop), 141, 142  
 al-Aḥmad, J., 257  
 Aḥmad, Mirzā Ghulām, 259, 260, 354  
 Ahmed, Leila, 69, 197, 198, 210, 285, 335, 539  
 Ahmed, Novera, 162  
 Ahmed, Sheik Allie Vulle (Bādshāh Pīr), 362–363  
 ‘Ā’isha Bībī, 201  
 ‘Ā’isha bint Abū Bakr (wife of the Prophet), 198,  
   218–219, 227, 268, 352  
   dream interpretation by, 409  
   preaching by, 335, 345, 347  
 Ajoka (theater group), 145  
 Ajouhaar, Galiema, 342  
 Ajvatovica Rock (Bosnia), 369  
 Akad, Nurcan, 182  
 Akash, M., 24  
 Akavlediani, Elena, 157  
 Akbar, Anjelika, 11  
 Akhinzhanova, Leila, 33  
 Akhtar Begum (Akhtari Bai Faizabadi), 10, 75, 193  
 Akhundova, Shafiga, 4  
 al-Akhwāt al-Jumhūriyāt (Republican Sisters, Sudan),  
   347  
*Akif Bey* (play, Kemal), 546  
 Akilova, Viloyat, 66  
 Akın, Filiz, 39  
 Akın, Gülten, 92  
 Aksoy, Nazan, 242  
 Aksu, Sezen, 12  
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, 206  
 ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Tekish, 206  
*‘Alā al-raṣāfī* (On the pavement, play, Jād), 544  
 Ālā Nūr Khānum, 201  
 Alam, Fareena, 183  
 Alassane, M., 35  
 ‘Alaywān, Suzān, 79  
 Albania, 190–191  
 Aleppo, 372, 385, 387  
 Alexander the Great (Iskandar Zulkarnain), 446  
*Alf layla wa-layla* (see *Thousand and One Nights*)  
*Al Alfīyya* (The women of the thousand), 411  
 Algeria,  
   anti-colonial struggle in, 114, 453  
   modernization in, 211  
   music in, 194  
   violence against women in, 115  
   visual arts in, 159  
   women fiction writers in, 22–23  
   women filmmakers in, 32  
   women performers in, 31  
   women preachers in, 340  
   women’s poetry in, 236  
 Ali, Ahmed, 261  
 Ali, Amanat, 144  
 Ali, Hashim Amir, 261  
*‘Ali Janāḥ al-Tabrīzī* (play, Faraj), 545  
 Ali, Moza, 83  
 Ali, Tatu M., 83  
 Alikadić, Bisera, 90

- Aliye, Fatma, 28, 242, 427  
 Aliyeva, Adilia, 65  
 Aliyeva, Gulara, 64  
 Alizade, Franghiz, 4–5  
 Alizāda, Ghazāla, 21–22  
 Allah, Faqir, 8, 461  
 Allāh, Shāh Walī, 259  
*Al'lēssi* (film, Keita), 35  
 Allen, Roger, 489  
 Allievi, Stefano, 294, 306, 307  
 Alloula, Malek, 504, 547  
 Ally, Tatu, 186  
*Alpamiş* (epic, Central Asia), 441  
 Alzahra University (Iran), 158  
 Amada, Uwaliya Mai, 133  
*Amanab* (magazine), 100  
 Amāni, Sāri, 140  
 Amanullah (king of Afghanistan), 211  
 'Amāra, Lāmi'a, 477  
 Amīn, Qāsim, 210  
 Amīr, 'Aziza, 30  
 Amod, Aboobakr, 363  
 Amonkar, Kishori, 10  
 Amrane, Djamila, 114  
*al-Amthāl al-āmiyya* (Folk sayings, Taymūr Pasha), 518  
*Amthāl al-awām fi Mişr wa-al-Sūdān wa-al-Shām*  
 (Folk proverbs in Egypt, Sudan and [Greater] Syria,  
 Shughayr), 518  
*al-Amthāl al-Sūdāniyya* (Sudanese proverbs, Bardī), 518  
 Āmulī, Javādī, 257  
*Anadolu Evliyalari* (Araz), 228  
 Anatolia, 201–202, 482  
   travel accounts of, 202–203, 231  
 al-Andalus (Muslim Spain), 489  
 Andræ, Tor, 539  
 al-Ani, Jannane, 548  
*Annual Review of Islam in South Africa*, 180  
 Anşār al-Sunna (Sudan), 346–347  
 Ansari, Zafar Ishaq, 260  
 Anshori, Abdul Ghafur, 380  
*Aperçu général sur l'Égypte* (Clot Bey), 470  
 Aprymov, Serik, 431–432  
 Āqā-bābāyev, Pārī, 140  
 'Aqā'id al-Nasafī, 445  
 al-'Aqqād, 'Abbās Maḥmūd, 405  
 Ar, Müjide, 39  
 Ara, Shamim, 122  
 Arab American Comedy Festival, 151  
 Arab states,  
   conversion to Islam in, 285–286  
   dance in, 13–14, 53  
   erotic literature in, 411–412  
   films in, 30–32, 429–431  
   media presence of women in, 174–175  
   poetry in, 77–80, 475–477, 489, 544  
   saint shrines in, 224–225  
   storytelling in, 126–127  
   theater in, 137–138, 544–545  
   visual arts in, 153–156, 549–551  
   *waqfs* in, 376–378  
   women preachers in, 335–336, 337–339  
 Arabia, pre-Islamic, 196  
*Arabian Jazz* (Abu Jaber), 25, 26  
*Arabic Proverbs, or the Manners and Customs of the  
 Modern Egyptians* (Burckhard), 518  
 al-'Arabiyya (television channel), 176  
 'Arafāt, 318  
   Well of Zubayda in, 376  
 Arahmaiani, 547–548  
 Arandzha-Bobo Shrine (Khorezm), 325  
 Araz, Nezihe, 228  
 Argentina,  
   fiction writing in, 421–422  
   Muslim population in, 355–356, 421  
 Ārife Hanım, 241  
 Arinbasarova, Natalia, 33  
 Arivia, Gadis, 102  
 Arjomand, Said, 382  
 Arlt, Roberto, 422  
 Arman, Ayşe, 181  
 Armando, Ade, 100  
 Aronson, L., 170  
 Arshad, Asma, 104  
 Arslan, Emin, 422  
 Artemidoros, 406, 407, 408  
 Arwā bint Ahmad al-Şulayhī (Queen of Yemen), 528  
 al-'Asal, Fāthiyya, 544  
 Asanova, Dinara, 32, 97  
 Asena, Duygu, 29, 181  
 al-Ash'ari, Abū al-Ḥasan, 352  
 Ashiq, Pārī, 43  
 Ashiq Peri Majlisī, 43  
 Ashtar (goddess of fertility), 475  
 'Ashūr, Radwa, 19  
 Asia (see Central Asia; East Asia; Eurasia; South Asia;  
 Southeast Asia)  
 Asia-Pacific region (see East Asia; Southeast Asia)  
 'Aşıkpaşazāde, 202  
 Asís, Jorge, 422  
 Asiye Hatun (Ottoman lady), 409  
 Āsiyya (wife of Pharaoh), 351, 352, 353  
 Askarova, Zohra, 17  
 Asma'u, Nana, 93  
 Aspurca Hatun (Ottoman sultan's wife), 393  
 Association of Georgian Textile Artists, 157  
 Association of Muslim Women (*Jami'at al-sayyidāt  
 al-Muslimin*, Egypt), 335, 338  
 Association for the Protection of the Contemporary  
 Lifestyle (Turkey), 264  
*At Her Feet* (Davids), 179  
 Ataboeva, Gulshod, 66  
 Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 70, 211, 263, 464  
*Ateşten Gömlek* (The shirt of flame, film, Ertuğrul),  
 38–39  
 al-'Attār, Farīd al-Dīn, 538  
*Au nom du Christ* (film, Mbala), 37  
*Awakenings* (television program), 179  
 Awskū'ī, Mahīn, 141  
 al-'Ayn, Tāhira Qurrat, 17, 86  
 'Ayn Zubayda (Well of Zubayda, 'Arafāt), 376  
 Ayu, Djenar Maesa, 414  
 Aywaz-dedo, 369  
 al-Azdiyya, Rāb'ia, 542  
 Azerbaijan,  
   folk songs and folk dancing in, 42–43, 44  
   music in, 64, 65, 458  
   pilgrimage to local shrines, 324  
   women composers in, 4–5, 7  
   women fiction writers in, 16–18  
   women performers in, 43, 64–65  
*Azerbaijan Qadimi* (women's journal), 17  
 al-Azhar University (Cairo), 322, 335  
 al-Azhari, Shaykha Khadija, 346  
 al-'Aziz, Amat, 376  
*Azizah Magazine*, 25, 104  
 Azmi, Shabana, 122  
 Bâ, Amadou Hampâté, 35  
 Bâ, Mariama, 27  
 Bâ-Kathir, 'Alī Aḥmad, 544  
*al-Bâb al-maftūh* (The open door, Laṭīfa al-Zayyāt), 19  
 Babayeva, Alaviya, 17

- Bābur (Mughal emperor), 207  
*Baco* (film, Mamadali and Fidaali), 37  
 Baderoon, G., 119  
 Badri, Sheikh Babiker, 165  
 Badri, Sittana, 166  
 Bādshāh Pīr Shrine (Durban), 362, 363  
 Baghdad, 395  
 Baghwat, Neela, 11  
 Bahā' al-Dīn Walad (Ibn Khaṭībī), 454–455, 456  
*bāhnāmes* (books of libido/intercourse), 417–418  
 Bahor (dance company, Uzbekistan), 49, 66, 97  
*Bahr al-Favā'id* (Sea of precious virtues, anonymous), 485  
 Bahrain, 176  
 al-Bahuty, Manshur bin Yunus, 379  
 Bai, Gulab, 144  
 Bai, Meera, 8  
*Bājiyān-i Rūm* (Sisters of Rum), 231, 349  
 Baker, Alison, 114  
 Bakhtiar, Rudi, 104  
 Bakī (Ottoman poet), 456  
*Bakkār* (television series, Abū Naṣr), 30  
 Bakr, Salwā, 19  
 Ba'labakkī, Laylā, 18  
*Balkan Baroque* (work of art, Abramovic), 554  
 Balkans (see Southeast Europe)  
 Ballchi, Rabia, 96  
 Bamba, Shaykh Amadou, 333  
*Bāmdād-i khumār* (The morning after, Sayyidjavādi), 22  
 Bana Harnet (theater group), 149  
*Los Bandidos de Uad Djuari* (The Bandits of Uad-Djuari, Arlt), 422  
 Bangkok, 305  
 Bangladesh,  
   *madrasas* in, 344  
   theater in, 144  
   *waqfs* in, 379  
   women preachers in, 345  
   women's remembrances in, 122  
 Bano, Gulbadan (see Gulbadan Begum)  
 Bano, Iqbal, 75  
 Bara, Ali Hadi, 169  
 al-Barda'iyya, Fāṭima, 543  
 Bardī, Babikir, 518  
 Barlas, Asma, 254, 261–262  
 Bārqiyya, Farida, 31  
 Bartholdy, Jakob Salomo, 68  
 Bartók, Béla, 50  
 Baseitova, Kuliash, 97  
 Başgös, İ, 437  
 Basić, Adisa, 91  
 al-Baṣri, Ḥasan, 352  
 Bassafar, Asma, 185  
 Batiashvili, Maka, 157  
*Battalnāme* (Ottoman legend), 443–444, 494  
*Battle of Algiers* (film, Pontecorvo), 453, 505  
 al-Bā'uniyya, 'A'isha bint Yūsuf, 338  
 al-Bayda, Nafisa, 375  
 al-Bayḍāwī, 556  
 Bayram, Mikāil, 231  
*Baz bārān agar mubarid* (If it was raining again, Qādīrī), 16  
*BBQ Muslims* (film, Nawaz), 105  
 Beck, B., 526  
 Begi Begam, Shāh (Tajlu Khānum), 207  
 Beier, Ulli, 94  
 Beik, Janet, 149  
 Béji, Hélé, 23  
 Bekiroğlu, Nazan, 242  
 Belghazi, T., 237  
 Belyazid, Farida, 31  
 Bengütaş, Sabiha, 169  
 Benice, Ethem Izzet, 534  
 Benyahia, Samta, 160  
 Berkand, Muazzez Tahsin, 534  
 Berksoy, Semiha, 168  
 Bernard, M., 469  
 Berrada, Fedilah, 160  
 Bertrana, Aurora, 472  
*Beshkempir* (film, Abdykalykov), 432  
 Bhopal, female rulers of (Begums), 389, 396  
 Bhutto, Benazir, 121, 260  
*Bi-lā aqmī'a* (Without masks, play, al-'Asal), 544  
 Bibi ka Chashma Shrine (Hyderabad), 330  
 Bibi Pak Daman Shrine (Lahore), 330  
 Bibi, Sobira, 478  
 Bibi Zudmurod sanctuary, 223–224  
*The Big Wedding* (shadow play), 437–438  
 Bihbahāni, S., 86  
 Bijapuri, Hashmi, 499  
 Bijelic, Jovan, 553  
 Bilqīs (Queen of Yemen), 528  
 Bin Qinna, Khadija, 175  
 Bint 'Abdū, Zayna, 285  
 Bint Husayn, Ruqayya, 224  
 Bint Jābir, Fāṭima, 345  
 Bint Khajjū, Amina, 340  
 Bird, Isabella, 471  
 Biret, Idil, 464  
 al-Biṣtāmī, 205  
*Black Skin, White Masks* (Fanon), 453  
 Blair, S., 207  
 Bodrov, Sergei, 33  
 Böhürler, Ayse, 182  
*Book of Dede Korkut*, 42, 131, 201, 202, 440, 443, 444, 494  
*Book of Metonymic Expressions* (al-Jūrānī), 455  
*Borom Sarret* (film, Sembene), 434  
 Bosnia and Herzegovina,  
   oral traditions in, 50  
   poetry in, 89–91  
   religious commemorations in, 369  
   theater in, 146  
*Bosnian Girl* (work of art, Kameric), 554  
 Boudjellal, 548  
 Bouhdiba, Abdelwahab, 411, 559  
 Bouhroid, Jamila, 544  
 Bouso, Mame Diarra, 332, 333, 334  
 Brenner, Suzanne, 100  
 Bridges TV (North America), 104  
 Broquière, B. de la, 231  
 Bruce-Lockhart, R.H., 468  
 Buck, Leila, 151  
*Buf-i kur* (Blind Owl, Hidāyat), 416–417  
 Bugul, Ken (Mariétou Mbaye Biléoma), 27  
 "Bujang Penjudi" (Gambling Lad, poem), 492  
 Bukhara, 223  
 al-Bukhārī, M. ibn I. Imām, 269, 353, 530  
 Bükülmez, Yaşar Nezihe, 91–92  
 Bulbul Special Music School (Baku), 65  
 Bulliet, Richard, 285  
 al-Buraq, 164  
 Burckhard, John L., 518  
 Burkina Faso, 280, 281  
 Burma, 302  
 Burton, Sir Richard, 467–468  
 "Buta Buta" (My idol my idol, song, Khānum), 6  
 Butt, Uzra, 144, 145  
 Çağlayan, Ayşe, 12  
 Cairo, 374, 387, 394



- al-Azhar University in, 322, 335  
 Islamist movement in, 3  
*The Cairo House* (Serageldin), 25, 26  
 Camara, Seyni Awa, 171–172  
 Cameroon, 172  
 Çamlıbel, Faruk Nafiz, 482  
 Canada, 506  
 Cantemir, Demetrius, 7  
 Cape Town, 298  
*Care of the Self* (Foucault), 407  
 Carøe Christiansen, C., 273  
 Carsten, J., 303, 304  
 Cash Waqf Management System, 378  
 Caucasus (see also Central Asia),  
 fiction writing in, 16–18, 422–423  
 folk dancing and folk singing in, 42–44  
 language use by women in, 233  
 legends and epics in, 440  
 music in, 43, 65, 458  
 pilgrimage in, 324  
 women composers in, 4–5  
 Cāvīde Hayrī Hanım, 7  
 CCIM (Centro Cultural Islámico de México), 292  
*Ceddo* (film, Sembene), 36, 434  
 Çelebi, ‘Aşık, 88, 240  
 Central Asia (see also Caucasus), 287  
 actresses in, 33, 139–140  
 conversion to Islam in, 286–288  
 early Islam in, and position of women, 200–203  
 film industry in, 32–33, 96, 97, 98, 431–433  
 folk dancing and folk singing in, 41–42, 45, 46, 66  
 legends and epics in, 127, 440–441  
 modernization in, 211  
 pilgrimage in, 223–224, 325–326  
 poetry in, 80–82, 477–479  
 popular culture in, 97–98  
 religious practices in, 269–270  
 saint shrines in, 223–224, 325  
 storytelling in, 127–128  
 theater in, 139–140  
 women performers in, 43, 45, 49, 64–67, 97  
 women preachers in, 336–337  
*Cérémonie* (Chami-Kettani), 24  
 Cevdet Pasha, Ahmad, 212  
 Chad, 37  
 Chafik, Nadia, 24  
 Chami-Kettani, Yasmine, 24  
 Chandrakirana, Kamala, 513  
*Chapan-i siyâhrang* (The black clock, Zaryab), 15  
 Charrad, Mounira, 115  
 Chatterjee, Partha, 213, 453  
 Chavivun, P., 303  
 Chellabi, Leila, 24  
 Cherry, D., 547  
 Chiapas, 292  
 Chikly, Haydée, 31  
 China, Muslims in, 106, 357–358  
 Chinar (dance company), 64  
 Chipasula, Frank and Stella, 94  
*Chirāgh’hā rā man khāmūsh mikunam* (I’ll turn of the  
 lights, Pirzād), 22  
 Choge, Hajjiya Barmani, 133–134  
 Choucair, Salwa Rawda, 154  
 Chughtai, Ismat, 144  
 Cimcoz, Adelet, 170  
 Citygirl, Geeta, 151  
 Claremont Main Road Mosque (Cape Town), 342, 343  
 Clark, Steve, 467  
 Clavijo, 202–203  
 Clot Bey, A.B., 470  
*The Clown and his Daughter* (Sinekli Bakkal, Adıvar),  
 28  
 Cobbold, Lady Evelyn, 323  
*Çok bilen çok yanılır* (Even when you know a lot, you  
 can make mistakes, play, Ekrem), 546  
 Collectif ‘95 (Maghrib states), 214  
 College of Fine and Applied Arts (Khartoum), 166  
*The Colonial Harem* (Alloula), 504  
 “Colour me” (work of art, Searle), 508  
*Comme du bon pain* (Like good bread, Ndoye), 27  
*The Conference of the Birds* (al-‘Attār), 538  
 Cordoba, 193  
 Cornell, Rkia, 539, 541, 542, 543  
 Cory Muzahar, 510  
 Côte d’Ivoire (see Ivory Coast)  
 Coulibaly, Fatoumata, 37  
*Covering Islam* (Said), 505  
 Crane, Howard, 202  
 Craven, Lady Elizabeth, 470, 471  
 Cromer, Lord (Evelyn Baring), 210  
 Crosette, B., 174  
 Crystalist School (visual art movement, Sudan), 166  
*Çumhuriyet* (newspaper), 181  
 Çuvidina, Umihana, 89–90  
 CWP (Capital’s Women’s Platform, Turkey), 399  
 Dabbous, Sonia, 175  
 Dadashova, Elnara, 5  
*Dāfiu’l-gumū, rafū’l humūm* (Gazālī), 495  
 Dāghir, Assia, 30  
 Daleu, Ginette, 172  
 Damascus, 285, 372, 386–387  
 Damodar (poet), 498  
*Dānish* (Knowledgege, journal), 177  
 Dānishvar, Sīmin, 21, 423–424  
*Danışmendname* (Ottoman legend), 444, 494  
 Dar al-Fann (gallery, Beirut), 154  
*Dar zamanlar* (Narrow times, Ağaoğlu), 427  
 Darfur, 165  
 al-Dārī (see Sīrīn)  
 Dariyabādī, ‘Abd al-Mājid, 260  
 Darma, Budi, 413  
 Darviş, Suat, 28–29  
 Daryal, Vecihe, 12  
*Dasht-i Qabil* (Cain’s desert, Zaryab), 15  
 Dasi, Binodini, 144  
*Daughter of the East* (Bhutto), 121  
 Davids, Nadia, 179  
 Davids, We-aam, 180  
 Davran, Ibrahim, 478  
 Dawlat ‘ābādī, Şadiqa, 177  
 Dawood, Akieda, 179  
 Deane, Nawaal, 179  
 Dearborn, Yemeni community in, 237–239  
*Death Threat* (film, Nawaz), 105  
 Debeche, Djamilia, 22  
 “Deedikodu” (Gossip, poem, Kanik), 482  
 Delacroix, Eugène, 504, 548  
 Delayney, Carol, 527  
*Democracy in Islam* (play, Sharif), 151  
 Derengil, Selim, 285  
 Derviş, Suat, 180  
 Devi, Daya, 9  
 Devi, Girija, 10  
 Devi, Naina, 10  
*Dhamm al-hawwa* (Censure on passion, Ibn al-Jawzī),  
 485  
*Dhikr al-niswa al-muta’abbidāt al-Şūfiyyāt* (al-Sulamī),  
 541  
 Diabi, Lanciné, 37

- Diallo, Bilguissa, 27–28  
*Diasporama* (Diallo), 27–28  
 al-Dighīdī, Inās, 30, 430  
 Dike, Ndidi Onyemaechi, 172  
 Dilāram Khānum, 383  
 Dilbazi, Amina, 64  
*Dilemme au féminin* (film, Yacoub), 37  
 Dilhayāt Kalfa, 7  
 Dimitrijević, Jelena, 425  
 al-Dīnawarī, Abū Saʿīd (Saʿd) Naṣr b. Yaʿqūb, 406  
 Dini, N.H., 414  
 Diome, Fatou, 27  
 Diop, Thérèse M'Bissine, 36  
 Diop-Mambety, Djibril, 435  
 Diyānet İşleri Başkanlığı (Directorate of Religious Affairs, Turkey), 262–263, 280, 347, 348  
*djakarta!* (magazine), 102  
 Djebar, Assia, 23, 32, 550  
 Dodd, A., 509  
 Dompēt Dhuaga Republika (Indonesia), 380  
 Dönmez-Colin, G., 435  
 Dorić, Katarina Kaća, 146  
 Dowlatshahi, Layla, 151  
 Drakulić, Slavenka, 426  
*Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood* (Mernissi), 23–24  
 Duberly, Frances, 471  
*Dukhtar-i Lur* (The Lor girl, film, Sepanta and Irani), 33–34  
 Dumas, Alexander, 42, 43  
 Duncan, Isadora, 97  
 Dunqul, Amal, 476  
 Duraković, Ferida, 90  
 Durān, L., 451  
 Durrani, Summaya, 163  
 Durrani, Tehmina, 121  
 Durukan, Aynur, 201  
*Dust-i badbakhtam* (My unfortunate friend, Raḥmānī), 15  
 Dutch East India Company, 508  
*A Dying Colonialism* (Fanon), 453
- Early, Evelyn, 127  
 East Africa,  
   conversion to Islam in, 288–290  
   legends and epics in, 442–443  
   poetry in, 82–84, 479–481  
   popular culture in, 108–109  
   storytelling in, 128–129  
 East Asia (see also Southeast Asia), 106, 107  
 Eastern Europe, folk dancing and folk singing in, 50–52  
 Ebadi, Shirin, 178  
 Edirne (Turkey), 395  
 Efendi, Ahmed Mīdhat, 242, 427  
 Egypt,  
   actresses in, 31, 137, 138, 429–430  
   belly dancing in, 1–3, 14, 31  
   film industry in, 30–31, 138, 429–430  
   media presence of women in, 174, 175  
   proverbs in, 517–520  
   storytelling in, 126, 127  
   theater in, 137–138  
   trance ceremonies in, 13  
   visual arts in, 155–156  
   *waqfs* in, 374–375, 377  
   women fiction writers in, 18–20  
   women performers in, 1–2, 68–71  
   women preachers in, 336, 337–339  
*Egypt Awakening* (sculpture, Mukhtūr), 547
- Ekrem, Rezaizade, 546  
 El Guindi, Fadwa, 469  
 El Moudden, A., 318  
 El Saadawi, Nawal, 19, 198, 453  
 El Tayib, Nayla, 166  
 El-Hicheri, Fawzia, 160  
 El-Salahi, Ibrahim, 166  
 El-Shamy, H.M., 126  
 Eliade, Mercia, 327, 328  
*Eliana, Eliana* (film), 101–102  
 Elias, Jamal J., 539, 542  
 Eliot, T.S., 475  
 Elkhadem, Saad, 518  
 Ellerson, B., 35  
 Elwell-Sutton, Lawrence, 130  
 al-Emam, Mahasen, 175  
*Embassy Letters* (Montagu), 470  
 Engineer, Asghar Ali, 260  
 Engünün, İnci, 242  
 “Epos on the War of Independence” (poem, Hikmet), 482  
 Equity and reconciliation commission (Morocco), 115  
 Ergin, Faize, 12  
 Eritrea, 149  
 Erkin, Ferhunde, 11  
 Ernst, C., 535  
 Ersoy, Bülent, 71  
 Ertuğrul, Muhsin, 38  
*Eşber* (play, Hamid), 546  
 Esen, Nüket, 242  
 Essaydi, Lalla, 159  
 Ethiopia, 37, 149  
 Eurasia, early Islam in, and position of women, 200–203  
 Eurasian International Film Festival, 98  
 Europe (see Eastern Europe; Southeast Europe; Western Europe)  
 Eve (Hawwāʾ), 267–268, 403, 404, 495  
 Evrin, M. Sadeddin, 401  
 Eynolazada, Manzar, 17
- Faat Kine* (film, Sembene), 434  
 “The Faces of Our Women” (poem, Hikmet), 482  
 Faḍl Allāh, Rashīd al-Dīn, 206  
 Faizabadi, Akhtari Bai (Begum Akhtar), 10, 75, 193  
 al-Fakhriyya, Fāṭima, 375  
 Falah, Ghazi-Walid, 506  
 Fanon, Frantz, 453  
 Fansuri, Hamzah, 446  
 Faqir Allah, 8, 461  
 Farah, 519  
 Faraj, Alfrīd, 545  
 Farrūkh, Muṣṭafā, 550  
 Farrukh, Nilofur, 162  
 Farrukhzād, Furūgh, 86, 416  
 Farsad, Negin, 104  
*Faṣl mā bayn al-rijāl wa-a-nisāʾ* (The difference between men and women, al-Jāhīz), 485  
*Faṣlnāma Tiʾātr* (journal), 141  
 Fasulyeciyan, Baydzar, 142  
 Faṭh ʿAlī Shāh (ruler of Iran), 73, 140  
 al-Fāṭih, Suʿād, 347  
 Fāṭima Bāji, (Kadıncık Ana), 202, 231  
 Fāṭima (daughter of the Prophet), 128, 257, 335, 357, 358  
   prophethood of, 352, 354  
*Fatima is Fatima* (Sharīʿatī), 257  
 Fāṭima of Nishapur, 205, 542  
 Fatma, Hâcece, 240  
 Fatūma, 72

- Fatwa Commission (Indonesia), 379  
 Faye, Safi, 36  
 Fāzil, Enderunlu, 496–497  
 “Feminine Fantasies” (exhibition), 157  
*Femmes aux yeux ouverts* (film, Folly), 37  
*Femmes du Niger* (film, Folly), 37  
 Fenton, Mary, 144  
 Fernea, E., 126  
 Festival of Experimental Theater (Egypt), 544  
 Fez, 226, 329  
 Fidaali, Kadire, 37  
*Fibi mā fibi* (Rūmī), 538  
 Finnegan, R., 450  
 Firdawsi, Abū al-Qāsim, 206, 487, 558  
*Fire* (film), 330  
 Firūz Shāh (ruler of Iran), 207  
 Fisher, H.J., 301  
 Fitnat Hanım, 87–88, 92, 231  
 Flaubert, Gustave, 468, 469, 473  
 Flying Broom (Uçan Süpürge, Turkey), 40  
 Folly, Anne-Laure, 37  
 Foucault, Michel, 209, 254, 407  
 Fox, Strangways A.H., 462  
 France,  
   Muslim population in, 182, 245  
   secularism in, 284  
*Free Spirit* (television program, South Africa), 180  
 Free Verse Movement, 78  
 Freud, Sigmund, 453  
 Friday Mosque (Agra), 161  
 Friedl, Erika, 130  
 Funtuwa, Bilkisu Yusuf, 112  
 FWEC (Foundation for Women’s Education and Culture, Turkey), 399
- Gaga, Justine, 172  
 Gagarin, Grigori, 22  
 Ġahāngir Muḥammad Khān (ruler of Bhopal), 389  
 Gaisberg, Fred, 10  
 Galāl, Halā, 31  
 Galant, Mymoena, 341  
 Galīn Khānum, Mashdī, 130  
 Galland, Antoine, 467, 504  
 Gallery One (Beirut), 154  
 The Gambia, 281, 451  
 Gamsaxurdia, Konstantine, 423  
 Ganda, O., 36  
 Gandharva, Bal, 144  
 Ganjavī, Māhsati, 42, 64, 85  
 Ganjavī, Nizāmī, 42, 487  
*Garis Tepi Seorang Lesbian* (Lesbian or lesbianism on the margins, Suhesti), 415  
 Garmrūdī, Mirza Fattāh, 417  
 Garnett, M.L., 472  
 Gasimova, Fidan, 64  
 Gasimova, Khuraman, 64  
 Gasimova, Ruhangiz, 4  
 ‘Gate of Secret (World of Secrets)’ (television program), 110  
 Gautier, Théophile, 468  
 Gaye, Germaine Anta, 171  
 Gayibova, Khadija, 64–65  
 Gaza, 117  
 Gazālī, Mehmed, 495, 496  
 Gazi, Battal, 131  
 Gazi Education Institute (Turkey), 169  
*Gece dersleri* (Evening classes, Tekin), 427  
*Gejuritan Matri Alif* (epic), 490  
 Geniş, Suzan, 131  
 Georgia, 156–158, 423
- Georgian Textile Group, 157  
 Germany,  
   colonial rule of Tanzania, 289  
   language mixing in, 246  
   Muslim population in, 183, 283  
   Süleymanlis in, 349  
 Gérôme, Jean Léon, 547  
 al-Ghabshāwī, ‘A’isha, 346–347  
*Ghādat al-sabrā* (The lady from the desert, film, Dghir), 30  
 al-Ghazālī, Abū Hāmid, 316, 459, 521, 538  
 al-Ghazālī, Zaynab, 335, 338  
 Ghunim, Sa’diyya, 30  
 al-Gindī, Nādiya, 429  
 Ginwala, F., 119  
 Girik, Fatma, 39  
*La gloria de don Ramiro* (Larreta), 421–422  
 Gölpınarlı, A., 228  
 Gordeeva, Elena, 33  
 Grand Road Theatre (Bombay), 144  
*Grbavica* (film, Žbanić), 147  
 Great Britain (see United Kingdom)  
*Guelwaar* (film, Sembene), 434  
 Guennoun, Souad, 159  
 Guénon, René, 307  
 Gulbadan Begum, 121, 207  
 Gulf states,  
   folk dancing and folk singing in, 52–54  
   media presence of women in, 176–177  
   proverbs in, 520–522  
   religious commemorations in, 359–360  
   religious practices in, 270–271  
   theater in, 138  
   women performers in, 71–72  
 Gulii-bii (Saint), 223  
*Gulistan* (Rose garden, Sa’di), 485  
 Guliyyeva, Zahra, 65  
*Gülñihal* (play, Kemal), 546  
 Gulshirī, Hūshang, 417  
*Gum* (short story, Maḥbūb), 15  
 Güneş/Şems Hatun (Ottoman princess), 393  
 Güney, Yılmaz, 436  
 Gurdjieff, G.I., 43  
 Gurgānī, Fakhr al-Dīn, 487  
 Gürji Khātūn (wife of Seljuk sultan), 202  
 Gürpınar, Hüseyin Rahmi, 546  
 Gürpınar, Melisa, 92  
 Gutman, Roy, 426  
 Güvāhi, 495
- Habibi* (Shihab Nye), 25  
 Habibian, Maryam, 151  
*Habilsayaghi* (Alizade), 4  
 Hacı Bektaş, 444  
 Hacı Sultan, 444  
 Ḥaddād, Jumāna, 477  
 Hadice Hatun (Ottoman princess), 393  
*Hadiqat al-baqiqa wa-shari‘at al-tariqa*, 539  
 Haffajee, Ferial, 178  
 Hāfiz, Bahīga, 30  
*Haflat samar min ajl khamsa Huzayrān* (Soiree in honor of the fifth of June, play, Wannūs), 545  
 Ḥafsa bint al-Hajj, 193  
 Hafsa Hatun (Ottoman princess), 393  
 Hafsa Sultan (mother of Sultan Süleyman), 394  
*Haft paykar* (Seven beauties, epic poem, Nizāmī Ganjavī), 42  
 Hagar/Hājar, 216–217  
 Hajibeyov, Uzeyir, 4, 43, 64, 458  
 Hājiya Khātūn Khānūm, 383

- Hajj* (Sharī‘atī), 321  
 Halbwechs, M., 119  
 Hamada, G., 45  
 Ḥamāma, Fātin, 31, 429  
 Hamdani, Mariam, 186  
 Hamdard Waqf (Pakistan), 390  
 Hamid, Abdülhak (Tarhan), 546  
 Hamida Banu Begum, 161  
 Hamida, Bibi, 478  
 Hammad, Nimrat, 149  
 Hammad, Suheir, 104  
 Hamra buvi, 337  
 Hamse of Atayi, 551  
 Handal, Nathalie, 80  
*Handan* (Edib), 242  
*Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (journal), 241  
 Hanum, Tamara, 66  
 Haqqānī, ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, 259  
 al-Harrāsī, Muḥammad al-‘Abarī, 531  
 Haruna, Zainabu Lawan, 132  
*Harvest* (play, Padmanabhan), 145  
 Hasan Shah of Kanpur, 462  
 Hasanah, Uswatun, 380  
 Ḥasanī-Naşab, N., 34  
 Hasanova, Rahilia, 5  
 Hashimi, Faezeh, 178  
 Hashmi, Farhat, 345  
 Hashmi, Salimi, 162, 163  
 Hashmi, Zarina, 162–163  
 Hasilova, Khalide, 17  
 Haşim, Ahmet, 482  
 Hassan II (King of Morocco), 114, 326  
 Hassan, Riffat, 261, 302  
 Hassan, Waıl, 454  
 Hatem, Mervat, 213  
 Hatoum, Mona (Munā Ḥātum), 548, 550  
 Hawwā’ (Eve), 267–268, 403, 404, 495  
*Hawwa* (magazine), 183, 184  
*Hayal ve Hakikat* (Dream and Reality, Aliye), 427  
 Ḥayātī, Bibi, 455  
 Haykal, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, 429  
*Hazan Bülbülü* (Autumn nightingale, Gürpınar), 546  
 Heap, P., 119  
 Hefuna, Susan, 548  
 Hegland, Mary Elaine, 59, 345  
*The Heinemann Book of African Women’s Poetry*  
 (Chipasula & Chipasula), 94  
 Hekimoğlu, Müşerref, 181  
*Henna Hands* (work of art, Naiza Khan), 548,  
 Figures 21, 22  
 al-Hibri, A., 196, 198  
 Hichens, William, 82  
 Hidāyat, Şādiq, 416–417, 423  
 Hijaz, 322, 326  
*Hikayat Merong Mahawangsa* (Malay epic), 446, 447,  
 448  
*Hikayat Muḥammad Hanafiab* (Malay epic), 445, 446  
*Hikayat Raja Pasai* (Malay epic), 446, 447, 448  
*Hikayat Seri Rama* (Malay epic), 446  
 Hikmet, Nazım, 482  
 al-Hilli, al-Muḥaqqiq, 314  
*Ḥilyat al-awliyā’ wa ṭabaqāt al-aşfiyā’* (al-İşfahānī), 541  
 Hima, Mariama, 36–37  
 Hir and Ranjha legend, 498–499  
 Hir shrine, 229  
*A History of Twentieth-Century African Literatures*  
 (Owomoyela), 94  
 “Hocamin Endişesi” (short story, Nihal), 242  
 Hodja, Nasreddin, 132  
 Hojjeva, Oydin, 80, 81  
 Hondo, Med, 435  
*Hope and Other Pursuits* (Lalami), 25  
 Horton, R., 301  
 Hosseini, Mansoureh, 158  
*Host and Guest* (Važa-P’savela), 423  
 Hratchia, Aznif, 142  
*Hubännâme* (The book of beauties), 418, 496  
*al-Ḥubb wa-al-şamt* (Love and silence, ‘Ināyāt  
 al-Zayyāt), 19  
 Hubbā, 240  
*Huda* (magazine), 183  
 Al-Huda (Pakistan), 345  
 Hudoyberdieva, Halima, 80, 81, 82  
 Hugh-Jones, S., 303, 304  
 Hughli *imāmbara* (India), 388–389  
 al-Hujwīrī, Abū al-Ḥaşan, 538  
 Hukayma, 542  
*Humāyün-nāma* (Gulbadan Begum), 121, 207  
 Hundi Hatun (Ottoman sultan’s wife), 393  
*The Hunter* (film, Aprymov), 432  
 Huntington, Samuel, 506  
 Hürrem Haseki Sultan (Roxelana), 375, 385–386, 394  
 Husain Tekri Shrine (India), 330  
*Ḥuşān al-ṭīm* (Mud horse, film, al-Abnūdī), 30  
 Ḥusayn (grandson of the Prophet), 59  
 Husayn, Hudā, 79  
*Ḥusn al-uswa bi-mā ṭhabata ‘an Allāh wa-Rasūlihi  
 fī-al-niswa* (The best example in what is confirmed  
 from Allah and his Prophet regarding women, Şiddiq  
 Ḥasan Khān), 259  
 “Hüsni-i Muamele” (short story, Leman Hanım), 242  
 Hussain, Rokeya Sakhawat (Ruk’iyya Ḥusayn), 121,  
 389  
 Hussain, Rummana, 122, 163  
 al-Hussein, Fatma, 176  
 “Huyu zimwi ni mtu gani, ni mtu au shetani”  
 (What kind of being is this ghost, is it a person or  
 a devil?, poem, Moza Ali), 83  
*I am Milica Tomic* (work of art, Tomic), 554  
 Ibn ‘Abbās, 529, 530  
 Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, 406  
 Ibn al-‘Adīm, 372  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, 538, 541  
 Ibn ‘Alī, Ḥusayn, 224  
 Ibn Anas, Mālik, 529, 531, 532  
 Ibn al-‘Arabī, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, 229, 316, 454,  
 530, 531, 535, 537–538, 539  
 Ibn ‘Asākir, 372  
 Ibn al-Batanūnī, 557  
 Ibn Battūta, 203, 332, 377  
 Ibn Dayf Allāh, Muḥammad al-Nūr, 346  
 Ibn Faḍlān, 200, 203  
 Ibn Ḥabīb, Ṭalq, 315  
 Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, 353, 372, 532  
 Ibn Ḥamza, Muḥammad, 243  
 Ibn Ḥanbal, 311  
 Ibn Ḥazm (of Cordoba), ‘Alī b. Aḥmad, 353, 485, 529  
 Ibn Hibbān, 531  
 Ibn al-Humām, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahid, 531  
 Ibn Ishāq, Muḥammad, 217, 218  
 Ibn Iyās, 372  
 Ibn al-Jawzī, 316, 485  
 Ibn Juzayy, 315  
 Ibn Ka’b, Ubayy, 529  
 Ibn Kathīr, Ismā‘il ibn ‘Umar, 352, 353, 404, 529, 530,  
 531  
 Ibn Khaṭībī (Bahā’ al-Dīn Walad), 454–455, 456  
 Ibn Qudāma, 531  
 Ibn Qutayba, ‘Abd Allāh b. Muslim, 406, 408

- Ibn Rajab, 315  
 Ibn Rushd, 312  
 Ibn Sa'd, 285  
 Ibn Shaddād, 'Antara, 456  
 Ibn Shāhin, Khalil, 408  
 Ibn Sīnā, 486  
 Ibn Taymiyya, 316, 321, 352  
 Ibrāhīm/Abraham, 216–217, 318, 319, 321  
 Ibrahimova, Elza, 4  
 Ibrahimova, Sevda, 4  
 Ibsen al-Faruqi, Lois, 43, 189, 191, 194  
*Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (al-Ghazālī), 316  
 Iklāṣī, Walid, 544  
 İklime Hatun (Ottoman princess), 393  
 İlhan, Attilâ, 419, 420  
 Ilıcak, Nazlı, 182  
 İltutmish, 207  
 Imanova, Simara, 43  
*In Between* (play, Sharif), 151  
*In the Eye of the Sun* (Suwayf), 20  
 "In me, a Women Migrated from my Veins"  
 (poem, al-Zubayr), 476  
*Indarsabha* (play, Amanat Ali), 144  
 India,  
   actresses from, 143, 144  
   dance in, 47, 49  
   early Islam in, 206–207  
   epics from, 446, 448  
   music industry in, 9, 10  
   musicians from, performing in Afghanistan, 66  
   nationalism in, 453  
   pilgrimage in, 330  
   popular tales from, 486  
   Shī'ī Islam in, 344  
   theater in, 143, 144  
   travel accounts of, 471  
   *waqfs* in, 388–389, 390  
   women composers in, 8–9, 10–11  
 Indonesia,  
   erotic literature in, 412–415  
   gender issues in, 276  
   Islam in, 277, 302  
   media in, 509, 512–513  
     representation of women in, 510–511, 514  
   modernization in, 211  
   music in, 191, 194  
   popular culture in, 98–102  
   premodern Islamic literature in, 490  
   *waqfs* in, 378–381  
 International Fajr Theater Festival (Iran), 141  
*The Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud), 453  
 Inul, 100, 512  
 Ipshir Pasha, 385  
 IPTA (Indian People's Theatre Association), 144  
 Iramā, Rhoma, 99–100, 513  
 Iran,  
   actresses in, 33–34, 140, 141  
   conversion to Islam in, 290–292  
   dancing in, 13–14  
   early Islam in, and position of women, 204–208  
   erotic literature in, 416–417, 487  
   fiction writing in, 416–417, 423–424  
     by women, 20–22, 130, 423–424  
   film industry in, 33–34, 430, 433  
   folk dancing and folk singing in, 45, 46, 47–48, 49  
   *hijāb* and veiling in, 73, 205  
   language use of women in, 234–235  
   media in  
     presence of women in, 177–178  
     representations of women, 503  
   migration from, 113  
   modernization of, 211  
   music in, 5–6, 458–460  
   poetry in, 84–86, 417, 459, 487–488  
   proverbs in, 522  
   Qur'ānic exegesis in, 255–258  
   religious commemorations in, 360–361  
   religious practices in, 271–272  
   revolution (1979), 113  
   storytelling in, 130  
   theater in, 140–141  
   visual arts in, 158  
   *waqfs* in, 382–383  
   women composers in, 5–6  
   women performers in, 6, 49, 73–74  
   women preachers in, 339–340  
 Irani, Ardashir, 33–34  
 Irani, Kayhan, 151  
 Iraq, 31, 126  
 Isaac, 216  
 al-Iṣfahānī, Abū Nu'aym, 541  
 Ishaq, Kamala Ibrahim, 166  
*ISite* (one-women show, Buck), 151  
 İskender, Küçük, 420  
 Ismail, Rayhana, 343  
 Ismā'īl/Ishmael, 216–217  
 Ismamut-ata Shrine (Takhta area), 325  
 Ispahani, Farah, 104  
 Issaq, Lameece, 151  
 Istanbul, 385, 386, 394–395  
 D'Istria, Dora (Princess Elena Gjika), 425  
 'Itāb, 72  
 Itimad al-Daula tomb (Agra), 161  
 I'tiṣāmī, P., 86  
 Ivory Coast, 37, 148  
 IWSF (Iranian Women's Studies Foundation), 113  
  
 Jabbar, Sonia, 122  
 Jābir, Layla (Layla Sayyid Khidr), 346  
 Jacir, Emily, 548  
 Jackson, P., 207  
 Jackson, S., 295  
 Jacobs, Aletta, 472  
 Jacobs, Rayda, 179  
 Jād, Nihād, 544  
*al-Jadid* (journal), 26  
 Jafarova, Afag, 4  
 Jafarova, Zara, 65  
 Jafarzade, Aziza, 17  
 Jaffer, Zubeida, 178  
 Jahān Malik Shirāzi, 85  
 Jahānārā Begum (Mughal princess), 121, 161, 388  
 al-Jāhiz, 485  
 Jale, Affe, 142, 150  
*Jam' jawāmi' al-muṣannafāt* (al-Muṭṭalib), 277  
 Jama'at-i Islāmī (Pakistan), 214, 259, 344–345  
 Jameelah, Maryam, 295  
 Jāmī, 454, 488  
*Jāmī' al-tawārīkh* (Faḍl Allāh), 206  
*al-Jāmība* (The defiant, al-Sa'id), 19  
 al-Jamil, Sham-e-Ali, 103  
 Jan, Gauhar, 10  
*Jangan Main-Main Dengan Kelaminmu* (Don't play  
   [with your genitals], Ayu), 415  
*Janin-i āftāb* (short stories, Kāzimi), 16  
 Jansen, J., 450, 451  
 Janson, M., 281  
*Jaqo's Guests* (Javaxishvili), 423  
 al-Jaṣṣāṣ, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, 530  
 Jassiem, Nurene, 179

- Javaxishvili, Mikheil, 423  
*Jawāmi‘ al-ladhdha* (al-Kātib), 485  
 al-Jazeera (television channel), 175, 176  
 Jehan, Noor, 193  
 Jerusalem, 375  
 Jinnah, Fatima, 260  
 “John nipe haki yangu” (John give me my right, poem,  
 Moza Ali), 83  
 Johore kingdom, 445  
 Jomier, J.J., 319  
 Jordan, 154, 336  
 Joseph, Sarah, 183  
 Joseph, Terri Brint, 191  
 Joseph/Yūsuf, 406, 487–488, 495, 530, 556–557, 558,  
 559  
*Journey through the Crimea to Constantinople*  
 (Craven), 470  
 Jovanovic, Paja, 553  
*The Joys of Lipstick* (play, Dowlatshahi), 151  
*La Jumelle* (film, Diabi), 37  
 al-Jundī, Rīm, 550  
 al-Jūrānī, 455  
*Jurnal Perempuan* (magazine), 102  
 Jūzjānī, 207
- Kabakçı, Şirin, 182  
 Kabbaj, Ikram, 160  
 Kabir, Yasmine, 122  
*Kadın Yolu* (magazine), 180  
*Kadınca* (magazine), 181  
 Kadıncık Ana (Fātima Bāji), 202, 231  
 Kahf, Mohja, 104, 105  
 Kahf, Monzer, 378  
 Kahn, Sara, 183  
 Kakakhail, Zainab, 323  
*Kamber Batır* (epic, Kazakhstan), 441  
 Kamerić, Šejla, 554  
 Kanaana, S., 126, 127  
*Kandahar* (film, Pazira), 105  
 Kanetti, V., 182  
 Kansu, Gül, 12  
 Kansu, Suna, 464  
 Kar, Mehrangiz, 178  
 Karakulov, Amir, 432  
 Karakurt, Esat Mahmut, 534  
 Karan, Munadia, 179  
 Karanović, Mirjana, 147  
 Karim, Karim H., 505  
 Karimi, Farah, 113  
 Karimi, Niki, 34  
 Karimova, Gulnara (Googoosha), 98  
 Karnataka, 9  
 Kartini, Raden Adjeng, 210  
 al-Kāshgarī, Maḥmūd, 201  
 Kashmir, 59, 122  
 al-Kātib, Naṣr, 485  
 Katz, Marion Holmes, 267  
 Kay Kaus (Ziyarid prince), 206  
 Kaya, Birsan, 39  
 Kazakhstan, 432  
 Kazbah Project Ltd., 152  
 Kazemi, Zahra, 178  
 Kāzīmī, Sīdīqā, 16  
 Kazkaz, Rana, 152  
 Keita, Rahmatou, 35, 36  
 Kemal, Namık, 546  
 Keshavarz, M.H., 234  
 Khadija (first wife of the Prophet), 128, 285, 352  
 Khadra, Yasmina, 23  
 Khaf, Mohja, 26
- Khal, Helen, 154  
 Khalid, Aisha, 548  
 Khamis, Zabya, 79  
 Khān, Muḥammad Muḥsin, 259  
 Khan, Naiza, 163, 548  
 Khān, Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, 259  
 Khan, Sir Sayeed Ahmad, 259  
*Khāna-i dilgīr* (A confined house, short story, Maḥbūb),  
 15  
*Khāneh-i Idrīsīhā* (The house of the Idrisis, Alizādeh),  
 21–22  
 Khānım, Amīna Jāhīda, 231  
 Khanum, Farida, 75  
 Khānum, Sultān, 5, 6  
 Khānzāde Begūm (Chinggisid princess), 203  
 Khartoum School (visual art movement), 166  
 Khātami, Mohammad (President of Iran), 74  
 al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Umr, 531  
 Khātun, Āsiye, 231  
 Khaybar, 218  
 Khemir, Sabiha, 160  
*al-Khibā’* (The tent, al-Ṭahāwī), 20  
 Khidr, Layla Sayyid (Layla Jābir), 346  
 Khodja Daniyar Mausoleum (Samarkand), 325–326  
 Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 257  
 Khorezm, 223, 224, 325  
 Khurasan, 206  
*Khusraw va Shīrīn* (Khusraw and Shīrīn, Nizāmī  
 Ganjavi), 487  
 Khwaja Bandenawaz Gesudaraz Shrine (Gulbarga),  
 330–331  
 Kidjo, Angelique, 194  
 Kiduke, Be, 109  
 Kidwai, S., 500  
*Kill* (play, Sharif), 151  
 Kipshidze, Nino, 157  
*Kirk Kız* (epic, Karakalpak), 441  
 Kirmānī, Mīrzā Āqa Khān, 256  
 Kısaskürek, Necip Fazıl, 482  
*Kitāb al-ḥikāyat* (Ibn Hazm), 353  
*Kitāb al-ḥikāyat al-‘ajība wa-al-akhbār al-gharība* (The  
 book of marvelous tales and fantastic anecdotes), 411  
*Kitāb al-Manām* (Ibn Abi al-Dunya), 406  
*Kitāb al-qiya’n* (al-Jāhīz), 485  
*Kitāb al-tabaqāt* (Ibn Dayf Allāh), 346  
 Kizi, Shuku Allah Kuli, 81  
 Köcem Sultan, 385, 386  
 Koçyiğit, Hülya, 39  
*Kompas* (newspaper), 511  
 Konaté, Kadiatou, 37  
 Kopa, Khadija, 109, 149  
 Köprülü, M.F., 231  
 Koptagel, Yüksel, 7–8  
*Köroğlu* (The blind man’s son, Turkish legend), 449  
 opera by Hajibeyov, 43  
 Kozłowski, G., 207  
 Krstić, Djordje, 552–553  
 Kubrā, Najm al-Dīn, 555  
 Kuchuk Hanem, 468  
 Kuo, E., 302  
 Kupona binti Mshamu, Mwana, 82–83  
 Kurdikar, Moghubai, 10  
 Kurdistan, 46  
 Kurdujīn (Princess), 382  
 al-Kush, Zuhra bint ‘Abd Allāh bin Mas‘ud, 340  
*Kutadgu Bilig*, 494–495  
 Kuwait, 53–54, 176  
 Kuyateh, Balafasiki, 451  
 Kuyateh, Tumu Maniyang, 451  
 Kyrgyzstan, 432

- Lalami, Laila, 25  
 Lalla A'icha Qandisha Shrine (Morocco), 328  
 Lalla A'icha shrines (Morocco), 225, 227  
 Lalla Solica shrine (Morocco), 225, 226–227  
 Lalla Zainab, 340  
 Lambton, Ann, 201  
 Lane, Edward, 68, 69, 137, 545  
 Lane-Poole, Sophie, 69  
 Larreta, Enrique, 421–422  
*Last Stop* (film, Aprymov), 431  
 Latif, Syed Abdul, 260  
 Laurens, Tato, 513  
*Layla al-badawiyya* (Layla the Beduin, film, Hāfiz), 30, 430  
*Layla* (film, Amīr), 30  
 Laylā and Majnūn story, 539  
   opera by Hajibeyov, 43, 458  
   poetic drama by Shawqi, 138  
 Lebanon,  
   film industry in, 31, 429  
   theater in, 138  
   visual arts in, 154  
   *waqfs* in, 377  
   women preachers in, 335–336  
 Lee Kwuan Yew, 512  
 “Leeli” (song of a marriage), 135–136  
 Leman Hanım, 241, 242  
 Lestari, Dewi (Dee), 101, 414  
 Levni, 551  
*Levyib-i Hayat* (Aliye), 242  
 Leyla Hanım, (Leylā Saz), 7, 228, 231, 240, 241  
*Leyli and Majnun* (opera, Hajibeyov) (see also Laylā and Majnūn story), 43, 458  
 Liberia, 132  
 Libya, 159  
 Lichtenstädter, Ilse, 196  
*Liddat al-nisā'* (Taking pleasure in women), 417  
 Lièvre, V., 56  
*Life Is Like a Cucumber: Colloquial Egyptian Proverbs, Coarse Sayings and Popular Expressions* (Elkhadem), 518  
 Liking, Werewere, 148  
 Limonicyan, Hamparsum, 7  
*Linga/Yoni* (painting, Arahmaiani), 547  
 Lok Theater, 144  
 Long, J., 119  
 Lord, Albert, 50  
 Loti, P., 468  
 Lufti, Huda, 285  
 Luṭfi, Ibtisām, 72  
  
 Ma Tianmin, 358  
 Ma, Yo-Yo, 5  
 Mabrouk, Dora, 183  
 MacKinnon, Catherine, 426  
 Madrasat al-wāḥid (School of the one, visual art movement), 166  
 Magardie, Khadija, 179  
 Maghrib (see North Africa)  
*Mahadewa Mahadewi* (The great god, the great goddess, N.R. Yusuf), 415  
 Mahalli Dancers (Iran), 49  
 Maḥbūb, Maryam, 15  
 al-Mahdī, Muḥammad Aḥmad, 164  
 al-Mahdiyya, Munira, 137  
 Mahieddine, Baya, 159  
 Mahmood, Saba, 236, 293, 336  
 Māhsatī (Mahsati/Māhasti/Mihsī[t]i/Mehseti) Ganjavī, 42, 64, 85  
 Maiga, Djingarey, 36  
  
*Mail and Guardian* (newspaper), 178, 179  
*al-Majālis* (Gateways, journal), 176  
 Majlisi-Uns (Azerbaijan), 64  
*Major Themes of the Qur'an* (Rahman), 261  
*Makā'id al-niswan* (The trickery of women, Ibn al-Batanūni), 557  
 Makhmalbāf, Muhsin, 424  
 “*Makbzān Ultat-i-Malika*” (song collection, Jan), 10  
 al-Makkī, Abū Ṭālib, 536  
 Maksud, Fatima binti, 160  
 Mala Hashmi (theater group), 145  
 al-Malā'ika, Nāzik, 78  
 Malaysia, 303  
   Islam in, 277  
   Islamic law in, 511  
   media in, 510, 511, 514  
   pilgrimage to Mecca, 323  
   popular culture in, 106  
 Mali,  
   music in, 194  
   pilgrimage in, 332  
   theater in, 147–148  
   women filmmakers in, 37  
 Malik al-Zahir (King), 445  
*al-Malik huwa al-malik* (The king is the king, play, Wannūs), 545  
 Malti-Douglas, Fedwa, 455, 485, 558  
*Mama Afrika* (documentary film, Davids), 180  
 Mamadali, Ouméma, 37  
 Mame Diarra Bousso tomb, 333, 334  
 Mammadova, Alya, 5  
 Mammadova, Shovkat, 64  
 Man-Yee, W., 512  
*Manā'ib-i walīyātī al-nisā'* (book on women saints, Amīna Jāhida Khānum), 231  
*Manāqib al-'Arifīn* (Aflākī), 202  
*Manas* (epic, Kyrgyz), 441, 449  
 Manch, Jana Natya, 145  
 Mannan, M.A., 379, 381  
*Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Lane), 68  
 Mannūjān Khānam (Maryam), 388  
 Mansa Musa (King of Mali), 332  
 Maṣṣūr, Khayriyya, 31  
 Mansvyetova, Lidiya, 146  
*The Map of Love* (Suwayf), 20  
 al-Maqrīzī, 372  
 al-Mārahli, Hafāza khānum, 387  
 al-Mariyati, Layla, 105  
 Marmara, Nilgun, 92  
 Mármol, José, 421  
 Maro, Violet, 186  
 Marouazi, Khadija, 114–115  
 Marsden, William, 467  
 Martineau, H., 469–470  
 Marwazī, 200–201  
 Mary (mother of Jesus), 225, 267, 268  
   prophethood of, 351, 352, 353, 354, 529  
 Maryam Begum (Safavid princess), 383  
 “Marzieh” (Iranian song), 459  
 Marzolph, U., 437  
*Mashid al-haram* (Grand Mosque of Mecca), 319, 320, 321  
 Masoudieh, Mohammad Taghi, 45  
 Ma'soumeh Seyhoun's Gallery (Tehran), 158  
*Mašra' Kliyūpātrā* (poetic drama, Shawqi), 138  
 al-Mašri, Maram, 477  
*Mass Transit* (Naqvi), 25  
*Mast Qalandar* (Ecstatic Minstrel, song), 9  
 Masud, Afaq, 17, 18

- al-Ma'sūma, Fāṭima, 207  
 Masyita, Dian, 379, 380–381  
*Mathnawi* (Rūmi), 536  
 al-Mawardī, 315  
 Mawdūdī, Abū al-A'lā, 212, 259, 260, 261, 316, 344  
 Maya Art gallery (Turkey), 170  
 Mbala, Roger Gnoan, 37  
 Mbaye Biléoma, Mariétou (Ken Bugul), 27  
 MBC (Middle East Broadcasting Centre), 176  
 Mbeki, Thabo, 119  
 McCloud, Aminah, 294, 295  
 McDonnell, M.B., 322  
*Measures of Distance* (video art, Hatoum), 548  
*Meatless Days* (Saleri), 121  
 Mecca,  
     pilgrimage to (*hajj*), 217, 274, 281, 318–323, 326, 331–333  
     religious endowments in, 375  
*Mecmua-i Saz-ü-Söz* (musical collection, Ufki), 7  
*Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Meisami), 488  
 Medina,  
     Jews in, 218, 219  
     religious endowments in, 375  
 Megawati Sukarnoputri, 101  
 Meisami, Julie Scott, 488–489  
 Mekuria, Salem, 37  
 Melek Sultan Hatun (Ottoman princess), 393  
 Melman, Billie, 471  
 Menem, Carlos, 422  
 Merguerian, G.K., 559  
 Mernissi, Fatima, 23–24, 198, 267, 327, 429  
 Meryem Ana shrine (Afyon), 231  
 Metreveli, Nino, 157  
 Mexico, 292–293  
 Mhaviile, Joyce, 186  
 Middle East, 466  
 Middlebrook, J., 58  
 Mihrī Hatun (Belayi), 88–89, 240  
 Mihrī Muşfik, 161, 168  
 Mihrimah Sultan, 394  
 Milāni, Farzaneh, 21, 416  
*Milica Tomic and Roza El-Hassan driving in a Porsche and thinking about overpopulation* (work of art, Tomic), 554  
*Les Mille et une nuits* (Galland) (see *Thousand and One Nights*)  
 Miller, Saida, 323  
 Mills, Margaret, 130  
 Milunovic, Milo, 553  
 Minault, Gail, 344  
 Mir Ahmed Ali, S.V., 261  
 Mir, Mir Taqi, 500  
 Mir-Emādi, Manijeh, 158  
 Mirsāl, Imān, 79  
 Mirza, Shazia, 104  
 Misdary, Isis Saratial, 151  
*Mishlei Sendebār*, 558  
 Mithat, Ahmet, 28  
*Mizna* (journal), 26  
 Mohamedi, Nasreen, 162  
 Mohammed, Akiedah, 180  
 Mohammed, Bibi Titi, 108  
 Mohammed, Nuria, 149  
 Mohammed, Zaynab Himid, 83  
 Mokeddem, Malika, 22–23  
 Molière, 545  
 Möller, A., 277, 278  
 Mongolian Empire, 202  
 Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley, 7, 469, 470–471, 472  
 Montesquieu, C. de S., 469  
*Moolaade* (film, Sembene), 37, 434–435  
 Moore, Gerald, 94  
 Moosa, Najma, 342  
 Morocco,  
     dancing in, 13  
     film industry in, 31, 430  
     folk dancing and folk singing in, 54–56  
     Jews in, 220, 226  
     language use of women in, 236  
     literacy rates of women in, 56 n2, 327  
     media representations of women in, 505  
     modernization in, 211  
     music in, 191, 236  
     pilgrimage in  
         to Mecca, 326  
         to saint shrines, 225–227, 326–329  
     visual arts in, 159  
     *waqfs* in, 375  
     women fiction writers in, 23–24  
     women preachers in, 340–341  
     women's remembrances in, 114–115  
     women's role in war of independence, 114  
 Moscow Art Theater, 146  
 Moses  
     mother, 351–353  
     sister, 352  
 Mosghanemi, Ahlam, 23  
*Moslem Women* (painting, Milunovic), 553  
 “Mother and Daughter” (Iranian song), 459  
 Moulay Abdes-Salam Ibn Mashish Festival (Morocco), 329  
 Moulay Idriss II Festival (Morocco), 329  
 Muddupalani, 8  
 Mudgal, Shubha, 11  
 Mufid, Shaykh, 354  
 Mughal Empire, 207  
 Muḥammad ‘Alī, An‘ām, 30  
 Muḥammad ‘Alī (Viceroy of Egypt), 1, 69  
 Muhammad, Baqie, 167  
 Muhammad, Clara, 294  
 Muḥammad (Prophet), 197  
     *hijra* (emigration) of, 217  
     medieval records of, 265  
     and pilgrimage to Mecca, 318, 321  
     in praise poetry, 136  
     on women's rights, 253  
 Muḥammad Rizā Shāh (shah of Iran), 74  
 Muḥammadi, Amīna, 16  
*Muḥammadiyye*, 495  
 al-Muḥāsibī, al-Ḥarith, 316  
 Muhawi, I., 126, 127  
*Mubazarat* (Aliye), 242  
 al-Muḥibb, Samnūn, 542  
 Muhittin, Nezihe, 180  
 al-Muhni, ‘Ūda, 72  
 Muḥsin, Hāji Muḥammad, 388  
 MUI (Council of Indonesian Ulama), 512  
 Mukhtūr, Maḥmūd, 547  
 al-Mulk, Nizām, 201  
 Müller, Leopold Karl, 553  
 al-Mulūk Vaziri, Qamar, 73  
 Mu'mina bt. Bahlūl, 543  
 Munson, Henry Jr., 327  
 Murād, Layla, 31  
 Murata, Sachiko, 535  
 Müren, Zeki, 71  
 Müritogly, Zühtü, 169  
 al-Mūrta, ‘A'isha, 72  
 Musaylima (prophetess), 351  
 Mushuk ona, 337



- Mūsilin funū* (Muslim women), 358  
*Mūsilin tongxun* (journal), 358  
 Muslim Brotherhood (Egypt), 336  
*Muslim Views* (newspaper), 179  
 Mustafa, Khalid Al-mubarak, 148  
 Mustafa, Naheed, 105  
 Mustafazade, Aziza, 65  
 Mustafazade, Vagif, 65  
 Mutahhari, Murtaẓā, 256, 257  
 Mutalib, Hussin, 512  
 al-Mutanabbi, 455  
 al-Muthann, Fāṭima bint ibn, 227, 228  
 al-Muṭṭalib, Ismāʿil ibn ʿAbd, 277  
 Muvahhit, Bedia, 38–39, 150  
 Muzakar, Kahar, 510  
 Muzda, Parvāna, 141  
 Mwai, Wangari, 442  
*My Body is My Own Business* (documentary, Mustafa), 105  
*My Feudal Lord* (Durrani), 121  
*My Girlhood* (Nasrin), 121  
 Mymoena, Shaykhah, 342
- N Gallery (Tbilisi), 157  
 Nabhany, Ahmed Sheikh, 83  
 Nabili, Marva, 34  
 Nadi, Berin, 182  
 “*Nadida Rukhat*” (Your unseen face, song, al-Saltanah), 6  
 Nadir, Kerime, 533  
 Nadzhmeddin Kubra Shrine (Kunya-Urgench), 325  
*nadzirs* (fund managers), 379  
*Nafahāt al-uns* (Jāmi), 454  
 Naficy, H., 433  
 Nafisi, Azar, 24  
 al-Nafzāwī, Shaykh, 485  
 Nagaratnammal, Bangalore, 8, 9  
 Nahdi, Fuad, 184  
 Nāʿini, M., 256  
 Najmabadi, Afsaneh, 211, 415, 453, 455, 547, 558, 559  
 Naqshband, 337  
 Naqvi, Maniza, 25  
 Narada, 461  
 Narayan, Uma, 506  
 Nashʿat, Sandra, 30  
*Nashtar* (The Nautch Girl, Hasan Shah of Kanpur), 462  
 Nasreddin Hoca stories, 437  
 Nasrin, Taslima, 121  
 Natal, 362, 365  
 Natavan, Khorshud Banu, 17, 43, 64  
 Nation of Islam (United States), 294, 295  
 National Theater (Banja Luka), 146  
 National Theater (Sarajevo), 146  
 Nawaz, Zarqa, 105  
 Nayyar, A., 58  
 Nazarbaeva, Dariga, 97–98  
 Nazirova, Elmira, 4, 65  
 Nazirova, Sara, 17, 18  
 Ndlovu, Malika, 180  
 Ndoye, Mariama, 27  
 Necati Beg, 89  
 Nedim (Turkish poet), 91  
 Neshat, Shirin, 113, 548  
 Neşrī, M., 202  
 Nesterin-Bjelevac, Šefika, 90  
 Ngariba, 442  
 Niati, Houria, 159, 548, 550  
 Nibras (theater group), 151
- Nigāb-i az ān suy-i panjira* (Raʿfat), 16  
 Nigar Hanım, 241, 242  
 Niger, 36–37, 149  
 Nigeria,  
   pilgrimage in, 333  
   popular culture in, 111–112, 112  
   visual arts in, 172  
   women poets in, 93  
 Nihal, Şükufe, 92, 242  
 Nilan, Pam, 102  
*Nine Parts of Desire* (play, Raffo), 151  
 Nisar, Qudsiya, 163  
 Nivart, Mari, 142  
 Niyazov, Saparmurat, 98  
 Nizāmi, 206  
 Nizamuddin Awliya Shrine (Delhi), 330  
*No to Torture* (painting, Niati), 159, 548  
 Noiriell, G., 385  
*Nona* (magazine), 106  
 North Africa,  
   film industry in, 430, 504, 505  
   language use by women in, 236–237  
   media representations of women in, 504–505  
   pilgrimage in  
     to Mecca, 326  
     to saint shrines, 225–227, 326–329  
   proverbs and riddles in, 523–524  
   religious practices in, 273–274  
   visual arts in, 159–160  
   *waqfs* in, 376–378, 386  
   women preachers in, 340–341  
   women writers in, 22–24, 237, 504, 505  
   women’s remembrances in, 114–115  
 North America (see also Canada; United States),  
   conversion to Islam in, 25, 293–295  
   Muslim women in  
     actresses, 151  
     fiction writers, 24–26  
     media representations of, 505–507  
     and popular culture, 103–105  
     religious scholars, 254  
     Yemeni community in, 237–239  
 Norway, 350  
*Nūbat nisāʾ jabbal Shimuwwa* (The Noubat of the women of Mount Chenoua, television film, Djebar), 32  
 al-Nūn, Dhū, 542  
 Nūr Jahān (wife of Mughal emperor), 161, 207  
*Nūr* (journal), 79  
 Nūrbaksh, Javād, 541  
 Nurbanu, Valide Sultan, 394  
 Nūrī, Shaykh Faẓl Allāh, 256  
 Nuriye Hanım, 168  
 Nurpeisova, Dina, 97  
 Nursah, Ozan, 464  
 Nurullaeva, Gulchehra, 80, 81, 82  
*Nuzhat al-albāb fi mā la yūjad fi kitāb* (Delight of hearts concerning what cannot be found in a book, al-Tifāshī), 485  
 Nyakanga, 442  
 Nyala, 165  
 Nyalutanga, 442  
 Nzegwu, Nkiru, 172
- O’Gorman, Camila, 421  
 Oh, Richard, 415  
 OIC (Organization of the Islamic Conference), 321  
 Olgaç, Bilge, 39  
 Oman, 177  
 Omar, Amatul Rahman, 260

- Omar-Muhammad, Rayhana, 342  
 Omarova, Gulshat, 33, 98, 432  
 Omerbegović, Nermina, 90  
 Omran, Hala, 176  
*On Being Muslim in India* (videofilm), 366  
 Öncel, Nazan, 12  
 Önder-Ridder, Perihan, 11  
 “One City, Many Cultures” (project, Capetown), 509  
*Oral Literature in Africa* (Finnegan), 450  
 Oral, Zeynep, 181  
*Orator* (film, Razykov), 432  
 Orhon, Orhan Seyfi, 481–482  
*Orientalism* (Said), 252, 466  
 Örtter, Cihat, 464  
 Oshun Books, 179  
 Otin, Anbar, 478–479  
 Otto-Sallies, Zulfah, 37, 38, 180  
 Ottoman Empire,  
   attresses in, 141–142, 143, 545  
   conversion to Islam in, 286, 296–297  
   epics and legends in, 443–444  
   erotic literature in, 417–419, 495  
   folk dancing and folk singing in, 56–58  
   humor in, 437–438, 494  
   language use of women in, 240–242  
   poetry in, 87–89, 240, 418–419, 456, 496  
   premodern literature in, 493–497  
   proverbs and riddles in, 524–525  
   saint shrines in, 227–228  
   theater in, 141–143, 545–546  
   visual arts in, 160–161, 551–552  
   *waqfs* in, 374, 384–388, 398  
   women composers in, 6–8  
   women preachers in, 349  
   women writers in, 142, 240, 241–242  
   *zakāt* in, 393–395  
 Ouedraogo, Idrissa, 435  
 Ouirka Valley, 226  
 “Our Women” (poem, Hikmet), 482  
 Ousmane Sembene, 35, 36, 433–435, 454  
 Owomoyela, Oyekam, 94  
 Oya Girişim Grubu (Oya Enterprise Group, Turkey),  
   399  
 Özbek Khān, 202  
 Özdil, Sıdıka, 11  
 Öztürk, Yaşar Nuri, 264  
  
 Pacholcyk, J.M., 58–59  
*Pada Sebuah Kapal* (On the ship, Dini), 414  
 Padmanabhan, Manjula, 145  
 Pagad (People against Gangsterism and Drugs, South  
   Africa), 508–509  
 Pakistan,  
   dance in, 49  
   music in, 10, 59  
   NGOS in, 397  
   theater in, 145  
   visual arts in, 163  
   *waqfs* in, 390  
   women preachers in, 344  
   women’s remembrances in, 122  
 Pal, Anuradha, 11  
 Palestine,  
   films in, 431  
   storytelling in, 126, 127  
   theater in, 152  
   women’s remembrances from, 116–118  
 Palestinian Theatre in Motion, 152  
 Papazyan, Arusyak, 142, 150  
 Parawangsa, Khofifah Indar, 510  
 Parks, Fanny, 471  
 Parry, Milman, 50  
 Pars, Melahat, 12  
 Pārsipūr, Shahrnūsh, 21, 424  
 Parvin, Abida, 10, 59, 76, 190, 193  
 Paşa, Ahmet Vefik, 142  
 Pašić, Mubera, 90  
 Paté, Kadidia, 35  
 Pavlova, Anna, 462  
 Pazhwāk, Parwīn, 16  
 Pazira, Nilofer, 105  
 Péliissot, Felisberto, 421  
*Pendnāme* (Güvāhī), 495  
*The Penguin Book of Modern African Poetry* (Moore  
   and Beier), 94  
*Persepolis* (Sartrapi), 548  
*Persian Letters* (Montesquieu), 469  
 Persson, Nahid, 113  
 Peshawar, 59  
 Peteet, J., 117, 285  
 Petrossians, A., 67  
 Pirsomani (Georgian painter), 157  
 Pirzād, Zawya, 22  
*Playboy Magazine*, in Indonesia, 512  
 PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization), 117  
 Pommerol, Jean, 472  
 Ponder, H.W., 471  
 Pontecorvo, Gillo, 453, 505  
 Porokhane (Senegal), 333–334, 334  
 Positive Muslims (South Africa), 179  
*Post Gibrān* (Akash), 24  
 Pratt, Mary Louise, 466, 470  
*Princess* (Sasson), 238  
 Pritchett, F., 501  
 Priyadarshini, Firdousi, 122  
 Pukhraj, Malika, 75  
 Punjab, 58, 498, 499  
*Purdah and the Status of Women* (Mawdūdī), 261  
 Puspō Wardoyo, 510  
  
*Q-News* (magazine), 183, 184  
 Qabbānī, Nizār, 476–477  
*Qābusnāma* (Kay Kaus), 206  
 Qādīrī, Humayra, 16  
 Qafqāzi, Sawnā, 140  
 Qamar al-Saltānah, 140  
*Qambiz* (poetic drama, Shawqi), 138  
*al-Qāmūn fī al-tibb* (Canon of medicine, Ibn Sīnā), 486  
 al-Qardāhī, Sulaymān, 137, 544  
 Qasim, Muhammad ibn al-, 205  
 Qatāda, 532  
 al-Qatan, Najwa, 285  
 Qatar, 176  
 Qayūm, Türpakay, 16  
*Qīsaş al-anbiyā* (Stories of the prophets), 216, 217  
 Qom, *madrasas* in, 344  
 Qubaysiyya (Syria), 336  
 Qudsiyya Begum (ruler of Bhopal), 389  
 al-Qudūri, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, 531  
*Qur’an and Woman* (Wadud-Muhsin), 316  
 al-Qurṭubī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, 268, 310, 353, 530  
 al-Qushayrī, Abū al-Qasim, 541  
*Qūt al-qulūb* (al-Makki), 536  
 Qutb, Sayyid, 212, 316  
 Qutb Shah, Muhammad Quli, 499  
  
 Rābi’a bt. Ka’b Qizdāri Balkhī, 84–85  
 Rabia (female preacher), 336  
*Radhika Samwanam* (Appeasing Radha, music,  
   Muddupalani), 8

- Radio Afghanistan, 4, 42, 457  
 Ra'fat, Humayra, 16  
 Raffo, Heather, 151  
*Rag Darpan* (music treatise, Faqir Allah), 8, 461  
 Rahim, Yati, 106  
 Rahimboyeva, Qutlibeka, 82  
 Rahman, Fazlur, 261, 316  
 Raḥmānī, Maga, 15  
*Al-Raīda* (journal), 412  
 Raīs, Zhor, 160  
*Raja Dangdut* (King of Dangdut, film), 99, 99–100  
*Rajīm* (Damned, short story, Maḥbūb), 15  
 Rakitin, Yuri, 146  
*Ramayana*, 446  
 Rashid, Abdulla, 72  
 Rashīd Begum, Sa'diyya, 390  
 Rauf, Mehmed, 419  
 Ravānīpūr, Munīrī, 21  
 RAWA (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan), 77  
*al-Rawḍ al-ātir fī nuzhat al-khātīr* (The perfumed garden for the delight of the heart, al-Nafzāwī), 485  
 RAWI (Radius of Arab Women Writers Inc.), 26  
 Raynal, Pierre, 504  
 Raza, Nahid, 163  
 al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn, 268, 404, 530, 531  
 Razia (Radiyya) Sulṭāna, 207  
 Razykov, Yusup, 432–433  
*Reading Lolita in Tehran* (Nafisi), 24  
 Red Flowers (theater group), 149  
 Reftar Kalfa, 7  
 Reid, A., 302  
 Remitti, Cheikha, 194  
 Republican Brothers Party (Sudan), 347  
*Republika* (newspaper), 513  
 Reshma, 9–10  
*La Retour d'un aventurier* (film, Alassane), 35  
 Reza Shah (see Rizā Shāh (shah of Iran))  
 Riau, 445  
 Ridā, Rashīd, 529  
 Rif'at, Alifa, 19  
*The Right Hand of a Great Master* (Gamsaxurdia), 423  
*al-Risāla* (al-Qushayrī), 541  
*Riwan ou le chemin de sable* (Riwan, or the sandy track, Mbaye Biléoma), 27  
 Rizā Shāh (shah of Iran), 73, 211, 256, 383  
 Rizk, Amina, 138  
 Roald, A.S., 307  
*Roar* (play, Shamieh), 151  
 Robertson-Smith, W., 196  
 Robinson, B.W., 455  
 Roded, Ruth, 316, 541  
 Rosas, Juan Manuel de, 421  
 Rothfield, Otto, 462  
 Royer, Alphonse, 473  
*Ruba'i* (poems, Fansuri), 446  
 Rubeiz, Janine, 154  
 Rūdakī, 84, 85  
 Ruggles D. Fairchild, 549  
 Rūmī, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn, 202, 229, 371, 454, 536, 537, 538, 539  
 Rummana, Husain, 548  
 Rushdī, Fāṭima, 30, 137, 138  
 Ruswa, Mirza Muhammad Hadi, 462  
 Ruthven, Malise, 315  
 Rymbaeva, Roza, 97
- S: A Novel about the Balkans* (Drakulić), 426  
 Saad, Siti Binti, 109, 148
- al-Šabāḥ, Su'ād, 78  
 Sabancı, Vuşlat Doğan, 182  
 Sabbah, Fatma, 411  
 al-Šabbūr, 'Abd, 544  
 SABC (South African Broadcasting Corporation), 179–180  
 Šabīrī, Parī, 141  
 Sabri, Güzide, 533  
 Sachedina, Abdulaziz, 315  
 al-Sa'dawī, Nawāl, 19, 198, 453  
 al-Šaddā, Hudā, 19  
 Sa'dī (Persian poet), 206, 455, 485  
 Sadiq, Maulana Muhammad, 294  
 Sadiq, Rehana, 183  
 Sadr, Behjat, 158  
 Safaraliyeva, Koykab, 65  
 Safi, O., 535  
 Safiye, Valide Sultan, 385, 394  
 Sahasrabuddhe, Veena, 10  
*Sabat kula in Travnik* (The Travnik clock tower, painting, Bijelic), 553  
 Şahin, Leyla, 92, 482  
 al-Sa'īd, Amina, 19  
 Said, Edward, 252, 466, 505  
 St. Denis, Ruth, 462  
 Sajāh (prophetess), 351  
 al-Sakhāwī, 372  
 Sakīna, 229  
 SALAAM (theatre company), 152  
 al-Salem, Hidaya Sultan, 176  
 Şaliḥ, Saniyya, 78  
 Salim, Teyseer Abdelgadir, 167  
 Salmin, Khadija Said, 185  
*Salt and Safron* (Shamsie), 25  
 al-Salṭana, Taj, 6  
*Saltıktname* (Ottoman legend), 444  
 Saman (Utami), 101, 414  
 Samarkand, 325–326  
 al-Samarqandī, Abū al-Layth, 529  
 Sami, Ali, 552  
 Saminazhad, Ruhangiz, 34  
 Sammān, Ghāda, 18  
*Samra* (journal), 176  
 San Cristóbal de las Casas, 292  
 Sanā'ī, 538  
 Sanayi-i Nefise Mekteb-i Alisi (School of Fine Arts, Turkey), 168  
 Sancakoğlu, Mediha Şen, 12, 464  
 Sandys, G., 470  
 Sanga, Edda, 186  
 Sangare, Oumou, 194  
 Sangeet Natak Akademis (India), 144  
 Sanjar (Seljuk sultan), 201  
 al-Sanūsī, 340  
 Sārā Sultan Khānūm, 383  
 Sāra/Sarah, 216, 217, 351  
 Sarajlić, Nafija, 90  
 Saray Malik Khānūm (Bībī Khānūm, Chinggisid princess), 203  
*Sarraoumia* (film, Hondo), 435  
 Sasanian Empire, 204, 205  
 Sasson, Jean, 238  
 Satrapi, Marjane, 130, 548  
 Saudi Arabia,  
   dancing in, 13  
   folk dancing and folk singing in, 52–54  
   media presence of women in, 176, 177  
   and pilgrimage to Mecca, 321  
   women performers in, 71–73  
 Savane, Naky Sy, 37

- Savūshūn* (Dānishvar), 21  
*Sāya-hāy mahtāb* (Shadows of the moonlight, Muḥammadi), 16  
 Sayed, Rabī'ah, 342  
 Sayed (Sayyid), Badar, 390  
 Sayigh, R., 117  
 al-Sayyāb, Badr Shākīr, 78, 475  
 Sayyidjavādī, Fattāneh Hājī, 22  
 Schick, I.C., 456  
 Schimmel, Annemarie, 229, 456, 487–488, 539  
*Schizo* (film, Omarova), 33, 432  
*The Sealed Soil* (film, Nabili), 34  
 Searle, Berni, 508  
 Sebbar, Leïla, 23  
 Second New Movement (poetry, Turkey), 481, 482  
 Sedira, Zineb, 159, 548  
 Şefkat Vakfı (Şefkat Foundation, Turkey), 399  
 Segal, Zohra, 144  
 Šehabović, Šejla, 90–91  
*Şehr-engīz* (poem), 496  
 Seif, Zeyana, 184–185  
*Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals), 445, 446–448  
 Semat, 31  
 Sembene Ousmane, 35, 36, 433–435, 454  
 Sen, Krishna, 99  
 Senegal,  
     pilgrimage in, 333–334  
     visual arts in, 170–172  
     women filmmakers in, 36  
 Sepanta, Abd al-Husain, 33–34  
 Serageldin, Samia, 25, 26  
*Serat Centini*, 413  
 “Sere Serpe” (Naked, poem, Kanık), 482  
 Sertel, Sabiha, 180–181  
 Setti Fatma shrine (Morocco), 225, 226  
*Sevgili arsız ölüm* (Dear shameless death, Tekin), 427  
*Şevk-engīz* (poem, Sünbülzāde), 496  
*Sex Industry* (play, Sharif), 151  
 “Sex and the Umma” (website), 26  
*Sexy Semite* (work of art, Jacir), 548  
 Seyhoun, Ma'soumeh, 158  
 Sezer, Sennur, 92  
*Shab-nāmah* (Nocturnal letter, Garmrūdi), 417  
 Shabaka, 542  
 Shaddad, Muḥammad Hamid, 166  
 al-Shāfi'ī, 378, 530  
 Shāh Jahān Begum (ruler of Bhopal), 259, 389  
*Shāhnāma* (Book of kings, Firdawsī), 206, 487, 558  
 Shahr Bānu, 383  
 Shahrazād, 411, 468, 475–476, 486–487, 557, 558  
 Shahriyār, 411, 557  
 Shāhzāda Sultānum, 383  
 Shaikh, Sa'diyya, 342  
 Shamieh, Betty, 151  
 Shāmlū, Aḥmad, 417  
 Shamsie, Kamila, 25  
 Shamun-nabi Shrine (Khodzheili), 325  
*Sharā'if al-Islām* (al-Ḥilli), 314  
 Sha'rāwī, Hudā, 155, 210  
 Sharī'atī, 'Alī, 256–257, 321  
 Sharif, Bina, 150–151  
 Sharqāwī, 'Abd al-Raḥman, 544  
 al-Shāfi'ī, Bint, 18  
*Shattering the Stereotype: Muslim Women Speak Out* (Abdul-Baki), 24  
 Sha'wāna, 542  
*Shauḥar-i Abū khānum* (Ahū's husband, Afghāni), 417  
 al-Shawkāni, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, 531  
 Shawqī, Aḥmad, 138, 544  
 Shayda (Iranian poet), 459  
*Shāzda Ihtijāb* (Prince Ihtijāb, Gulshīrī), 417  
 el-Sheikh, Ahmad, 175  
 Sheiksy, Sanura, 184–185  
*Shelter* (short story, Maḥbūb), 15  
*The Shepherd* (film, Razykov), 432–433  
 Shibrain, Ahmed Mohammed, 166  
 Shihab Nye, Naomi, 25  
 Shirāzi, Jahān-Malik, 85  
 Shirāzi, Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim Injavī, 48, 130  
 Shostakovich, Dmitry, 4  
 Shughayr, Na'um, 518  
*Une si longue lettre* (So long a letter, Mariama Bā), 27  
 Siapno, J.A., 277  
 SIBL (Social Investment Bank Limited, Bangladesh), 379  
*Sidet* (film, Mekuria), 37  
 Sidi Abdel Qader Sliman Shrine (Figuig), 328  
 Sierra Leone, 132  
*Şifat al-safwa* (Ibn al-Jawzī), 541  
 al-Sijjastāni, 267  
 Sikander Begum (ruler of Bhopal), 389  
 Sikander, Shazia, 104, 163, 323  
*Siksha* (Narada), 461  
 Silay, K., 92  
 Silk Road Project (Yo-Yo Ma), 5  
 Sindh, 205  
*Sindibādnāma*, 557, 558  
 Singapore, 302  
     media in, 511–512, 514  
     Muslim popular culture in, 106  
 Singh, Dayanita, 548  
*Sirat al-ramād* (Biography of ashes, Marouazi), 114–115  
 Sīrin, Muḥammad b., 406, 408, 409  
*Sisters of the Screen: Women of Africa on Film, Video and Television* (Ellerson), 35  
*Siyāsatnāma* (al-Mulk), 201  
 Sladen, D., 469  
 Slapšak, Svetlana, 425  
*The Slave Book* (Jacobs), 179  
 Slave Lodge (Capetown), 508  
 Smith, Jane I., 197  
 Smith, Mary, 93  
 Sökmen, Gül, 181  
 Solica (saint), 226  
 el-Somali, Afaf, 159–160  
 Somersan, S., 182  
 Sonku, Cahide, 39  
 Sonnini, C.S., 468  
 Sontag, Susan, 147  
 Şoray, Türkan, 39  
 Souley, Zalika, 35–36  
 Souna, Boubacar, 36  
 South Africa,  
     conversion to Islam in, 297–299  
     film industry in, 180  
     women filmmakers, 37–38  
     media in  
         presence of Muslim women in, 178–180  
         representations of women in, 508–509  
     religious commemorations in, 361–365  
     women preachers in, 341–343  
     women writers in, 179  
     women's remembrances in, 118–120  
 South America, conversion to Islam in, 299–301  
 South Asia,  
     early Islam in, and position of women, 205–208  
     folk dancing and folk singing in, 58–59  
     legends and epics in, 496–497

- modern Qurʾān interpretation in, 258–262  
 music in, 8, 9, 10, 76, 457, 460–463  
 pilgrimage to saint shrines in, 228–230, 275, 329–331, 366  
 premodern literature in, 498–501  
 religious commemorations in, 365–367  
 religious practices in, 274–276  
 theater in, 143–145  
 travel accounts of, 462, 468  
 visual arts in, 161–163  
*waqfs* in, 388–390  
 women composers in, 8–11  
 women performers in, 49, 74–76, 460, 461  
 women preachers in, 343–345  
 women scholars in, 261  
 women's remembrances in, 121–122  
*zakāt* in, 396–398
- Southeast Asia,  
 conversion to Islam in, 301–305  
 legends and epics in, 445–448, 490  
 media in  
   presence of women, 107  
   representations of women in, 509–514  
 and pilgrimage to Mecca, 322  
 popular culture in, 105–108  
 premodern Islamic literature in, 490–493  
 religious practices in, 276–279  
 travel accounts of, 471
- Southeast Europe,  
 actresses in, 146  
 folk singing in, 50–52  
 humor in, 438–439  
 poetry in, 89–91, 424–425  
 religious commemorations in, 367–369  
 theater in, 145–147  
 visual arts in, 552–554  
 women's remembrances in, 122–124  
 writing in, 424–426
- Soviet Union,  
 censorship, 81  
 gender equality in, 66
- Sow Fall, Aminata, 27
- "Söz" (Word, poem, Kanik), 482
- Spellberg, Denise, 198
- Sprachman, P., 538
- Spry, W.J.J., 468
- Stegar, Winifred, 323
- Stern, Gertrude, 196
- St. John, James Augustus, 69
- Stoler, Ann, 472
- Stories about Natavan* (Jafarzade), 17
- The Story of Hottentots Holland* (Heap), 119
- Stowasser, Barbara, 196, 197, 253
- Struik (publishing company), 179
- Studio Misr, 30
- Su, Mükerrrem Kamil, 533
- Sub-Saharan Africa (see also East Africa; West Africa),  
   epics in, 450  
   film industry in, 35–38, 433–435  
   theater in, 147–149
- The Subtle Ruse* (anonymous), 557
- Sudan,  
   dance in, 148  
   proverbs in, 517–520  
   theater in, 149  
   visual arts in, 164–167  
   women preachers in, 346–347
- Sudanese Women Artists Association, 167
- al-Suddi, 530
- Sufi Women* (Nürbaksh), 541
- Sugarman, Jane, 190–191
- Suharto, Haji Muhammad, 101
- Suheshti, Herlina Tien, 415
- Şükûfezâr* (journal), 241
- al-Sulamî, Abû 'Abd al-Rahmân, 541, 542
- Sulaymân (Safavid shah of Iran), 73
- Suleri, Sara, 121
- Suleyman I (Ottoman sultan), 456, 496
- Süleymanlis, 349
- Sulţān Ḥusayn (Safavid shah of Iran), 73
- Sulţān Jahān Begum (ruler of Bhopal), 389
- Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror Foundation (Istanbul), 395
- Sultan-Bobo Shrine (Sultan Vais, Khorezm), 325
- Sultana, Parveen, 76
- Sultana, Rokeya, 163
- Sultana's Dream* (Hussain), 121
- Sumanovic, Sava, 553
- Sumar, Sabiha, 122
- Sumrayn, Rajā, 79
- Sünbülzāde Vehbî, 496
- Sundari, Jayshankar, 144
- Sunindyo, Saraswati, 99
- Sunjata Keita (ruler of Mali) epic, 450, 451
- Supernova* (Lestari), 101, 414
- Süreya, Cemal, 482
- Suryakusuma, Julia, 100
- Susanto, Budi, 512
- Suwayf, Ahdaf, 20
- al-Suyūṭī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī Bakr, 267, 531
- Swantz, M.-L., 442
- Sy, Oumou, 170–171
- Syed, Masooma, 163
- Syed, Najm Hosain, 499
- Syr Darya Aral region, 200
- Syria,  
   theater in, 138  
   *waqfs* in, 377, 386–387  
   women preachers in, 336
- al-Ta'aishi, Khalifa Abdullahi, 165
- Tabaqāt* (Ibn Sa'd), 285
- Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri* (Jūzjānī), 207
- al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Jarīr, 267, 309, 403, 404, 556
- al-Ṭabarsī, al-Fadl ibn al-Ḥasan, 403
- al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, 530
- Tabligh-i Jamaat movement, 281, 289, 306, 344, 345, 350
- Ta'dīb al-niswān* (Cultivation of women, Shāh Jihān Begum), 259
- Tafhīm al-Qur'ān* (Mawdūdī), 261
- Tafsir al-aḥlām al-kabīr* (Sīrīn), 408
- Tafsir* (Ibn Juzayy), 315
- Ṭāhā, Maḥmud Muḥammad, 347
- al-Ṭahāwī, Mirāl, 19–20
- Ṭabdhīb al-niswān wa-tarbiyat al-insān* (Urdu, Education of women and cultivation of mankind, Shāh Jahān Begum), 389
- Ṭabrīr al-mar'a* (The liberation of women, Amīn), 210
- Ṭāj Maḥal, 390
- Tajikistan, 80, 432
- Talattof, Kamran, 416
- Tales of the Tukamanies* (documentary film, Akieda Mohammed), 180
- Ṭālib, 'Alī ibn Abī, 315, 530
- Tallal, Chaiba, 159
- Tamara Bagrationi (Queen of Georgia), 156

- Tamer, Meral, 181  
Tamil Nadu Waqf Board, 390  
TAMWA (Tanzania Media Women's Association), 186  
*Tan* (magazine), 180  
TANU (Tanganyika African National Union), 108  
Tanzania,  
  Islam in, 289  
  media presence of women in, 185–186  
  popular culture in, 108–109, 148  
  traditional beliefs in, 442  
*The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender in Islamic Thought* (Murata), 535  
Taqiyān, Lālah, 141  
Tarcan, Selim Sirri, 58, 60  
*Al-ṭariq ilā Aylāt* (The way to Eilat, film, Muḥammad 'Alī), 30  
*Tarjūmān al-ashwāq* (Ibn al-'Arabī), 537–538  
*Tasharej* (Yahia), 23  
Tashkent, 97  
Tatbiki Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi (Academy of Applied Arts, Istanbul), 169  
Tavakoli-Targhi, M., 453  
*Ṭawq al-ḥamāma* (Dove's neck, Ibn Ḥazm), 485  
*Tawzūh al-mas'āl* (Clarification of questions), 417  
al-Ṭayālīsī, Abū Dāūd, 530  
Taymūr Pasha, Aḥmad, 518  
Tehran, 158  
Tekin, Latife, 427  
Temür (Tamarlane), 203  
Terkan, Shāh, 207  
Terken Khatun, 206, 382  
Tevfik, Rıza, 58  
Thailand, 303, 304  
al-Tha'labī, A. b. M., 267  
Thānawī, Mawlana Ashraf 'Alī, 366  
al-Thawri, Sufyān, 542  
Thessaloniki, 142  
Thompson, Elizabeth, 285  
*Thousand and One Nights*, 411, 418, 475–476, 486, 503, 557–558  
  stories inspired by, 545, 546  
  translations of, 467–468  
*Three Minutes through the Veil* (videofilm, Batiashvili), 157  
*Three Songs about Lenin* (film, Vertov), 33  
*Thulāthiyyāt Gharnāta* (The Grenada trilogy, 'Ashūr), 19  
  al-Tifāshī, 485  
  “Tifl-ı Hayalim” (poem, Nigar Hanım), 242  
*Tilai* (film, Ouedraogo), 435  
Tilbe, Yıldız, 12  
*The Time of the Yellow Grass* (film, Yusupova), 32  
Timol, Hawa, 120  
TIP (Taking Islam to the People, South Africa), 364  
Tiznit (Morocco), 341  
Tlatli, Moufida, 31  
Togo, 37  
Tomic, Milica, 554  
Tong, C., 302  
Topkapı, Nesrin, 60  
Toshkampir, 127–128  
TOT (Tanzania One Theatre), 109  
Touba, 333–334  
*Touki-Bouki* (film, Diop-Mambety), 435  
*Tower of Dreams* (Abdul Baki), 25  
*The Travels of Ibn Battūta*, 202  
Tripoli, 387  
TRT (Turkish state television), 60  
Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC, South Africa), 120  
Tsinamdzgvirshvili, Maia, 157  
*Ṭūbā va ma'nā-yi shab* (Touba and the meaning of night, Pārsipūr), 21, 424  
Tucker, J.E., 285  
Tūhā, 72  
Tunis, 386  
al-Tūnisī, Ranā 'Abbās, 79  
Tunisia,  
  actresses in, 31, 138  
  dancing in, 13  
  film industry in, 31  
  modernization in, 211  
  storytelling in, 126  
  women fiction writers in, 23  
  women's oral testimonies from, 115  
*Ṭuqūs al-ishārāt wa-al-taḥawwulaāt* (Rituals of transformations and signs, play, Wannūs), 545  
Turabek-Khanym, tomb of, 223  
Turgunbaeva, Mukaram, 66, 97  
Turhan, Valide Hadice, 394  
Türk Dili Tetkik Cemiyeti (The Turkish Language Research Group), 243  
Turkey,  
  actresses in, 38–39, 142, 143, 149, 150  
  cultural influences in Islamic world, 106  
  erotic literature in, 419–420  
  fiction writing in, 419, 426–427, 533–534  
  by women, 28–29, 427  
  film industry in, 150, 435–436  
  women filmmakers, 38–40  
  folk dancing and folk singing in, 60–61, 70  
  language use of women in, 243–244  
  legends and epics in, 131, 449, 494  
  media in  
  presence of women in, 180–182  
  representations of women in, 514–516  
  modernization of, 211  
  music in, 11–12, 464–465  
  pilgrimage in, 230–231, 331–332, 348  
  poetry in, 91–92, 420, 481–482  
  popular culture in, 110–111  
  proverbs in, 243, 244, 525–527  
  Qur'anic exegesis in, 262–265  
  religious commemorations in, 370–371  
  religious practices in, 279–280  
  storytelling in, 110, 131–132  
  theater in, 149–150  
  visual arts in, 168–170  
  women composers in, 11–12  
  women performers in, 38, 68–71  
  women preachers in, 335, 347–348  
  zakāt in, 398–399  
*Turkish Bath* (painting, Sumanovic), 553  
Turkmenistan, 223  
  culture in, 98  
  film industry in, 432  
  poetry in, 478  
Turner, Bryan, 107  
*12 Mart romanları* (12 March novels), 29  
Tyagaraja festival, 9  
Uçan Süpürge (Flying Broom, Turkey), 40  
Ufkī, Ali, 7  
Uğurcan, Sema, 241  
Ülben, Deniz, 11  
Ulduzu, Dan, 64  
“Ulumi” (Tongue, poem, Tatu M. Ali), 83

- Uljanishchev, Vasili, 146  
 Umahani, Begum Laila, 390  
 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (second caliph), 198, 529  
 Umm al-Faḍl, Wahatiyya, 542  
 Umm al-Ḥusayn bt. Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān, 542  
 Umm Kulthūm, 31, 192  
*Umm Kulthūm* (television series, Muḥammad 'Alcc), 30  
 Umm Talq, 537, 541-542  
 Umm Waraka, 347  
*Umr'o Jan Ada* (Rusva), 462  
 Unayda, 542  
 United Kingdom,  
     cultural influences of, 144  
     Muslim population in, 182-183, 184  
 United States (see also North America),  
     belly dancing in, 2, 3  
     theater by Muslim women in, 150-152  
 "The Unity of the Same" (poem, al-Zubayr), 476  
 UNPROFOR, 439  
*al-Uruba* (newspaper), 176  
 Uşaklıgil, Halit Ziya, 427  
 Üsküdar complex (Istanbul), 394  
 Usmanova, Yulduz, 97  
 Utami, Ayu, 101, 413, 414  
*Utendi wa Mwana Kupona* (Mwana Kupona's Poem,  
     Swahili), 82-83, 442  
*Utenzi wa Kadhi Kassim bin Jaafar* (poem, Swahili),  
     443  
 'Uthmāna, 'Azīza (Princess), 386  
 Utomo, S.B., 378  
*Utusan Melayu* (newspaper), 511  
 Uzbek Ethnographic Company, 97  
 Uzbek-Khan, 223  
 Uzbekistan,  
     classical dance in, 49  
     film industry in, 432  
     folk dancing in, 66  
     storytelling in, 128  
     theater in, 139  
     women poets in, 80, 81  
  
 Vaḥdat Hall (Tehran), 141  
 Vaishnu Devi Shrine (India), 330  
 Van de Kaap, Saarije, 341  
 Van der Merwe, H., 120  
 Vanita, R., 500  
*Varka vü Gülşāh*, 495  
 Vartovyan, Agop (Güllü Agop), 141, 142  
*Vatan yahut Silistre* (Fatherland or Silistre, play,  
     Kemal), 546  
 Važa-P'šavela, 423  
 Vazir, Mehriban, 17  
 Veli, Hacı Baktaş-ı, 371  
 Veli Kanık, Orhan, 482  
*Le ventre de l'Atlantique* (The belly of the Atlantic,  
     Diome), 27  
 Veroni, Ekaterini, 142  
 Vertov, Dziga, 33  
*Vilayetnâme* (Ottoman legend), 444  
*Viş va Rāmīn* (Gurgānī), 487  
 "A Vision in the Year 1956" (poem, al-Sayyāb), 475  
 Voice of Asia Contest, 97  
 Volga-Ural region, 200  
 Vredembregt, J., 319  
 Vučetić, S., 438  
 Vukanovic, Babett Bachmayer, 553  
 Vukotić, Mekrema, 146  
  
 Wadud, Amina, 295, 316, 336, 342, 403  
 al-Wahab, Muhammad Abd, 138, 192  
  
 Wahid, K.H. Abdul Rahman, 512  
*Waiting for Godot* (play, Beckett), 147  
*Waiting Room* (play, Dowlatshahi), 151  
 Wallada, 193  
 Wan Seri Benian (Queen Sakidar Shah), 447  
*Wanderings of a Pilgrim* (Parks), 471  
 Wannūs, Sa'd Allāh, 545  
 Waris Shah, 499  
 "The Waste Land" (poem, Eliot), 475  
 Watt, W. Montgomery, 253  
*Wazzou polygame* (film, Ganda), 36  
 Weiss, Anita, 108  
 Wensinck, A.J., 319  
 Werner, Alice, 82  
 West,  
     premodern literature in, 484  
     women's magazines from, 181  
 West Africa,  
     folk dancing and folk singing in, 61-63  
     legends and epics in, 450-451  
     pilgrimage in, 332-334  
     poetry in, 93-95, 135-136  
     popular culture in, 111-112  
     religious practices in, 280-281  
     storytelling in, 132-134  
     theater in, 147  
     visual arts in, 170-172  
     women writers in, 26-28, 111  
 West Bank, 117  
 Western Europe,  
     African immigrants in, 27  
     belly dancing in, 2, 3  
     conversion to Islam in, 306-308  
     Muslim population in  
         cultural influences on Islamic world, 106  
         language use by women, 244-246  
         media presence of women, 182-184  
         religious practices, 281-284  
         women preachers in, 349-350  
*We've Come Undone* (play, Kayhan Irani), 151  
*White Face* (Javaxishvili), 423  
 Widodo, Amrih, 100, 102  
 Wilson, P.L., 538  
*Wimbo wa Miti* (poem, Swahili), 442  
 Winstedt, R.O., 446  
 Winzeler, R., 303  
 Wiswanathan, Gauri, 285  
 Witness (Bangladesh), 345  
*A Woman in the Orient* (painting, Jovanovic), 553  
*Woman's Body, Woman's Word* (Malti-Douglas),  
     558  
*Women of Algiers in their Apartment* (painting,  
     Delacroix), 504, 548  
*Women of Allah* (photography, Neshat), 548  
*Women of Deh Koh* (Friedl), 130  
*Women, Islam and Cinema* (Dönmez-Colin), 435  
*Women in Islamic Biographical Collections* (Roded),  
     541  
*Women in the Orient* (D'Istria), 425  
 Women's Action Forum (Pakistan), 214  
 Women's College of Fine Arts (Istanbul), 161  
*Women's Kingdom* (film, Razykov), 432  
 Women's Theater Festival (Tehran), 141  
  
*Xala* (film, Sembene), 35, 36, 434, 454  
  
*Yaaba* (film, Ouedraogo), 435  
 Yacoub, Zara Mahamat, 37  
 Yahia, Emna Bel Haj, 23  
 Yakubu, Balaraba Ramat, 112

- Yanardağ, Arzuhan, 182  
 Yaqub, Shagufta, 183, 184  
 Yaqūt, Jamal al-Dīn, 207  
 Yasawī, Khoca Aḥmad, 201, 230–231  
 Yee-Ling, C., 512  
 Yegenoglu, M., 506  
 Yeghiazarian, Torange, 152  
 Yel Dana (Wisdom of the Nation, political party, Kazakhstan), 98  
 Yemen, 177  
     language use of women in, 247–248  
     proverbs in, 527–528  
 Yılmaz, Atif, 436  
 Young Iran Theater (Tehran), 140  
 Yugoslavia, 146, 425, 438–439, 553  
 Yunnan Province (China), 357  
 Yurttan Sesler Korosu, 60  
 Yusifova, Adilya, 5  
 Yusri, Zahra, 79  
 Yusuf Ali, Abdullah, 261  
 Yusuf, Nova Rainti, 415  
 Yūsuf/Joseph, 406, 487–488, 495, 530, 556–557, 558, 559  
 Yusupova, Mariam, 32–33  
 Yusupzhanova, Klara, 33  
  
*zabān-i zanān* (Women's tongue, journal), 177  
 Zabiya, Binta, 133  
 Zadeh, Aziza Mustafa, 7  
 Zagar, Jawharī, 85  
 Zāhidā Khātūn, 382  
*Zakirat al-Jasad* (Memory in the flesh, Mosghanemi), 23  
*Zaman* (newspaper), 182  
 ZAMEW (Zanzibar Media Women), 186  
 Zam-zam well (Mecca), 217, 319  
*Zan* (Woman, journal), 178  
*Zan-i rūz* (journal), 256  
  
*Zanān* (Women, journal), 178, 258  
 Zanzibar,  
     media presence of women in, 184–185, 186  
     music in, 109  
 Zarina (Hashmi, Zarina), 163  
 Zarqā' al-Yamāma, 475, 476  
*Zarrin-Taj* (Jafarzade), 17  
 Zaryab, Sapūzhmay, 15  
 Zātī, 496  
 Zayid, Maysoon, 104, 151  
 Zaynab bt. 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib, 224–225, 229  
 Zaynab (daughter of the Prophet), 371  
 Zaynab bt. al-Hārith, 218  
*Zaynab* (Haykal), film adaptation of, 429  
 al-Zayyāt, 'Ināyāt, 19  
 al-Zayyāt, Laṭīfa, 19  
 Žbanić, Jasmila, 147  
 Zebunnisā' Begum (Mughal princess), 121  
 Zehrā, 241  
 Zeid, Fahrelnissa, 154  
 Zenadeen, Jana, 151  
*Zenānāme* (The Book of women, Fāzıl), 496–497  
 Zeynep Hatun, 88, 240  
*Zhylyama* (film, Karakulov), 432  
 Zīb al-Nisā, 85  
 Zīnat Begum, 383  
 Ziryāb, 193  
 Ziyeeva, Malika, 67  
 Zonnenfeld, Zuriani, 104  
 Zubair, Aasiya, 104  
 al-Zubaydī, al-Shaykha Sulṭāna bint 'Alī, 528  
 al-Zubayr, Nabīla, 476  
 Zu'bi, Aḥmad, 80  
 Zulaykha/Zūleyha (wife of Potiphar), 487–488, 495, 556–557, 558, 559  
 Zulfiya (Uzbek Poet), 81  
 al-Zurqānī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Bāqī, 531



# Subject Index

- abayi* dance (Azerbaijan), 44  
Abbasids, 204–205  
ablutions before prayer, 269, 271, 273, 277, 279, 280, 282  
accidents, during pilgrimage to Mecca, 321  
activism, of women, 214, 257, 258  
actresses,  
    African, 35–36, 37, 112, 149  
    in Arab states, 544  
    Armenian, 141–142, 150  
    Central Asian, 33, 139–140  
    Egyptian, 31, 137, 138, 429–430  
    English, 144  
    Indian, 143, 144  
    Indonesian, 100  
    Iranian, 33–34, 140, 141  
    Muslim American, 151  
    Ottoman, 141–142, 143, 545  
    Southeast European, 146  
    Tunisian, 31, 138  
    Turkish, 38–39, 142, 143, 149, 150  
*adab* literature (literature for instruction), 485–486, 557  
*adat* (customary traditions), 491, 492, 493  
adultery, absence of, 200  
advertising, and women's sexuality, 515–516  
African Americans, conversion to Islam of, 25, 294  
African Islamic cultures, 35, 36  
African poetry, anthologies of, 94  
Africans, in South Africa, conversion to Islam by, 297, 298  
afterlife, 218–219  
    Qur'ān on, 400–402  
age hierarchies, 203  
*ahidūs* dance, 54  
*ahl al-kitāb* (people of the book), 219, 290  
*ahl-i bayt* celebrations, 366  
Aḥmādī movement, 259–260, 289, 294, 354  
*ahwāsh* dance, 54  
Akhī Community, 231  
Alevis, 57, 61, 348, 371  
    women, 279  
almsgiving, 274, 391  
*amal* rituals, 344  
animals, sexual relations with, 532  
animism, 493  
anti-colonialism,  
    in Algeria, 114, 453  
    and metaphors of female body, 453  
    nationalism of, 213  
    women's participation in, 504–505  
anti-pornography legislation, in Indonesia, 512–514  
anti-war poetry, 90  
apostasy,  
    Islamic law on, 291  
    in Ottoman Empire, 297  
Arabic language,  
    exegetical texts in, 249–251  
    poetry in, 489–490  
    women's use of, 246, 293  
Arabized Jews, 220  
Arabs,  
    in Argentinean literature, 421, 422  
    Omani, ruling East African coast, 288  
architecture, 547  
    patrons of, 161, 549  
Armenians, 61, 141–142, 149–150  
art, patrons of, 153, 155, 156, 160–161, 201–202, 223, 393  
art critics,  
    female, 154, 162  
    Western, 156  
    on women artists, 155  
art galleries, women owners of, 154, 156, 157, 158, 170  
art magazines, 158  
arts education (see training, in visual arts)  
asceticism, in Sufism, 541, 542–543  
'Ashūrā celebrations, 55–56, 335–336, 368  
'*ashwī* gatherings, 56  
*aşiks/lashiqs/lashuq* (minstrels), 43, 91, 418–419, 458, 464  
*atan/atani* dance (Pashtun/Afghanistan), 41, 46  
auteur cinema, 429, 431, 432  
"authentic" Islam, 282  
authenticity, 501  
authority, and power, 488  
autobiography, fictionalized, 27  
avant garde films, 429  
'*awālīm* (learned women singers), 1, 2, 69  
*awqāf* (see *waqfs*)  
*al-ayta* sung poetry, 236  
Azeri women, 157–158  
  
Babas, 302  
*badawī* (Beduin) dance, 54  
Bahā'ī faith, 291  
ballet dancers, Central Asian, 97  
Banū Nādīr tribe, 218  
*baraka* (blessings) of saints, 327, 363  
Bashkirs, 51  
basket weaving, 165, 167  
bawdy tales, in Sufism, 538  
*bayaderes* ("nautch girls"), 462  
*Bayram Namazı* (see Eid al-Fitr celebrations)  
*bayt al-khiyāta* (house of sewing), 165  
*bazi-ha-yi namayishi* (theatrical plays/games), 48  
beauty pageants, 356  
Beduin, 20, 236, 322  
beggars, women pilgrims as, 333  
belly dancing, 60, 68, 69–70, 194  
    in Egypt, 1–3, 14, 31  
Berbers, 54  
    songs of, 114, 191  
    women's poetry, 236  
*bhangra* music and dance, 58  
*bhavai* drama, 143  
biblical influences, in Qur'ānic exegesis, 267  
*bid'a* practices, 366  
bilingualism, in Western Europe, 245  
biographical dictionaries, 372  
biographical narratives, 127  
*birr* (piety), 314

- birthing parties, 128  
*bismillāh* ceremonies, 269, 366  
 “blessed nights”, 368, 370  
*bola* (female religious leader), 350  
*bori* (spirit possession),  
   dance, 148  
   specialists, 333  
 Bosnians, 51  
 boys, desirability of, 455, 456, 484, 486, 496, 500, 538  
 bridal songs, 41, 72, 135–136, 190, 191  
 Buddhism,  
   conversion to, 303  
   in Southeast Asia, 445  
   in Thailand, 304–305  
 Bukharan Jews, 66  
 Bulgars, 200  
 business women, Central Asian, 98
- Cairo Geniza, 219, 220, 221, 222, 387–388  
 calendrical celebrations, Islamic, 365, 370  
 calligraphy, 160, 161  
 carpet weaving, 156  
 cash *waqfs*, 377, 378, 379, 380–381  
 caste, in South Asian Muslim societies, 275  
 celibacy, in Sufism, 538–539, 542  
*cem* rituals, 61  
*cenaze namazı* (prayers at funerals), 370  
 censorship,  
   in Arab media, 175, 176  
   in Iran, 178  
   in Southeast Asia, 509–510, 511–512, 514  
   in Soviet regime, 81  
   in Turkey, 180–181  
*chakri* music, 59  
 charitable *waqfs*, 372, 377  
 childbirth, 275  
 Chinggisid princesses, 203  
 Christianity,  
   Abraham in, 216  
   conversion to, 288, 291–292, 297, 301–302  
   in East Africa, 289  
   saints in, 225  
   in South Africa, 298  
*çiftetelli* (see belly dancing)  
*cinéma d’auteur*, 429, 431, 432  
 circle dances, 62  
 circumcision,  
   female (see genital mutilation)  
   male, 304  
 Civil Code (Turkey, 1926 and 2001), 263  
 classical music and dance, 49  
   South Asian, 75  
   Turkish, 60  
 classical poetry,  
   in Iran, 84–85  
   in Ottoman Empire, 87–88  
 closing formulas, of stories, 133  
 collections, of folktales, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131  
 collective prayer, 278  
 colonial administration (see also anti-colonialism),  
   and position of women, 210, 472  
   of South Asia, 389  
   and spread of Islam, 466  
   of Tanzania, 289  
 commemorative poetry, 366  
 commercial activities,  
   by Jewish women, 221  
   and pilgrimage to Mecca, 322, 333  
 communal cooking, 355  
 communities,  
   religious, 236–237  
   ritual, 367  
 community radio stations, 179  
 companionship between male and female, in Sufism,  
   541, 542  
 composers, women, 4–12, 464  
 concubinage, 221, 531  
 concubines and mistresses, in legends and epics,  
   447–448  
 congregational prayer, 278  
 conversion,  
   to Buddhism, 303  
   to Christianity, 288, 291–292, 297, 301–302  
   to Islam  
     in Arab states, 285–286  
     in Central Asia, 286–288  
     in East Africa, 288–290  
     in Eurasia, 200  
     and Internet, 294, 306  
     in Iran, 290–292  
     in Mexico, 292–293  
     in North America, 25, 293–295  
     in Ottoman Empire, 286, 296–297  
     in South Africa, 297–299  
     in South America, 299–301  
     in South Asia, 204, 205  
     in Southeast Asia, 301–305  
     in Western Europe, 306–308  
   linked to marriage, 289–290, 293–294, 296, 302,  
     303–305  
   theme in folk literature, 494  
 cooking, communal, 355  
 Coptic church, 286  
 cosmology,  
   South Asian, 460  
   Sufi, 535–536, 539  
 courts,  
   Muslim, Jewish women appearing in, 221  
   registers on *waqfs*, 372, 387  
 creation,  
   femininity of, 537  
   Qur’ān on, 403–405, 523, 530, 535, 536  
 culture,  
   African Islamic, 35, 36  
   Javanese, 413, 414  
   Mande, 61, 450  
   Moorish, 300  
   popular  
     in Afghanistan, 96–97  
     in Central Asia, 97–98  
     in Indonesia, 98–102  
     and Muslim women in North America, 103–105  
     in Ottoman Empire, 419  
     in Southeast Asia, 105–108  
     in Tanzania, 108–109, 148  
     in Turkey, 110–111  
     in West Africa, 111–112  
 curses, 526
- dādrā* music, 74  
*dakani* poetry, 499, 500–501  
 dancers,  
   companies/groups of, 62–63, 66  
   female, 47–48  
     in Azerbaijan, 64  
     ballet, 97  
     in Egypt, 68–69  
     in Sub-Saharan Africa, 148

- in Tanzania, 108
  - travel accounts of, 1, 69, 462
  - in Turkey, 60, 68, 371
  - in West Africa, 62–63
- in Ottoman Empire, 57
- dancing (see also belly dancing; folk dancing),
  - in Arab states, 13–14, 53
  - at funerals, 46, 55
  - in India, 47, 49
  - mystical, 371
  - in Southeast Europe, 124
- dangdut* music and dance, 99, 100, 512, 513
- danse du ventre* (see belly dancing)
- Dari language, poetry written in, 77
- dastan/destan* storytelling genre, 127, 131, 501
- daughters, proverbs on, 519, 525
- da'wa* (missionary) work, 294, 295, 306
- by women, 350
- dead,
  - paying homage to, 364
  - purifying of, 274
  - suffering of, 218–219
- death,
  - of Fāṭima, 357
  - rituals, 233
- deeds, on *waqfs*, 372, 373
- dervish communities, 228
- devotional drama, 144
- dhikr* (recitation of names of Allah), 190, 341
  - dance and chanting, 44, 46, 337, 461
- dhimmis* (protected peoples), 205, 219–220, 285, 286, 290
- dhrupad* music, 75
- dialogue, used in poetry, 83
- diasporas,
  - Afghan, 46, 77
  - Arab, 80
  - Iranian, 113
  - Muslim, in Asia-Pacific region, 107
  - Sudanese, 166
- dictionaries, biographical, 372
- didactic poetry, 340
- dil* (language, tongue), female, 233
- disobedience of women, 309, 310–312, 530
- divan* poetry, 87, 88, 91, 92, 240, 418, 456, 481, 496
- divination, and Islam, 351
- divine (see also God),
  - love of, 282, 498, 537, 539, 543
- divorce, 250, 290
  - financial settlements related to, 311
  - proverbs on, 521
- divorcees, supported by *waqfs*, 390
- documentaries, 36
- daireh doira* (frame drum), 41, 48, 67, 457
- dowries, of nomadic women, 203
- dream interpretation,
  - Islamic, 406–409
  - Western, 453
- dress,
  - for non-Muslims, 220
  - for pilgrimage to Mecca, 321, 331
  - Qur'ān on, 251, 264
  - for women (see also *hijāb* and veiling), 280–281, 336
    - in Central Asia, 287
    - in Southeast Asia, 511
- drums, 67, 71–72, 457
- e-zines, women's, 180
- early Islam,
  - and position of women, 196–198
  - in Central Asia, 200–203
  - in Iran, 204–208
  - in South Asia, 205–208
- economic aspects, of pilgrimage to Mecca, 322
- education for women and girls (see also religious education),
  - in Arab states, 78
  - in Judaism, 222
  - in Ottoman Empire, 242
  - in Sudan, 165
  - in Turkey, 168
  - in Western Europe, 245
- educational institutions, recipients of *zakāt*, 397
- Eid al-Adha (ʿĪd al-Adḥā) celebrations (feast of sacrifice), 55, 355, 359, 364–365, 366, 368, 370, 397
- Eid al-Fitr (ʿĪd al-Fiṭr) celebrations (end of Ramadan feast), 55, 61, 355, 359, 363–364, 366, 368, 370, 397
- embroidery, 157, 162
- encyclopedias, historical, 372
- English language,
  - drama in, 144
  - Muslim media in, 245
  - Qur'ān translations in, 260, 261
  - Qur'ānic interpretations in, 252
  - use in South Asia, 259
- entrepreneurs, women, 119
- epics (see legends and epics)
- erotic literature,
  - in Arab states, 411–412
  - in Indonesia, 412–415
  - in Iran, 416–417, 487
  - in Ottoman Empire, 417–419, 495
  - in Turkey, 419–420
- erotic photography, 552
- ethnographic studies, of West African women, 93
- European imperialism, 467
- European modernity, 209
- European women, and Oriental women, 472–473
- evil eye, 244
- exegetical texts,
  - on creation of woman, 403–405, 530
  - interpretations of women in, 249–268, 556, 559
- exhibitions, of women artists, 155, 157, 158, 172, 550
- eyewitness accounts, of harems, 470
- false prophets, 351
- families,
  - empowerment of, 381
  - gatherings of, 126
  - histories of, 123
  - Palestinian, 116
  - portraits of, 552
  - women's roles in, 98–99, 100–101
- family celebrations,
  - music at, 190
  - performances at, 67
- family honor, in Yemen, 528
- family law, 211, 251, 511
- family paradigm, of Qur'ānic exegetes, 249, 251, 252
- family *waqfs*, 372, 373, 377, 389–390
- famines, in Darfur, 165
- fashion,
  - designers, 170–171
  - in East Asia, 107
- fasting, by women, 269–270, 273–274, 275, 277, 278, 279, 282, 283
- father figures, in literature, 25
- Fāṭima Day celebrations, 357–358

- female body, metaphors for, 453–456, 547, 550  
 female headed households, in South Africa, 119  
 female space, European travel accounts of, 471–472  
 feminism,  
   in Indonesia, 413  
   on Islam and modernity, 214  
   Islamic, 261–262, 308, 558–559  
   Islamist, 184  
   in Turkey, 426  
 feminist art, 155  
 feminist films, 430–431  
 feminist magazines, 181  
 feminist novels, 424  
 feminist theater, 145  
 feminotopia discourses, 470–471, 472  
 fiction writing,  
   in Argentina, 421–422  
   in Caucasus, 422–423  
   female sexuality in, 486–488  
   in Indonesia, 98  
   in Iran, 416–417, 423–424  
   portrayal of women in, 503  
   in Southeast Europe, 425–426  
   in Turkey, 419, 426–427, 533–534  
   by women  
   in Afghanistan, 15–16  
   in Arab states, 18–20, 412  
   in Caucasus, 16–18  
   in Indonesia, 101, 413–415  
   in Iran, 20–22, 130, 423–424  
   in North Africa, 22–24, 237  
   in North America, 24–26  
   in Ottoman Empire, 242  
   in South Africa, 179  
   in Turkey, 28–29, 427  
   in West Africa, 26–28, 111  
 fictionalized autobiography, 27  
 figurative representations, in Sudanese art, 164–165  
 film industry, 30–40  
   in Arab states, 30–32, 138, 429–430  
   in Central Asia, 96, 97, 98, 431–433  
   in East Asia, 107  
   in Indonesia, 99–100, 101–102  
   in Iran, 33–34, 430, 433  
   in North Africa, 430, 504, 505  
   in North America, Muslim women in, 104–105  
   in South Africa, 180  
   in Sub-Saharan Africa, 35–38, 433–435  
   in Turkey, 38–40, 150, 435–436  
   in West Africa, 111–112  
 film stars (see actresses)  
 films,  
   portrayal of women in, 99–100, 101–102  
   in Arab States, 429–431  
   in Central Asia, 431–433  
   in Iran, 430, 433  
   in Sub-Saharan Africa, 433–435  
   in Turkey, 150, 435–436  
   Third Cinema, 453  
   as women's remembrances, 121–122  
*fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), 258  
 folk dancing and folk singing,  
   in Caucasus, 42–44  
   in Central Asia, 41–42, 45, 46, 66  
   in Gulf states, 52–54  
   in Iran, 45, 46, 47–48, 49  
   in Morocco, 54–56  
   in Ottoman Empire, 56–58  
   in South Asia, 58–59  
   in Southeast Europe, 50–52  
   in Turkey, 60–61, 70  
   in West Africa, 61–63  
 folkloric theater, 139–140, 545  
 folktales,  
   collections of, 125, 126, 127, 130, 131  
   magical, 125  
   misogyny in, 125, 486–487  
   oral, 114  
 food aid, 395  
 forgiveness, 120  
 forms of address, women's use of, 234–235  
 foundation legends/myths, 440, 442  
 Friday prayers, 270–271, 365, 370  
 funerals,  
   dancing at, 46, 55  
   prayers at, 370  
   singing at, 43, 128, 233  
   storytelling at, 132  
  
*gadra* dance, 54–55  
*gaps* (gatherings of friends), 67  
*garip* (strange) poetry, 481, 482  
 gatherings,  
   '*ashwi*', 56  
   family, 126  
   of friends, 67  
   of women, 83, 248, 258, 272, 341, 360  
   at saint shrines, 328  
   at weddings, 369  
*gazels* (see *ghazal* music/lyrical poetry)  
 gender,  
   and musical genres, 459–460  
   in women's literature, 26  
 gender biases,  
   in Qur'anic exegesis, 267  
   in West African literature, 26  
 gender connotation, of names and titles, 201  
 gender desegregation, at Mecca pilgrimage, 320, 322,  
   332–333  
 gender equality,  
   Qur'anic exegetes on, 249, 260, 261, 264  
   and secularization, 211  
   in Soviet ideology, 66  
   in Turkey, 263  
 gender hierarchies, 203, 250, 285, 515  
 gender metaphors, 479–481  
 gender relations,  
   in Swahili popular drama, 108  
   in West African literature, 27  
 gender roles,  
   complementarity of, 249–250, 256, 263  
   in epics, 451  
   in Palestinian society, 117, 118  
 gender segregation,  
   in Bulghar society, 200  
   in dance and music, 45, 46, 57, 460  
   and Islam, 188  
   among Jews, 220  
   in Qarakhānid society, 201  
   at religious commemorations, 365, 369, 371  
   in Seljuk society, 202  
   in South Asia, 500  
   in Sufism, 541, 542  
   in theater, 139  
   in Turkey, 38  
   at weddings, 2  
 gendered ideology, in Iran, 257  
 genealogies, 203  
 genital mutilation, 37  
 Geniza (Cairo), 219, 220, 221, 222, 387–388

- geometry, in visual arts, 162, 163  
*ghawāzī* (female entertainers/dancers), 1, 68–69  
*ghazal* music/lyrical poetry, 91, 193, 488–489  
   in Afghanistan, 77  
   in Central Asia, 81  
   in South Asia, 74, 75, 76, 463, 499–500, 501  
*giddhā* dance, 58  
 God (see also divine),  
   brides of, 498  
   love of, 282, 498, 537, 539, 543  
 goddesses, 440  
 governments (see also censorship),  
   banning music and dance, 45, 49  
   control of *waqfs*, 377, 378, 390  
   management of *zakāt*, 392, 397  
 graphic designers, 166  
 greetings, 244, 247, 492  
*griots* (performers of epics), 451  
  
*hadīths*,  
   on afterlife, 400–402  
   attributed to ‘A’isha, 335  
   on creation of woman, 403, 404  
   Jews in, 218–219  
   on obedience of women, 309–310  
   on piety, 314–315  
   suspect nature of, 254  
   on Wiles of Women, 556  
   on women prophets, 352, 354  
   on *zakāt*, 391  
*hadra* dance, 55  
 hair, female, 455  
*hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca), 217, 274, 281, 318–323,  
   326, 332–333  
*hajja* women, 274, 326, 333  
*halāl*, 238  
   musical genres considered as, 189  
 Ḥamadsha Sufi Brotherhood, 328  
*hammāms*, 273, 470–471  
 Ḥanafī school of Islam, 277, 310, 320, 345  
 Ḥanbalī school of Islam, 311  
*handasa al-sawt* (the art of sound), 189  
 handprints, left by pilgrims, 328  
*harām*, 238  
   cinema considered as, 35, 36  
   musical genres considered as, 189, 194  
 harems,  
   and dance traditions, 57  
   in European travel accounts, 469–470, 471  
   portrayal of women in, 425, 552  
 Hatuniye mosques, 394  
*hauka* dance, 148  
 Hausa language,  
   popular culture in, 111–112  
   storytelling in, 132, 133  
   theater in, 149  
*haytī* dance, 55  
 heads of state, female, 260  
 healers, religious, 287  
 healing, and pilgrimage, 328, 330  
 Hell (Fire), in Islam, 400  
 henna night, 61  
 heritage languages, of Western European Muslim  
   women, 245, 246  
 heroes,  
   female (see also warrior women),  
   in Bosnian songs, 51  
 hierarchies,  
   age, 203  
   gender, 203, 250, 285, 515  
  
*hijāb* and veiling,  
   in dancing, 3, 53–54  
   European travel accounts of, 468, 469, 471  
   growing popularity of, 213–214  
   in Indonesia, 100  
   in Iran, 73, 205  
   of Jewish women, 220  
   in media, 175  
   media coverage of, 506, 509, 510–511  
   in Mexico, 293  
   in North America, 295  
   after pilgrimage to Mecca, 326  
   Qur’an on, 529, 530  
   in South America, 300  
   in Turkey, 264  
   in visual arts, 159  
   in Western Europe, 183, 281–282  
*hijabāt* (headscarfed Yemeni American girls), 237–239  
*hijra* (emigration), of Muhammad, 217  
 Hijra (Muslim New Year) celebrations, 368  
*hijras*, 49  
 Hinduism, influences on Muslim South Asian music,  
   460  
 Hindus,  
   pilgrimage traditions of, 330  
   in South Africa, 365  
 historical books, 446  
 historical encyclopedias, 372  
 historical studies, of *waqfs*, 373  
 HIV/AIDS, in South Africa, 179  
 homosexuality,  
   in dreams, 408  
   female, 412, 414, 415, 500  
   in Ottoman literature, 418  
   in poetry, 91, 476, 500  
   in premodern Islamic literature, 484  
   Qur’an on, 532  
 homosexuals, names for, 68  
 houses,  
   Jewish, 220  
   prayer inside, 271, 273, 279  
   in Southeast Asia, 303–304  
   wives needing permission to leave, 312  
*hukāmat-i zan* (government of women day, Iran), 46  
 human rights abuses,  
   in Morocco, 115  
   in South Africa, 120  
 humor,  
   in Ottoman Empire, 437–438, 494  
   in Southeast Europe, 438–439  
*hūr/houris* (maidens of Paradise), 401–402, 454  
 hypogamy, 203  
  
*‘ibādat* (religious observances), 271, 282, 314  
 identities,  
   African-Islamic, 166  
   construction of, and pilgrimage, 318  
   Palestinian, 118  
   in South Africa, 38  
   of women  
     North African, 159  
     West European Muslims, 184  
 ideology,  
   gendered, in Iran, 257  
   Soviet, gender equality in, 66  
   “ignorant ones,” women as, 267  
*ibrām*, state of, 319, 321, 331  
*ijmā’*, 351  
 illiteracy (see literacy)  
*imam hatip* high schools (Turkey), 348

- imāmbāras* (residences of *imāms*), 388–389  
 Imazighen (see Berbers)  
 immigrants,  
   African, in Europe, 27  
   literature of, 24, 25  
 improvisatory music, 191–192  
 incarceration, of disobedient wives, 312  
 incest,  
   in dreams, 408  
   proverbs on, 521  
 independent vicegerents (*Khilāfa*), women as, 254  
 infertility, and pilgrimage, 325, 330  
 inheritance rights of women,  
   in early Islam, 200, 203  
   and *waqfs*, 373, 389–390  
 initiation rituals, 442  
 instrumental music, metered, 193  
 intermarriage, 303  
 Internet,  
   calculation of *zakāt* on, 392, 393  
   and conversion to Islam, 294, 306  
   Muslim women's use of, 105, 237  
   in Iran, 503  
   in South Africa, 180  
   in Western Europe, 183  
   poetry platforms on, 80, 104  
   source for journalism, 175  
 interpretations of dreams, 406–409  
 'Isāwī Sufi order, 340  
 Islam,  
   and Africanness, 298  
   on cinema, 35–36  
   criticism of, by West African women writers, 26, 27  
   early  
     and position of women, 196–198  
     in Central Asia, 200–203  
     in Iran, 204–208  
     in South Asia, 205–208  
   and female genital mutilation, 37  
   media coverage of, 505–506  
   and modernization, 209–214, 255, 262, 506  
   on music and dance, 45, 73, 188  
   on pilgrimage to saint shrines, 327, 331, 360  
   and popular culture  
     in Indonesia, 99–100, 102  
     in Northern Nigeria, 112  
     in Turkey, 110–111  
   representations of  
     in African films, 36  
     in South African media, 179  
   saints in, 223  
   in South Africa, 178  
   syncretism in, 287  
   and visual arts, 154  
   in Western Europe, 182  
   on women prophets, 351–352  
 Islamic calendrical celebrations, 365, 370  
 Islamic cinema, 433  
 Islamic cultures, African, 35, 36  
 Islamic feminism, 261–262, 308, 558–559  
 Islamic law, 198  
   on apostasy, 291  
   in Malaysia, 511  
   non-Islamic influences in, 198  
   in Northern Nigeria, 112  
   on pilgrimage to Mecca, 320–321, 332  
 Islamic mysticism, 227, 230, 316  
 Islamic revivalism,  
   in Central Asia, 287  
   in East Africa, 289  
   premodern, 212  
   in Turkey, 371  
   women preachers in, 338–339  
 Islamic scholars (see ulema)  
 Islamic schools, in Western Europe, 245  
 Islamic societies,  
   music in, 189–194  
   non-Muslims in, 216, 219–222, 286  
 Islamic teachers, female, 269  
 Islamist movement,  
   in Central Asia, 287  
   in Egypt, 3  
   media of, 110, 181, 182  
   and modernization, 210, 212, 213  
   in Palestine, 117–118  
   in South Asia, 344–345  
   women in, 184, 213–214, 264, 273  
   preachers, 336, 346–347  
   writers, 29  
 Islamization,  
   of Central Asia, 127  
   of epics, 450, 451  
  
*jamarāt* ritual (throwing of pebbles at pillars), 319, 320  
*jarigan* drama, 144  
 Javanese culture, 413, 414  
 Javanese woman, ideal of, 412–413  
 jazz, in Azerbaijan, 65  
 jewelry, 156, 393  
 Jewish texts,  
   Abraham in, 216  
   on Muslim-Jewish interaction, 219  
   on Wiles of Women, 558  
 Jews,  
   attempting to kill Muḥammad, 218  
   Bukharan, 66  
   in Islamic literature, 217–219  
   in Islamic societies, 216, 219–222  
   in Morocco, 220, 226  
*jīna* messages, 84  
*jinn* (spirits), 47, 127, 229, 328, 442, 450, 557  
 jokes (see humor)  
 journalists,  
   women, 174  
   in Arab states, 174–175  
   in Gulf states, 176–177  
   in Iran, 177, 178  
   in South Africa, 178–179  
   in Turkey, 180–182  
 judgment day, signs of, 401  
*juma'a ṣalāt* (see Friday prayers)  
  
*Ka'ba* (Mecca pilgrimage), 318–319  
*kāfirūn* (unbelievers/infidels), 219  
*kāhināt* (diviner-prophetesses), 351  
 kanthas, 162  
*kaqazbahazi* dance (Afghanistan), 41  
*kathak* music, 74, 75  
*kayd* (deceit/stratagem), 556, 557, 558  
*khammāri* dance, 53–54  
*khanandas* (traditional singers), 64  
*khānaqāhs* (Sufi hospices), 396, 498, 499  
 khanates, in Central Asia, 203  
*khawals* (male dancers), 68, 70  
*khyāl* music, 75, 76  
 kilim production, 156–157  
 Kiswahili (see Swahili language)  
*köçek* (male dancers), 68  
*koteba* drama, 147  
 Kran dancers (Liberia), 62

- Kurban Bayramı* (see Eid al-Adha celebrations)
- Kurdish language, women's magazines in, 181
- laments, 233
- landays* poetry, 41, 77
- language,
- mixing, 246
  - women's use of
    - in Caucasus, 233
    - in Iran, 234–235
    - in North Africa, 236–237
    - in Ottoman Empire, 240–242
    - in Turkey, 243–244
    - in Western Europe, 244–246
    - in Yemen, 247–248
- lapar* dance, 66
- law (see also Islamic law),
- related to *waqfs*, 380, 383
- Laylat al-Badr, 368
- Laylat al-Mi'rāj, 368
- Laylat al-Qadr, 368
- leaf writings, 490
- learning centers, in Southeast Asia, 445
- legends and epics,
- in Caucasus, 440
  - in Central Asia, 127, 440–441
  - in East Africa, 442–443
  - in Ottoman Empire, 443–444
  - in South Asia, 446, 448, 498–499
  - in Southeast Asia, 445–448, 490
  - in Southeast Europe, 51–52
  - in Turkey, 131, 449, 494
  - in West Africa, 450–451
- lesbianism,
- in fiction, 412, 414, 415
  - in poetry, 500
- levirate marriage, 203
- line dancing, 124
- lips, 455–456
- literacy rates of women, in Morocco, 56 n2, 327
- literary journals, in Central Asia, 81
- literary sources, on pre-Islamic Arabia, 196
- literature (see also fiction writing; poetry),
- of premodern Islam, 484–501
  - Sufi, 498, 535–539
- logari* dance (Afghanistan), 41
- love,
- of God, 282, 498, 537, 539, 543
  - in premodern Islamic literature, 486
  - theme
    - in legends and epics, 449, 495
    - in poetry and songs, 41, 77, 84, 87–88, 91, 135–136, 138, 240, 458, 459, 475, 476, 478, 489, 491–492, 498, 499–500, 501
- lullabies, 41, 42, 458–459
- lyric romances, 495–496
- lyrical poetry (see also *ghazal*), 488–489, 496
- medieval, 424–425
- lyrics of songs, 457, 459, 464
- maddād* (religious cantors), 339
- madrasas*,
- in Iran, 382, 383
  - in South Africa, 341–342
  - in South Asia, 344, 389
- magazines,
- art, 158
  - Muslim, in Western Europe, 183
  - women's
    - in Indonesia, 100
    - in Iran, 177–178, 503
    - in Ottoman Empire, 241
    - in South Africa, 343
    - in Southeast Asia, 106–107
    - in Turkey, 180, 181, 515
    - Western, 181
- magical realism, in Iranian fiction, 21
- maigizo* theater, 108, 109
- majālis/majlis* rituals, 59, 343, 344
- makrāb*, 238
- Malay language, 445
- Maliki school of Islam, 277, 311, 327, 376
- Mamluk women, 373, 375
- manawun* song, 59
- mandba* dance, 55
- Mande culture, 61, 450
- mani* oral genre, 526
- manuals and advice books, 275, 411, 485–486, 494–495
- maqam* singers, 128
- marabouts (see also saints), 225
- marriage (see also weddings),
- age of, 56 n1
  - conversion linked to, 289–290, 293–294, 296, 302, 303–305
  - Islamic, 197
  - levirate, 203
  - motif in epics and legends, 441, 443
  - non-Muslim, registered in Islamic courts, 286
  - practices of Western European Muslim women, 245
  - proverbs on, 519, 520–521, 525, 528
  - rituals, Berber, 191
  - songs/poetry about, 135–136, 190–191
  - in Sufism, 538–539
  - of West African Muslim women, 281
- marsiya* singers, 43
- martyrs, 223
- ma'shiyya* (sinful disobedience to God), 310
- masks, 62
- masnavi*, 499
- matriarchal societies, 196
- matriarchs, 217
- matriline genealogies, 203
- matrilocality, 491–492
- mawālid* (poems in honor of the Prophet Muḥammad's life), 366
- mawlid* (*mawlūd*, *mevlid kasidesi*, *mīlād*, *milūdiyya*, Prophet's birthday) celebrations, 55, 59, 360, 363, 365, 366, 370–371
- mazars* (places of pilgrimage), 223
- media,
- Islamist, 110, 181, 182
  - presence of women in, 66
    - in Afghanistan, 96–97
    - in Arab states, 174–175
    - in Central Asia, 97–98
    - in Gulf states, 176–177
    - in Iran, 177–178
    - in North America, 104
    - in South Africa, 178–180
    - in Southeast Asia, 107
    - in Turkey, 180–182
    - in Western Europe, 182–184, 245
    - in Zanzibar and Tanzania, 184–186
  - representations of women in, 99, 101–102, 108–109, 110, 425–426
    - in China, 358
    - in Iran, 503
    - in North Africa, 504–505
    - in North America, 505–507
    - in South Africa, 508–509

- in Southeast Asia, 509–514
  - in Turkey, 514–516
- storytelling in, 110, 125
- women's consumption of, 110
- medical practitioners (see healers)
- medical views, on love and the female body, 486
- medieval epics, 440
- medieval poetry, 424–425
- memoirs, 24
  - of women, 121, 130, 237
- menkibe* storytelling, 127
- menstruation,
  - as metaphor, 539
  - and religious practices, 271, 274, 275, 276, 278, 320–321
  - and sexual relations, 531
- metaphors,
  - for beloved, 88
  - for female body, 453–456, 547, 550
  - female physical attributes as, 539
  - gender, 479–481
  - for women in proverbs, 526–527
- metered songs, 192–193
- mevluds*, 348
- micro-credit, 378
  - and cash *waqfs*, 380, 381
- military music, 191
- miniature painting, 551
- minstrels, 43, 91, 418–419, 458
  - female, 57
    - in Iran, 73
    - in South Asia, 463
    - in Turkey, 12, 91, 464
  - in South Asia, 10
- miracles,
  - of prophets, 352, 354
  - of saints, 223, 229
- miscarriages, 275
- misogyny,
  - in folktales, 125, 486–487
  - of Islamic exegetes, 254, 261, 267, 559
  - in premodern Islamic literature, 486, 495, 496, 499
  - in Sufi literature, 538, 539
- missionary activities,
  - in Central Asia, 287
  - Islamic (*da'wa*), 294, 295, 306, 350
  - in Mexico, 292
  - in North America, 294
- modernismo* literature, 421
- modernization, and Islam, 209–214, 255, 262, 506
- modesty, 250–251
- money lending, 377
- Moorish culture, 300
- Moriscos, 292
- mosques,
  - facilities for ablutions, 277
  - Hatuniye, 394
  - lectures at, 239
  - schools in, 374
  - women's groups at, 236
  - women's participation and attendance, 190, 250, 270, 272, 276, 279, 284, 293, 362, 368, 390
- motherhood,
  - in poetry, 242, 479, 481–482
  - proverbs on, 518–519, 521–522, 524, 525, 527
  - Qur'anic exegetes on, 249, 251, 264
  - in visual arts, 550
- mothers-in-law,
  - conflicts with daughters in-law, 526
  - proverbs on, 519, 525
- moussems* (saint festivals), 226, 328–329
- mugham* singers (Azerbaijan), 43, 64, 458
- muhabazatiyya* theater, 545
- muhabbet* narration, 123
- muhādarāt* (lectures), 239
- Muharram feast and rituals, 10, 121, 144, 272, 350, 360, 362, 366, 371
- muqadems* (caretakers of saint tombs), 226
- Muridyya Sufi order (Muridism), 332, 333–334
- music in Islamic societies, 189–194
  - in Central Asia, 4, 5, 7, 64, 97–98, 458
  - classical, 49
  - in East Asia, 107
  - improvisatory, 191–192
  - in Iran, 5–6, 458–460
  - military, 191
  - in Ottoman Empire, 6–7
  - in South Asia, 8, 9, 10, 76, 457, 460–463
  - in Tanzania, 108, 109
  - in Turkey, 11–12, 464–465
- musical groups, 53, 66, 71–72, 73, 462
- musical instruments,
  - in Afghanistan, 41
  - in Caucasus, 43, 65
  - in Central Asia, 67
  - in Gulf states, 53, 71–72
  - played by women, 193, 457, 462–463, 464, 465
  - in Turkey, 60
- musical training,
  - in Afghanistan, 457
  - in India, 9
  - in Ottoman Empire, 6–7, 57
  - in Turkey, 11–12, 464
- musicians,
  - female, 45, 46, 53, 58, 188, 193, 194
    - in Azerbaijan, 64–65
    - in Central Asia, 66–67
    - in Gulf states and Saudi Arabia, 71–72
    - in Iran, 73, 74, 459
    - in North America, 104
    - perceptions of, 188–189, 457
    - in South Asia, 75, 461, 462–463
    - in Turkey, 464
  - status of, 71, 73
- Muslim Brotherhoods (*turuq*), 289
- Muslim population,
  - in North America
    - self-identification of, 24, 25
    - women, 24–26, 103–105, 151, 254, 505–507
  - in South Africa, 119, 178–180
  - in Western Europe, 106, 182–183, 281–284
    - women, 182–184, 244–246, 349–350
- mutrib*s (entertainers, Iran), 49
- muwashshah* music, 7
- “mystic” television programs, in Turkey, 111
- mystical dance, 371
- mystical poetry,
  - qawwālī*, 59, 76, 330, 363, 367
  - Sufi, 10, 59, 190
- mysticism, Islamic, 227, 230, 316
- mystics, Sufi women, 190, 227–228, 371
- mythical women, in legends and epics, 448
- mythology, women in, 201
- myths (see legends and epics)
- nalbaki* dance (Caucasus), 44
- names, of Jewish women, 221
- naming ceremonies, 62
- nande baeth* (song), 59
- narratives,
  - of afterlife, 400–402



- biographical, 127  
of dreams, 406  
popular, 486–487  
votive, 130  
on *waqfs*, 372  
nation-states, formation of, 211  
national costumes, in visual arts, 550, 552–553, 554  
national romances, 28  
nationalism,  
anti-colonial, 213  
in Indonesia, 98  
and metaphors of female body, 453–454, 547, 550  
theme in poetry, 481  
*nautanki* drama, 143–144  
*nayikas* (allegorical representations of women), 462  
*nazire* poetry, 89  
*ndepp* dance, 148  
needlework, Sudanese, 165  
neoclassical poetry, 475  
“New Wave” films, 431  
new year celebrations, 44, 368  
newspapers,  
in Gulf states, 176  
in Iran, 503  
in North America, 506–507  
in South Africa, 179, 508–509  
in Southeast Asia, 511, 512  
in Turkey, 515  
*ngoma* groups (Tanzania), 108  
NGOs,  
in Indonesia, 101  
in Malaysia, 511  
in Pakistan, 397  
in Turkey, 399  
nightclubs, 1, 2, 3  
nights, special religious, 368, 370  
*niṣāb* (threshold for payment of *zakāt*), 392  
*niya* (intention), 277  
nomadic women, 203  
non-Muslims,  
in Islamic societies, 216, 219–220, 286  
and pilgrimage to Mecca, 323  
nudity, in visual arts, 168, 549, 550  
*nushuz* (disobedience), 309, 310–312
- obedience, obligation for women, 309–312, 442  
occupational songs, 191  
odalisques, Muslim women referred to as, 469  
offerings, votive, 330  
Oghuz society, 200  
Omani Arabs, ruling East African coast, 288  
opening formulas, of stories, 133  
operas, in Azerbaijan, 64, 458  
oppositional narratives, 256  
oral poetry, 81, 82, 91, 93, 114  
oral testimonies, of women, 114–115, 116, 118–119, 122–123  
oral traditions (see also storytelling), 494, 498  
in Afghanistan, 125  
in Eastern Europe, 50  
in North Africa, 523  
Turkish, 526  
in West Africa, 132  
Orientalism, 153, 252–253, 466–467  
in Argentina literature, 421, 422  
criticism of, 154, 252  
in painting, 504, 553  
*orta oyumu* theater, 149, 418, 437, 545  
*otinchas* (women religious teachers), 337  
*otnae* (women spiritual teachers), 269, 337
- painters,  
Arab, 550  
Southeast European, 552  
Western, portrayal of Oriental women by, 504, 547  
*pantun* poetry, 491, 492  
Paradise, Qurʾan on, 400, 401, 402, 404  
*pāshā*, title of, 201  
Pashto language, poetry written in, 77  
pastoralism, 203  
patriarchy,  
in African poetry, 93  
in East African Muslim societies, 128–129  
patrons of art,  
Ottoman sultans, 160  
women, 153, 155, 156, 160–161, 201–202, 223, 393  
performers (see also dancers; singers),  
of epics, 450, 451  
female (see also actresses), 106  
in Afghanistan, 4, 41–42, 48, 49, 65, 96, 457  
in Arab states, 13, 30, 31, 71–72, 247  
in Central Asia, 43, 45, 49, 64–67, 97  
in Egypt, 1–2, 68–71  
in India, 8–9, 10, 49  
in Iran, 6, 49, 73–74  
in North Africa, 236  
in Ottoman Empire, 57  
perceptions of, 68, 71, 457  
in South Asia, 49, 74–76, 460, 461  
in Tanzania, 108  
in Turkey, 38, 68–71  
in West Africa, 94, 451  
male, of belly dancing, 3  
of solo improvised dance, 47, 48  
perpetuity principle, in *waqfs*, 378  
Persian language,  
forms of address in, 234–235  
literature in, 485  
poetry in, 454, 455, 487–489  
personal status laws, 211, 251, 254  
photographers, women, 548  
photography, 159  
Ottoman, 552  
Western, portrayal of Oriental women in, 504, 547  
pianists, female, 64–65  
piety, 270, 271, 279, 280–281, 283, 314–317, 327  
pilgrimage, 318  
to Mecca (*hajj*), 217, 274, 281, 318–323, 326, 331–333  
to saint shrines, 322, 360  
in Caucasus, 324  
in Central Asia, 223–224, 325–326  
in North Africa, 225–227, 326–329  
in South Africa, 362, 363  
in South Asia, 228–230, 275, 329–331, 366  
in Southeast Europe, 369  
in Turkey, 230–231, 348  
by Sufis, 333–334  
pilgrims,  
female, 322, 324–325, 327–328, 329–330, 331, 332–334  
non-Muslim, 222, 323  
plays,  
experimental, 544  
poetic drama, 138  
playwrights,  
Arab, 544, 545  
Ottoman, 545–546  
women, 141, 142, 145, 150–151, 544  
poetry (see also songs),  
in Arab states, 77–80, 475–477, 489–490, 544  
in Central Asia, 80–82, 477–479

- commemorative, 366  
 didactic, 340  
 in Iran, 84–86, 417, 459, 487–488  
 lyrical (see also *ghazal*), 424–425, 488–489, 496  
 in North America, 103–104  
 oral, 81, 82, 91, 93, 114  
 in Ottoman Empire, 87–89, 240, 418–419, 456, 496  
 Persian, 454, 455, 487–489  
 political, 82, 83  
 pre-Islamic, 196  
 religious, 83  
 in South Asia, 77, 499–501  
 in Southeast Asia, 446, 491–492  
 in Southeast Europe, 89–91, 424–425  
 Sufi, 59, 456, 463, 537–538  
 Swahili, 82–84, 479–481  
 in Turkey, 91–92, 420, 481–482  
 Urdu, 75, 500–501  
 in West Africa, 93–95, 135–136
- poets,  
   female, 193, 236  
     in Arab states, 77–80, 247, 476, 477  
     in Central Asia, 80–82, 478–479  
     in East Africa, 82–84  
     in Eastern Europe, 89–91  
     in Iran, 84–86, 416  
     in North America, 103–104  
     in Ottoman Empire, 87–89, 240, 241, 242  
     in South Asia, 96, 500  
     in Turkey, 91–92, 481–482  
     in West Africa, 93–95
- political art,  
   poetry, 82, 83  
   theater, 144, 145  
   visual arts, 155
- political prisoners, Moroccan women, 115
- politics,  
   gendered, of modernity, 209  
   of remembering, 113  
   of reproduction, in Palestine, 117  
   women broadcasters in, 186
- polygamy, 250, 261  
   among Jews, 220  
   in Indonesia, 510  
   in pre-Islamic Arabia, 196  
   proverbs on, 521, 523  
   rejection of, 259, 292–293  
   in South Africa, 299  
   in West African literature, 27
- popular culture,  
   in Afghanistan, 96–97  
   in Central Asia, 97–98  
   in Indonesia, 98–102  
   and Muslim women in North America, 103–105  
   in Ottoman Empire, 419  
   in Southeast Asia, 105–108  
   in Tanzania, 108–109, 148  
   in Turkey, 110–111  
   in West Africa, 111–112
- popular narratives (see folktales)
- pornography, Indonesian campaign against, 512–514
- portraits,  
   weaving of, 156  
   of women, 549, 551–552
- postcards,  
   colonial, 504, 547  
   female nudity on, 549, 550
- postmodernism, in Turkish novels, 29
- pottery, 172
- power, and authority, 488
- power relations, inversion of, 123, 124, 131–132
- praise poetry, 135–136
- praise singers, 94, 194
- prayer groups, 335
- prayer meetings, 272
- prayers,  
   at funerals, 370  
   by women, 269, 270–271, 273, 277–278, 279, 282, 283  
   Friday, 365, 370
- pre-Islamic period,  
   and pilgrimage to Mecca, 318, 319  
   poetry in, 196  
   societies in, 196, 197–198  
   women prophets in, 351
- preachers,  
   female  
     in Arab states, 335–336, 337–339  
     in Central Asia, 336–337  
     in Iran, 339–340  
     in North Africa, 340–341  
     in South Africa, 341–343  
     in South Asia, 343–345  
     in Southeast Europe, 369  
     in Sudan, 346–347  
     in Sufism, 337, 338, 340, 349, 542  
     in Turkey, 335, 347–348  
     in Western European Muslim communities, 349–350
- premodern Islam,  
   literature of, 484–501  
   revivalism in, 212
- premodern Western literature, 484
- Prespa Albanians, 190–191
- prison inmates, conversion to Islam by, 295
- private spheres, 211, 213
- processions, 362, 363, 366
- promiscuity of women, in erotic literature, 411
- property ownership, by women, 372, 373, 374, 392–393
- prophets,  
   false, 351  
   female, 351–354, 529
- prostitution,  
   and dance and music performances, 2, 45, 49, 68  
   forced, 508  
   in South Asia, 49
- proverbs,  
   in Egypt and Sudan, 517–520  
   in Gulf states, 520–522  
   in Iran, 522  
   Malay, 491  
   in North Africa, 523–524  
   Turkish, 243, 244, 524–527  
   in Yemen, 527–528
- public spaces,  
   dichotomy with private spaces, 213  
   religious practices in, 270, 283  
   and women, 211, 373
- publishers,  
   African, 94  
   women's presses, in Kuwait, 176
- punishments,  
   for disobedient wives, 310, 530  
   for withholding *zakāt*, 391
- puppet theater, 147–148
- purity,  
   caste-based, 275  
   of women, 273, 275, 277
- Qājār women, 383
- qānitāt* (righteous women), 309

- Qarakhānid women, 200–201  
*qawwālī* mystical poetry/song, 59, 76, 330, 363, 367  
*qawwāmūn* (authority of husband over wife), 309  
*qira'a* (see Qur'ānic recitation)  
*qiyān* (singers/servants), 193  
 Qur'ān,  
   Abraham in, 216  
   on afterlife, 400–402  
   on creation, 403–405, 523, 530, 535, 536  
   and dream interpretation, 406  
   on *ka'ba*, 319  
   memorization of, 342, 346  
   on obedience of women, 309, 311  
   Orientalist exegesis of, 253  
   on piety, 314, 315  
   reading of, 239, 279  
   Sāra and Hājar in, 216  
   and *tafsīr*, 266–268  
   translations of, 243, 258, 259, 260, 261  
   on wiles of women, 556, 558, 559  
   on women and gender roles, 249–268, 454, 529–532  
   on women prophets, 351, 352  
   on women's rights, 249, 250, 251  
   on *zakāt*, 391, 392  
 Qur'ānic exegetes,  
   on creation of woman, 403–405, 530  
   interpretations of women by, 249–268, 556, 559  
 Qur'ānic recitation (*qira'a*), 192  
   by women, 67, 188, 278, 337, 342, 346, 370
- radio (see also media),  
   portrayal of women on, 503  
   stations  
     in Afghanistan, 4, 42, 457  
     Muslim Western European, 245  
     in South Africa, 179, 343, 509  
     in Tanzania, 186  
   women working in, 185
- Ramadan, 370  
   celebrations at end of (see Eid al-Fitr celebrations)  
   preparations for, 55  
   storytelling at, 132  
   women's activities at, 278
- rape, in Balkan wars, 426  
*raqs baladī* (see belly dancing)  
*raqs sharqī* (see belly dancing)  
*raqs-i ayna* (mirror dance), 47  
*raqs-i Gugūshi*, 47  
*raqs-i mujassama* (statue dance), 47  
*rawzas*, 360
- realism,  
   in film, 429, 430  
   in poetry, 481, 482  
   in visual arts, 553–554
- reformist Islam, 281, 365  
*rekhti* (women's songs of domesticity), 500–501
- relationality, female, 249
- religious books, 277
- religious commemorations,  
   in Argentina, 355–356  
   in China, 357–358  
   in Gulf states, 359–360  
   in Iran, 360–361  
   in South Africa, 361–365  
   in South Asia, 365–367  
   in Southeast Europe, 367–369  
   in Turkey, 370–371
- religious communities, of women, 236–237
- religious education,  
   for Muslims in Western Europe, 282  
   for women and girls, 280, 335, 339, 340, 341–342, 344, 346, 348, 358
- religious healers, 287
- religious poetry, 83
- religious scholars (see ulema)
- religious studies, 252, 254
- religious terms, use of, 233, 238, 243–244, 245–246
- religious treatises, 445–446
- remembrances of women,  
   from Eastern Europe, 122–124  
   from Iran, 113  
   from North Africa, 114–115  
   from Palestine, 116–118  
   from South Africa, 118–120  
   from South Asia, 121–122
- reproduction, politics of, in Palestine, 117
- reproductive capacities of women, and women's rights, 250
- revelations, 352
- revivalism,  
   Islamic, 212, 287, 289, 371  
   women preachers in, 338–339
- revolution, in Iran (1979), 113
- riddles,  
   in North Africa, 524  
   in poetry, 83  
   in Turkey, 527
- ritual communities, 367
- ritual sacrifice, 364–365
- rituals,  
   *'amal*, 344  
   *cem*, 61  
   of death, 233  
   of initiation, 442  
   Islamic, 295  
   of marriage, 191  
   of pilgrimage, 224, 225, 325, 328  
     to Mecca, 318, 319, 320–321  
   of spirit possession, 46–47, 62, 148, 289, 333  
   women's, 361
- Roma, 69
- romance novels, 533–534
- royal women, in legends and epics, 446–447
- rūf* singing and dancing, 59
- rural areas, folk dancing and folk singing in, 45–47
- sacrifice, ritual, 364–365
- Safavids, 291  
   women, 207, 383
- sā'ī* ritual (pilgrimage to Mecca), 319
- saints,  
   blessings of, 327, 363  
   in Christianity, 225  
   cult of, 325  
   female, 201, 223–232  
   festivals, 370  
   in Islam, 223  
   shrines of  
   in Arab states, 224–225  
   in Central Asia, 223–224, 325  
   in North Africa, 225–227, 326–327  
   in Ottoman Empire, 227–228  
   in South Africa, 362  
   in South Asia, 228–230, 329–331, 366  
   in Southeast Europe, 369  
   in Turkey, 230–231  
   women's access to, 330–331

- šajkača* (floppy hat), 439  
 Salafī movement, 360  
*sāmri* song and dance, 53  
 Sande (Sierra Leone, Liberia), 61–62  
 Sanskrit language,  
     drama in, 143  
     in Southeast Asia, 445  
 satellite television channels, 176  
 savings, for pilgrimage to Mecca, 323  
*saz* (musical instrument), 61  
 sculptures, women, 156, 169–170, 172  
 seclusion of women, 201, 411  
     in Iran, 205  
 secret societies, of women, 61  
 secularization,  
     and gender equality, 211  
     in Indonesia, 99  
     in Iran, 383  
     in Turkey, 28, 70  
 self-censorship, in Arab media, 175  
 self-identification, of Muslims in North America, 24, 25  
 Seljuks, 206  
     women, 201–202  
*semah* performances, 57, 70  
 Sennar rulers of Sudan, 164  
 sermons, 271  
     at Eid celebrations, 359  
*sevdalinka* (medieval lyrical poetry), 424–425  
 sex education manuals, 411  
 sex slavery, 508  
 sexual exploitation, in West African literature, 27  
 sexual masquerading, 544–545  
 sexual refusal, as form of disobedience, 310–311, 312  
 sexual relations,  
     Muslim-Jewish, 221  
     Qurʾān on, 531–532  
 sexuality,  
     in Arab feminist literature, 412  
     female  
         and advertising, 515–516  
         control of, 304, 411  
         in European travel accounts of Muslim women,  
             467, 468, 469, 473  
         in premodern Islamic literature, 484–501  
     in humorous stories, 437  
     in Islamic dream interpretation, 407–409  
     in poetry, 476–477  
     in popular culture, 100  
     proverbs on, 524  
     in women’s literature, 26, 413–415  
*shaʿbāna* celebrations, 55  
 shadow theater, 417, 437–438, 545  
 Shāfiʿī school of Islam, 277, 288, 310  
*shairi* poetry, 83  
 Shariʿa,  
     implementation of  
         in Aceh, 510–511, 512  
         in Malaysia, 511  
     interpretations of, 254  
 shelters, for women, 399  
 Shiʿī Islam,  
     ʿAshūrā celebrations, 55, 335–336  
     in Central Asia, 287  
     in China, 358  
     on disobedience of women, 311  
     gender role discourses in, 256  
     in Iran, 291  
     in Lebanon, 335–336  
     *majlis* performances, 59, 343, 366  
     music in, 10  
     religious commemorations in, 359, 360–361, 367,  
         371  
     saints in, 224–225, 229  
     in South Asia, 344, 388–389  
     storytelling in, 126, 275  
     theater in, 144  
     women preachers in, 335–336, 344, 350  
     on women prophets, 353–354  
*shikhāt*, 114  
 shrines of saints,  
     in Arab states, 224–225  
     in Central Asia, 223–224, 325  
     in North Africa, 225–227, 326–327  
     in Ottoman Empire, 227–228  
     in South Asia, 228–230, 329–331, 366  
     in Turkey, 230–231  
     women’s access to, 330–331  
 siblingship, 492  
*ṣiddīqas* (righteous women), 352, 353  
*signares*, 171  
 silk painting, 156  
 singers, 43, 64, 128, 458  
     female, 1, 2, 31, 69, 192–193  
         in Afghanistan, 41, 42, 96, 457  
         in Azerbaijan, 64  
         in Central Asia, 128  
         in Eastern Europe, 51  
         in Iran, 460  
         in South Asia, 58, 75–76, 190, 462  
         in Tanzania, 109  
         in Turkey, 60, 61  
         in West Africa, 94  
     praise, 94, 194  
 singing (see folk dancing and folk singing)  
*sīra* (prophetic biographies of Muḥammad), 217–218  
 slavery and bonded labor,  
     and conversion to Islam, 289, 296  
     in early Islam, 205  
     in Judaism, 221  
     in Ottoman Empire, 6  
     in South Africa, 508  
 slaves,  
     sexual relations with, 531  
     singing girls, 485  
     *waqfs* created by, 387  
 social order, and pilgrimage, 318, 322  
 social status, and pilgrimage to Mecca, 322, 333  
 socialist realism, 553–554  
 societies,  
     Islamic  
         music in, 189–194  
         non-Muslims in, 216, 219–222  
     pre-Islamic, 196, 197–198  
     secret, of women, 61  
 sodomy, 532  
*sogo bo* puppet theater, 147–148  
 solo dancing, improvised, 47, 48  
 songs,  
     Berber, 114, 191  
     bridal, 41, 72, 135–136, 190, 191  
     lyrics of, 457, 459, 464  
     metered, 192–193  
     occupational, 191  
     of pilgrims, 331  
     praise poetry, 135–136  
     South Asian, 59, 500–501  
     Southeast European, 51–52, 123–124  
*sougounougou* drama, 148

- souls, struggles of, 536, 541  
 soup kitchens, 395  
*souwere* paintings, 171  
 speech, female forms of, 233, 236  
 spells, 493  
 spirit possession rituals/dances, 46–47, 62, 148, 289, 333  
 spiritual equality, 249  
 spirituality, in praise poetry, 136  
 stand-up comedy, women in, 104, 151  
 states (see governments)  
 stick dancing, 46  
 stoning, 532  
 storytelling,  
   in Arab states, 126–127  
   in Central Asia, 127–128  
   in East Africa, 128–129  
   in Eastern Europe, 123  
   in Egypt, 126, 127  
   in Iran, 130  
   in South Asia, 125, 501  
   in Turkey, 110, 131–132  
   in West Africa, 132–134  
   in Yemen, 247  
 street theater, 145  
 Sufi orders,  
   in Anatolia, 202  
   in South Asia, 205, 228–229  
   in West Africa, 332, 333  
 Sufi women, 46, 55, 202, 342, 541–543  
   mystics, 190, 227–228, 371  
 preachers, 337, 338, 340, 349, 542  
 Sufiana Kalam (Words of the Sufis) mystical poetry,  
   10, 59, 190  
 Sufism,  
   asceticism in, 541, 542–543  
   celibacy and marriage in, 538–539, 542  
   in Central Asia, 336–337  
   literature  
     poetry, 59, 456, 463, 537–538  
     premodern, 498  
     representations of women in, 535–539  
   in Mexico, 292  
   in Morocco, 236, 328  
   music and dance, 10, 70, 190, 194  
   in North America, 295  
   piety in, 316  
   religious commemorations in, 368, 370–371  
   saints in, 223, 227–228, 229–231, 329, 331  
   in South Asia, 121, 396–397, 463, 499, 501  
   in Turkey, 230  
   in Western Europe, 306, 307  
 Swahili community, in East Africa, 288, 289  
 Swahili language,  
   poetry in, 82–84, 442, 479–481  
   popular drama in, 108  
 syncretism, in Islam, 287  
  
*taarab* song and music, 108, 109, 148–149  
*ta'aruf*, 48  
 Tabaski celebrations (end of Ramadan), 61  
*tabung haji* (*haji* savings), 323  
*tafsīr* literature, 258, 261  
   early, 266–268  
   on Sāra and Hājar, 216  
 Ṭahīrī school of Islam, 311  
 Taliban regime (Afghanistan), 96  
   protests against, 77  
*tamasha* drama, 143  
 Tanzimat reforms, 212  
  
*taqqāqāt* (female musicians), 53, 71–72  
*taqwā* (piety), 314, 315–317  
*tarcan zeybeği* dance, 58, 60  
*tarrāgt* dance, 54  
*tariq* practice (right of way), 285  
 Tatars, 52  
*tawāf* ritual (circumambulation of the *ka'ba*), 319, 320–321  
*tawhīd* ceremonies, 369  
 teeth, 456  
 television (see also media),  
   in Indonesia, 100, 101, 510  
   portrayal of women on, 503  
   private stations and channels, 110, 176, 185  
   in Turkey, 111  
   women working in, 185  
 temptress motifs, in epics and legends, 443  
 testimonies, oral, of women, 114–115, 116, 118–119, 122–123  
 textile arts, 162, 166  
 theater,  
   in Arab states, 137–138, 544–545  
   in Central Asia, 139–140  
   in Iran, 140–141  
   in Ottoman Empire, 141–143, 545–546  
   in South Asia, 143–145  
   in Southeast Europe, 145–147  
   in Sub-Saharan Africa, 108, 147–149  
   in Turkey, 149–150  
   in United States, by Muslim women, 150–152  
   women directors, 147, 149, 150, 151  
 Third Cinema films, 453  
*thumri* music, 74, 75, 76  
 tombs, sites for pilgrimage (see pilgrimage to saint shrines)  
 tourism, from East Asia to Islamic countries, 107  
 toys, made by Sudanese women, 165  
*to'ys* (family celebrations), 67  
 trade routes, in East Africa, 288  
 trade unions,  
   of journalists, 176–177  
   in Iran, 177, 178  
   in Tanzania, 186  
 training,  
   of actresses and dancers, 2, 142, 144, 146  
   in broadcasting, 185  
   in journalism, 174  
   of musicians, 6–7, 9, 11–12, 57, 457, 464  
   in visual arts, 153, 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 165–166, 168, 169, 171, 550, 551  
 trance ceremonies, 13  
 transsexuals, 71  
 transvestism, theatrical, 144  
 travel accounts,  
   of Anatolian women, 202–203, 231  
   of Jewish women, 221  
   of the Levant, 220  
   of Muslim women, 466–473, 504  
     dancers, 1, 69, 462  
   of pilgrimage to Mecca, 323  
   of Safavid women, 207  
   by women, 425, 470–473  
 travelers,  
   female, 333  
   Jewish, 221–222  
*tugs* (flags at saint shrines), 325  
*tuluāt* theater, 545  
 Turkish language, 201, 240, 243  
*ṭuruq* (Muslim Brotherhoods), 289  
*tyi wara* drama, 148

- ‘udhrī* poetry, 489  
 ulema,  
     female, 93, 254, 335, 349  
     Indonesian, 276, 512  
     Iranian, 257  
     on pilgrimage to saint shrines, 327  
 unveiling, 210  
*unyago* rituals (initiation of girls), 442  
 urban areas,  
     folk dancing and folk singing in, 47–48, 60  
     women performers in, 73  
 Urdu language,  
     literature in, 499–501  
     Qur’ān translations in, 259, 260  
*ustāwāt* (organizers of weddings), 2  
 usury, 377  
*utenzi* poetry, 83  
*uwar gida* (mother of the household), 132  
  
 Vai dancers (Liberia), 62  
*wakıfs* (pious foundations), 393  
*vālide sultans* (mothers of Ottoman Sultans), 385  
*vazgali* dance (Azerbaijan), 44  
 veiling (see *hijāb* and veiling)  
*vichekesho* theater, 108  
 video art, 548  
 video films, West African, 111–112, 435  
 “village literature,” 419  
 violence, against women, 101  
 visual artists,  
     women, 101, 104, 547–548  
         in Arab states, 153–156, 550  
         in Georgia, 156–158  
         in Iran, 158  
         in North Africa, 159–160  
         in Ottoman Empire, 160–161, 551–552  
         perceptions of, 172  
         in South Asia, 161–163  
         in Southeast Europe, 554  
         in Sudan, 164–167  
         in Turkey, 168–170  
         in West Africa, 170–172  
 visual arts, 547–548  
     in Arab states, 549–551  
     in Southeast Europe, 552–554  
 votive narratives, 130  
 votive offerings, 330  
 vows, 272, 275, 361  
  
 Wahhābī movement, 281, 352  
*waqfs* (religious endowments),  
     in Arab states, 376–378  
     in Indonesia, 378–381  
     in Iran, 382–383  
     in North Africa, 376–378, 386  
     in Ottoman Empire, 374, 384–388, 398  
     in South Africa, 341  
     in South Asia, 388–390  
     of women, 372–375  
 war dances, 43  
 warrior women, in epics and legends, 441, 443, 444, 449  
 wartime rape, 426  
 weavers, 156, 157  
 weaving,  
     of baskets, 165, 167  
     of carpets, 156  
 weblogs, by women, 503  
 weddings (see also marriage),  
     gender segregation at, 2  
     music, dance and singing at, 14, 41, 43, 44, 51, 52,  
         53, 54, 57, 58, 61, 62, 67, 69, 71, 72–73, 123,  
         128, 191, 457  
     storytelling at, 132  
     women’s gatherings at, 369  
 weeping, to express love of God, 543  
 Western influences,  
     in literature, 27, 79  
     on Middle Eastern female performers, 2–3, 68  
     on Ottoman theater, 545–546  
     in visual arts, 157, 168  
 Western languages, Qur’ānic interpretations in, 252–255  
 Western modernity, 209  
 Westernization, 210, 258  
     rejection of, 257  
 widows,  
     conversion to Islam of, 296–297  
     nomadic, 203  
     support for, 390, 395  
 wives of women, accounts of, 556–559  
*wimbo* poetry, 83  
 wine, in poetry, 88  
 witches, in legends and epics, 444  
 wives,  
     disobedience of, 310, 312, 530  
     of the Prophet Muḥammad, 529–530  
     proverbs on, 519–520, 525  
 women’s groups/organizations,  
     activism of, 214  
     in Argentina, 355  
     at mosques, 236  
     in Indonesia, 101, 513  
     in Jordan, 336  
     in Turkey, 399  
 women’s magazines and journals,  
     in Indonesia, 100  
     in Iran, 177–178, 503  
     in Ottoman Empire, 241  
     in South Africa, 343  
     in Southeast Asia, 106–107  
     in Turkey, 180, 181, 515  
     Western, 181  
 women’s rights,  
     in early Islam, 197  
     Muḥammad on, 253  
     Qur’ānic exegetes on, 249, 250, 251  
     to inherit, 200, 203, 373, 389–390  
     to property, 372, 373, 374, 392–393  
 writers (see also fiction writing; playwrights; poets),  
     women  
         in Arab states, 18–20, 412  
         in Central Asia, 16–18  
         in Indonesia, 412, 413–415  
         in Iran, 130, 141, 416  
         in North Africa, 22–24, 237, 504, 505  
         in North America, 24–26  
         in Ottoman Empire, 142, 240, 241–242  
         on pilgrimage to Mecca, 323  
         in South Asia, 96, 121, 15016  
         in Southeast Europe, 425  
         in Sub-Saharan Africa, 147, 179  
         travel, 470–473  
         in Turkey, 420  
         in West Africa, 26–28, 111  
     *unuqūf ‘Arafāt* (halting in ‘Arafāt), 318, 319  
  
*yalli* dance (Azerbaijan), 43  
 Yemenis, in North America, 237–239  
 young boys, desirability of, 455, 456, 484, 486, 496,  
     500, 538  
 youth groups, 356

- zakāt*, 270, 391–393  
  in Ottoman Empire, 393–395  
  in South Asia, 396–398  
  in Turkey, 398–399  
*zar* (spirit possession) cults and ceremonies, 46–47, 148  
Zaramo myths, 442  
*zāwiyas*, 340  
*zāwiyāt* (religious institutions), 55  
*zenana* (women’s quarters), 471  
*zeybek* dance, 58, 60  
*zīkr* (see *dhikr* (recitations of names of Allah))  
*zinā* (fornication), 531–532  
*ziyārat* (pilgrimages), 228, 318, 322, 325, 327–329  
Zoroastrianism, 44, 205, 291, 325

## ILLUSTRATIONS







Figure 1. Umm 'Antar, 1953. Courtesy of the artist, Gazbia Sirry.

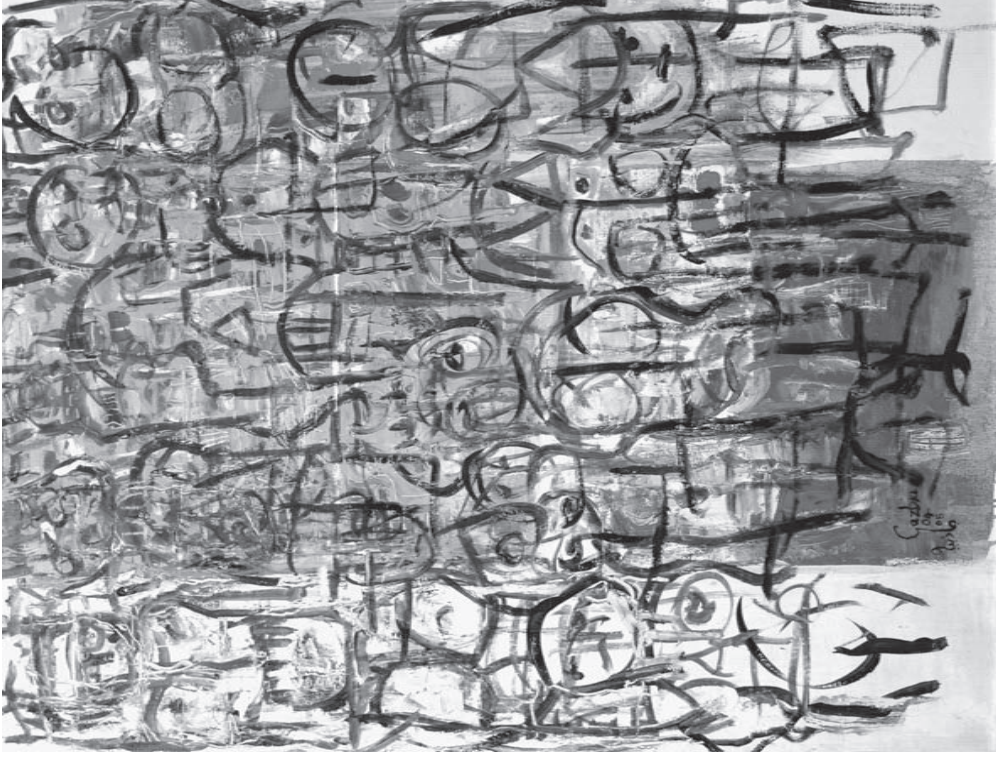


Figure 2. Fantasy of metamorphosis. Oil on Canvas 2004-2005. Courtesy of the artist, Gazbia Sirry.



Figure 3. View of Contemporary Exterior, *Zaouia* of Setti Fatma. Ouirka Valley, Morocco Michelle Rein, 2000.



Figure 4. Stone Prayer Piles near Setti Fatma. Ouirka Valley, Morocco. Michelle Rein, 2000.

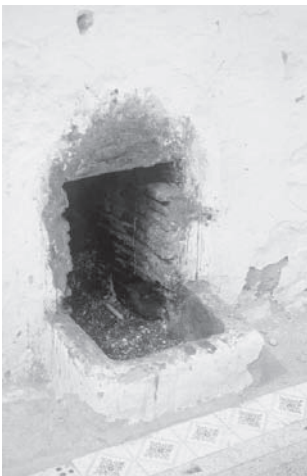


Figure 5. Lalla A'icha Shrine in the courtyard of Sidi Kacem's Complex. Morocco. Michelle Rein, 1999.



Figure 6. Women and children at Lalla A'icha Shrine in the courtyard of Sidi Kacem's Complex, Morocco. Michelle Rein, 1999.

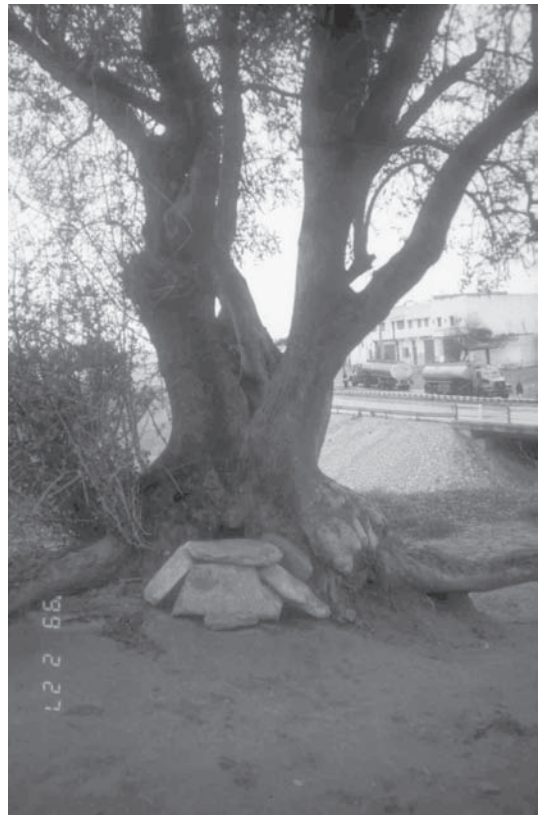


Figure 7. Lalla A'icha Shrine near Marabout Shrine of Sidi Dahabi Muhammad ibn Ahmad, Khanishat, Morocco. Michelle Rein, 1998.



Figure 8. Pilgrims at Mount 'Arafāt during the Ḥajj. Johan Meuleman, 1993.



Figure 9. Pilgrims at Mount 'Arafāt during the Ḥajj. Johan Meuleman, 1993.



Figure 10. Indonesian Pilgrims at Mina. Johan Meuleman, 1993.



Figure 11. Pilgrims at Mina. Johan Meuleman, 2004.

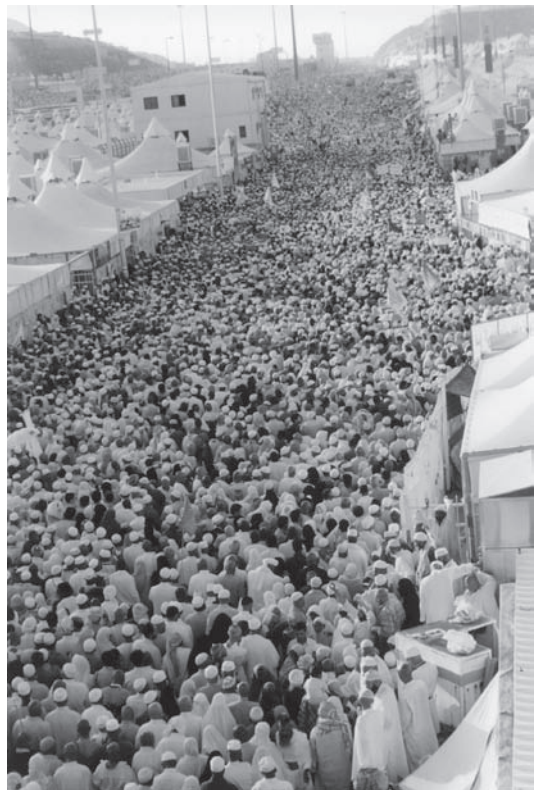


Figure 12. The "Pouring Forth" of Pilgrims, Mina. Johan Meuleman, 2004.



Figure 13. Woman gathering at the Marabout of Abdel Kader Sliman, Figuig, 2000.



Figure 15. Offering table at Lalla 'Ā'isha Shrine at the Marabout of Sidi Ahmed Hamdush, Morocco, 1999.



Figure 14. Holy Man performing healing ritual on women at the tree shrine of Moulay Abdes Salaam Ibn Mashish, Djebel 'Alam, Morocco, 1999.



Figure 16. Grotto shrine of Lalla 'Ā'isha Qandisha, Morocco, 1999.



Figure 17. “Yemek hazir, buyrun efendim” (Supper is ready, help yourself sir). Cartoon from issue No. 11 of the short-lived Turkish erotic magazine *Bin Bir Buse: En Sen, En Şub Hikâyeler* (A thousand and one kisses. The most joyous, most saucy stories) (Istanbul: Âmedî Matbaasi, 1339-40 [R/1923-24]), published anonymously (in all likelihood by the novelist Mehmed Rauf).



Figure 19. A woman *ashiq* (minstrel) in Western Azerbaijan playing the *saz*, the traditional instrument of the Azerbaijani *ashiq*. Photo by Huseyin Arif, ca. 1975.



Figure 18. Cover of issue No. 12 of the short-lived Turkish erotic magazine *Bin Bir Buse: En Şen, En Şub Hikâyeler* (A thousand and one kisses: the most joyous, most saucy stories) (Istanbul: Âmedî Matbaasi, 1339-40 [R/1923-24]), published anonymously (in all likelihood by the novelist Mehmed Rauf).



Figure 20. A class of girls learning the *saz*, the traditional instrument of the Azerbaijani *ashiq*. Photographer unknown, ca. 1970.

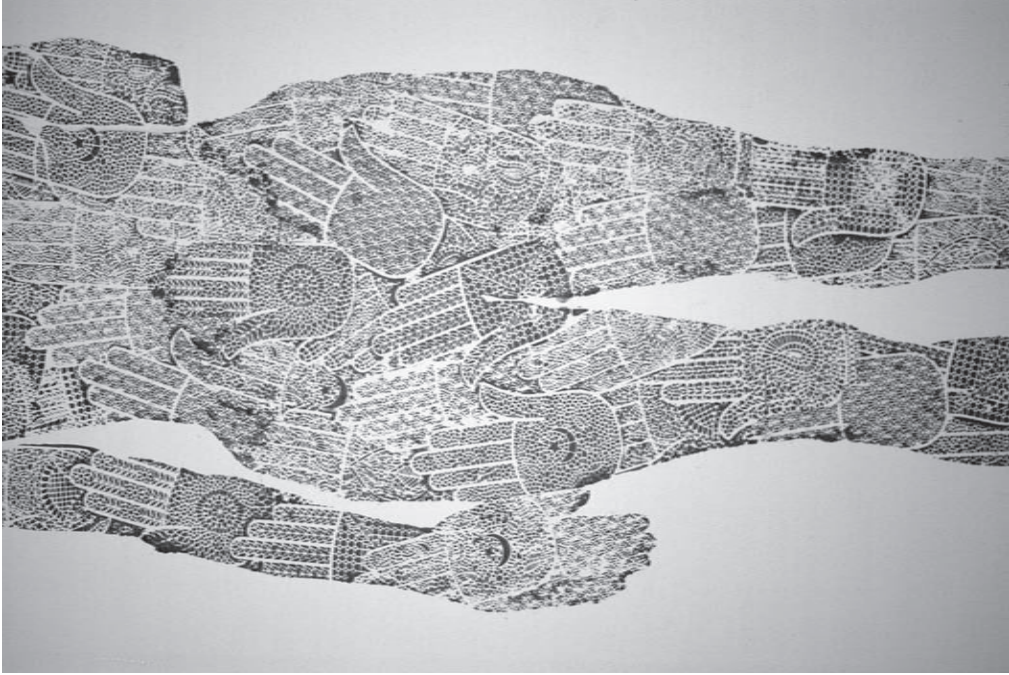


Figure 21. Naiza Khan, *Henna Hands* series, stencilled on public walls in Karachi, Pakistan 2001–2.



Figure 22. Naiza Khan, *Henna Hands* series, stencilled on public walls in Karachi, Pakistan 2001–2.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF  
WOMEN  
& ISLAMIC  
CULTURES

*General editor*

*Suad Joseph*

*Associate editors*

*Afsaneh Najmabadi*

*Julie Peteet*

*Seteney Shami*

*Jacqueline Siapno*

*Jane I. Smith*

WWW.BRILL.NL