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TERRAINS OF EXCHANGE

Religious Economies of Modern Islam

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For Bradley
& the Maghreb

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In consequence of reading the Koran with Sabat audibly, and drinking no wine, the slander has gone forth that the padre has turned Mussulman.

Diary of the Reverend Henry Martyn (Calcutta, 1808)

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

What is presented in these pages is an attempt to look at global history from ethnographic ground level *sur le terrain*, as the French expression has it. By closely observing how religious exchanges take place in local contexts, the aim of this book is to reveal how originally localized forms of organization and interaction incrementally expanded as their exponents moved across the world to access new religious markets. At the core of the book lie the various forms of exchange adaptation and cooperation no less than competition and conflict that generate religion as a social entity through the efforts of its various impresarios and investors. But since the transactional logic of exchange requires a plurality of participants, Muslims are only one set of traders in the religious traffic under scrutiny. Since global histories must surely be plural histories, different chapters position Indian, Iranian, Arab and Tatar Muslims among British, American and German Christians as well as Indian Hindus and Japanese Shinto-Buddhists. And since as much as global histories must be pluralistic they must also be polyphonic, every attempt has been made (with no doubt varying success) to hear the different voices of these 'exchangers'. While the methodological architecture of the book has much in common with the field of global history, the focus on different interactions between specific people in specific moments works through a form of microhistory. By looking at global transactions through this microhistorical lens, the aim is to bridge, or at least move between, these two scales of analysis; because at ground level, *sur le terrain*, all history is microhistory, accumulated and aggregated.

Working through the rubric of exchange by way of the sociology of religious economy, the chapters that follow form a processual sequence

of case studies. In this respect, *Terrains of Exchange* is one of those books that look at 'the same things in several places'; such as it is, the book's contribution is to try to establish what those 'same things' are and how they function. While as a 'processual sequence' the chapters can be read in collective order, as 'case studies' they can also be read independently and so, if the terrain of one chapter becomes too boggy, then the reader may march more rapidly ahead. In some respects, this book follows an expansion onto a larger scale of the processes I explored in an earlier book, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840 1915*. What the two books have in common is their core model of 'religious economy'. This is a framework that allows us to document the social life of religion as a social production that is constantly remade, circulated, reorganized and exchanged. While *Bombay Islam* was more concerned with the productive and distributive processes of religious economy, this book is more concerned with its interactive, adapative, cooperative and competitive processes. And so while the underlying model here is the same as in the earlier book, the findings are in many respects quite different. This is important, because in comparison to other branches of the sociology of religion, the value of religious economy is precisely its ability to allow for different trajectories of religious development that emerge from different 'markets' or 'terrains'. Since this book deals with different 'terrains of exchange' than the Indian Ocean arena studied in *Bombay Islam*, the interactions in the places studied here the cooperations and competitions of different religious actors in different market terrains did not necessarily produce the same outcomes as contemporaneous transactions around the Indian Ocean. Different conditions of encounter different 'rates of exchange' generated variables that shaped the differing contours of religious productivity. It is these variables that this book seeks to grasp from a viewpoint of close observation *sur le terrain*.

In methodological terms, the larger point is the ways in which an understanding of the forces of religious economy allows for multidirectional patterns of religious productivity as variant trajectories emerge from the different interactions of dissimilar 'market' terrains in different places. This stress on variegation across space is important: firstly, because it represents a challenge to global historians to grapple more effectively with difference and divergence; and secondly, because it differs from the classic emphasis in Weberian sociology on temporal variation by repositioning religious change across a spatial plane rather than a

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chronological line. The outcome of such a spatialized analysis is not a uniform global Islam but the patchy, uneven and conflicting Islams that persist indeed, continue to be generated in the world today.

The underlying ethos of this book is anthropological as much as historical. What I attempt to do here is trace the kinds of historical processes that I saw taking place before my own eyes during the period of my life when I spent a good deal of time *sur le terrain* among different religious professionals in Iran, Pakistan and India as well as most of the Arab Middle East. In subsequent years, I followed their networks to other sites in Europe, Africa, Japan and the United States. In the pages that follow, I have tried to bring something of that anthropological ethos to the writing of history, at the very least through paying due attention to the formative role of terrain in shaping religious (which is to say social) transactions at both the local and transnational level.

Quite rightly, the research for this book has taken me to a number of different countries, and for funding some of these journeys I would like to acknowledge the support of: the Bibliographical Society for awarding me the Katharine F. Pantzer Fellowship for research in early printed material collections and missionary archives in London, Cambridge, Berlin and Munich; the British Academy for a Small Research Grant for fieldwork in Aurangabad, India; the UCLA History Department for travel funds for an initial research trip to Tokyo and Yokohama and for a Faculty Summer Travel Grant for research in Detroit; and the UCLA Terasaki Center for Japanese Studies for awarding me a Faculty Research Grant for a second visit to Tokyo and Kobe. I would also like to acknowledge the following libraries and archives: the University Archives, Cambridge University; the Bodleian Library, Oxford University; the archives of the London Missionary Society at SOAS, London; the archives of the Church Missionary Society at Birmingham University; the archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society at the University Library, Cambridge; the archives of the Baptist Missionary Society at the Angus Library, Regent's Park College, Oxford; the India Office collections at the British Library, London (especially Dr Graham Shaw); Worcestershire Country Records Office; the library of the Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge University; the archives of the Evangelische Missions-Gesellschaft zu Basel; the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (especially Dr Winfried Riesterer); the Wellcome Institute of Medicine, London; the Salar Jung Library, Hyderabad; Osmania University Library,

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Like many such projects, this book emerged through the gradual appearance of patterns from several smaller and originally discrete research projects. In drawing out these patterns more boldly, in several chapters I have returned to earlier articles which have been reconceived in the mak-

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ing of what I hope is a coherent processual sequence of discrete but diachronic case studies. Earlier and shorter versions of some chapters have therefore previously appeared as journal articles, all of which have been extensively revised and expanded since their original publication. However, I am grateful to and acknowledge Cambridge University Press for permission to reprint: 'Journeymen, Middlemen: Travel, Trans-Culture and Technology in the Origins of Muslim Printing', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 41, 2 (2009); SAGE Publications for permission to reprint 'Mystical Missionaries in Hyderabad State: Mu'in Allah Shah and his Sufi Reform Movement', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 41, 2 (2005); and Taylor & Francis for permission to reprint 'Parnassus of the Evangelical Empire: Orientalism in the English Universities, 1800 1850', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 40, 3 (2012) and 'The Trans-Colonial Opportunities of Bible Translation: Iranian Language-Workers between the Russian and British Empires', an earlier version of which appeared in Michael Dodson and Brian Hatcher (eds), *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia* (Routledge, 2012). The illustrations are either items from my own collection, my own photographs, or pre-1923 printed materials in the public domain.

INTRODUCTION

TERRAINS OF EXCHANGE

From Local Encounters to Global Exchange

Drawing together Indian and Iranian Muslims with Christian missionaries, Hindu cosmopolitans and Japanese imperialists, *Terrains of Exchange* brings to life the local sites of global encounter that transformed Islam and Muslims through the long nineteenth century. A series of case studies evokes terrains of exchange that range from the colleges of Cambridge and the borderlands of the Russian Empire to the princely states of India, the factory districts of Detroit and the port cities of Japan. Summoning social interactions that took place on the Muslim frontlines of globalization, the following chapters cast a microhistorian's eye on the new religious productions that were generated in these many sites of contact. Whether looking at connections between British evangelicals and Iranian language workers, or Indian Muslims and Japanese businessmen, each chapter unravels the competitions and comparisons that pushed individual Muslims to reformulate the meaning, organization and distribution of Islam. Capturing the cultural texture of these encounters, the chapters draw on a multilingual medley of materials, from Urdu biographies of ocean-going missionaries to the diaries of German preachers in the Caucasus and the first printed books in Arabic and Persian. Challenging perceptions of an age usually identified with the unifying ideologies of pan-Islamism and nationalism, this polyphonic approach reveals the more muddled pattern of individual Muslims and Islamic organizations struggling to stake their claims over an increasingly

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connected world. What emerged from these exchanges between Muslims and non-Muslims was no single global Islam, but a fissiparous planetary landscape of intersecting religious economies in which Pan-Islamist ideologues struggle to find unity. For Pan-Islamism itself a disunified agenda promoted by many competing organizations was only one product of a more densely connected world whose interactions also generated countless other religious 'firms' that each sought to promote their own proprietary Islam. Taking its cue from the sociology of religion, the aim of this book is to look beyond the discursive surface similarities of Muslim 'beliefs' to probe instead the multifarious and indeed competing social producers of religion.

This emphasis on 'firms' is important. For in line with Michael Mann's emphasis on organizations as 'institutional means of attaining human goals', the recognition that religion is constructed and disseminated by different 'firms' allows us to recognize the variable means of organizing, institutionalizing and deploying religion in the pursuit of social power.[1] As conceived here, social power is the basic energy of the human world. It is the power to shape opinions and mindscapes, behaviours and affections, the affiliations of groups and the contours of community. Social power is the means of defining and directing collective human endeavours. By way of accessing communications (such as printing) and founding institutions (such as mosques), many of the outcomes of exchange seen in later chapters provide concrete examples of religion as a route to such directing power over others. It is for this reason that special attention is given to the transformation of religious communications. For whether through translation or printing, access to new communication tools allowed a variety of religious entrepreneurs to become what are known in communication studies as 'opinion leaders'. To conceive religion as a tool of social power is therefore not to adopt a conspiratorially anticlerical stance towards religion, nor even to subsume religion within politics. On the contrary, against a tradition of explaining modern history that prioritizes political organizations, one of the aims here is to show how religious organizations have formed parallel and no less modern routes to power for many social actors without access to more conventional political organizations. In this way, *Terrains of Exchange* aims to reposition religion as a central feature of globalized modernity, as both outcome and response to the heightened interaction of different human groups.

In order to trace such generative interactions, the book studies different religious 'entrepreneurs' and 'firms' and the interactions that gener-

ated or empowered them to illustrate more general processes of the production and distribution of religion in a world of crisscrossed 'glocal' terrains. Wrought from Hindu panegyrics to Muslim holy fools and Muslim celebrations of Shinto Japan, *Terrains of Exchange* in this way presents not only global history from the bottom up but also global history as Muslim history. While the study of globalization emerged from the hard end of the social sciences by way of economics and political science, the aim here is to highlight the importance of religion as both a broker and outcome of global exchange.[2] This is not to beat a retreat from the study of tangible commodities to the realm of intangible beliefs any more than it is to reduce spirituality to economics.[3] For as the anthropology and sociology of religion have long shown, religion is not comprised merely of 'belief in spiritual beings' any more than its study demands a dichotomy between the tangible and intangible, between commodities and concepts. The approach to religion developed here draws the intangible arena of ideas and beliefs into play with the tangible domain of technologies and commodities by focusing on the operation and organization of religion in the social world. *Terrains of Exchange* makes no claim to access the qualitative realm of religious value: far from reductively diminishing such values it hopes to leave them substantially intact. What the model deployed here does aim to illuminate though is the social dynamics of religion as they began to operate on a truly global scale in the age of imperial globalization between around 1800 and 1940.

If this sounds complicated, then it is actually the opposite: to socialize religion is to render it visible and recognizable. In each of the terrains examined here, the slippery signifier of 'religion' is socialized or substantiated as a particular person or organization that uses texts, technologies and practices to invoke the authority of God, tradition or community in the pursuit of social power. This enables us to see how religion serves as a way of getting things done of making things happen, of making people act through allowing the religious entrepreneur to access and deploy the various kinds of resources that substantiate religion, resources that may be human or textual, mechanical or symbolic.[4] In social (and political) terms, religion is therefore a means of action and persuasion as well as identification: it is perhaps the most flexible of all tools of social power. As the accounts of religious entrepreneurs and firms in the following chapters reveal, in as much as religion provides the intangible assets of solace and identity, it also provides tangible resources for the empower-

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ment of individuals and organizations. For not only does religion's fusion of symbolic and material capital allow individuals to accomplish things, it also enables them to make other people do things. In requiring often minimal initial investments from its speculators, religion is in this way both one of the most widespread and most contested tools of socio-political mobility and mobilization. By working beyond this sociological generalization, the following chapters show how, from new concepts and behaviours to organizational methods and technologies, the various nuts and bolts that construct and at times improve the tools of religion circulate between different regions and, indeed, religions. Religion particularly, in the present case, Islam thus emerges as a product or outcome of exchange.

It is when the intersection of different religious agents or networks makes this happen that we enter the crossover point between the study of religion and of globalization. This crossover between religious agents and globalizing mechanisms is one of the characteristics of the old world that remained after the Cold War. The word 'remained' here is deliberate, because as a work of history it is one of the contentions of this book that religious organizations and identities did not arise suddenly to fill a vacuum left by the fall of secular polities and ways of being in the late twentieth century. Rather, religious entrepreneurs and organizations had already effectively globalized before the world's division into communist and non-communist blocs from the 1920s onwards. When the socialist experiments of the short twentieth century failed, the worldwide conduits of religion that were built in the long nineteenth century remained in place, providing infrastructures of affection and connection that newer communication technologies such as digital social media and the cellphone merely amplified. Incrementally and from the bottom up, the chapters in this book show how this worldwide religious infrastructure developed in often obscure regions of the planet, which were linked together as new entrepreneurs and organizations channelled the symbolic and material resources their religious claims made available to them. By looking at individual builders of these religious mechanisms of interaction, we can see not only how religion can be used to do things but also how it can be used to do things on incrementally larger scales by newly connecting different peoples and places. For this reason too, techniques and technologies of communication, such as translation and printing, form a central part of the analysis, for these were among the

most important new tools of religion that Muslims acquired in the nineteenth century.

In discussions of globalization, it is often observed that globalized cultural forms are typified by 'hybridity' and 'fusion'.[5] By extension, these processes suggest that religious globalization is likewise typified by 'hybrid' forms of religious expression and organization, even if these telltale signs of interaction are deliberately downplayed as evidence of a lack of authenticity. Whether in the nineteenth or the twenty-first century, what this means in turn is that under conditions of intensified global interaction, religions cannot be seen as closed hermetic units but must instead be seen as interacting and thereby transforming one another. This is not to suggest that religions necessarily wrestle with one another wholesale like godly giants in battle. Rather, by recognizing religions as social constructions that are made and unmade by human decisions over their constituent 'nuts and bolts', we can see that religious interactions and borrowings are often partial and selective. As the constantly reproduced outcomes of such decisions and bricolages, religions are malleable and changeable in both their doctrinal substance and organizational form. For this reason, although the main focus of *Terrains of Exchange* is on identifying the communicative and organizational structures of exchange, several chapters also explore the doctrinal dimensions of what we might call the semantics of exchange.

As conceived here, exchange is therefore understood to be a generative process that occurs as interactions give rise to a productive dialectic. As the following chapters show, in sociological terms Islam came to look more like Christianity through exchange and interaction between Muslims and Christians, not least through borrowing the organizational form of the mission and the propagandist technology of the printing press. Documenting such interactions makes its own demands in turn, ideally by drawing together materials from both sides of the encounter. While not every chapter has managed this, by bringing together Urdu and Persian travelogues with German missionary journals and the archives of Bible printers, documenting both sides of the dialogue is what the writing of global histories demands.

While the book focuses on individual religious agents   Muslim, Christian and Hindu   in the background lie the collective power formations of empire that enabled many of their interactions at ground level. Tracing these interactions allows us to see how central religion was to

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both the actions of imperialists and, in turn, to Muslim responses to empire. In the case of the British Empire, so often seen as a broadly secular enterprise, a case is made for understanding it as being conceived in the early nineteenth century as an 'evangelical empire' whose structures were penetrated if not created by missionaries and their sympathizers. Although religious activity in the more centralized Russian Empire was usually more regulated by the state than in its British counterpart, religion remained no less important a tool for Russia's 'confessional empire', while the early-nineteenth-century rise of evangelical societies in western Europe saw them penetrate Russia's Muslim domains before the state intervened to regulate and then expel them in the 1830s. In methodological terms, the important point here is that the following chapters treat 'empire' like 'religion' as an ideologically, organizationally and materially powerful social construction whose resources can be pushed into different directions by individuals or networks in positions to manipulate them. This sociological approach to empire as to religion in turn implies that there was no single 'imperial project', but that empire was rather a variety of projects, both conflicting and conflating, as different individuals and organizations struggled to control the reins that directed imperial resources. Christian evangelicals formed several such organizations which, in the early 1800s, emerged as influential actors in the British and other European empires.[6] Since evangelicalism emerged as a set of local responses in Europe and the United States to what was understood to be the moral landscape of distant places around the world, it is clear that Christian societies and as a sociological entity Christianity itself were transformed as much as their Muslim counterparts through their interactions with religious 'others'. It was therefore not only the British Empire and British evangelicals who were shaped in this way, for the networks of empire and evangelicalism crossed national boundaries to bring American missionaries to British India and German missionaries to the Russian Caucasus. For Christians as for Muslims, the nexus of religion and empire provided manipulable resources and workable networks that reached beyond the bounds of nation and ethnicity. In the pre-nationalist nineteenth century, this was an especially important nexus.

If empire looms in the background of the terrains studied here, then in the foreground lie localities that, from the steppes of southern Russia to the ports of imperial Japan, provide the reference points from which religion and empire are charted.[7] By looking out from these locales, the

aim is to understand large scale global exchanges as being built from the quotidian stuff of all history: as outcomes of specific interactions between individual humans and the groups whose agendas they represent and whose resources they manipulate. By in this way examining world history from the ground up through tracing the exchanges between distant but interlinked locales, we are able to draw together two scales of analysis by recognizing that global history is at the same time microhistory.[8]

Uniting these various local reference points in the following chapters is the function of religion both as a means and an outcome of exchange. As sites of interaction, these religious locales are termed here 'terrains of exchange', a rubric that aims to capture the intersecting dimensions of 'locality' and 'globality'. In part, this notion of terrain is intended to draw on the ethnographic ideal of generating theory 'from the field' or *sur le terrain*. And in turn, like the winegrower's concept of *terroir*, these fields of terrain are conceived as distinctive environments that lent shape defining colour and flavour to their religious produce. But, to continue the oenological metaphor, these terrains were also the soil into which foreign vines were planted to yield cross-fertilizations of culture. At the same time as being environments of local influences, terrains of exchange were therefore sites for the arrival of individuals and organizations from afar. In adapting a sociological approach to religion in an era of global encounters, a focus on such terrains of exchange allows us to capture *métissage* in the making by watching the germination of new religious fusions as the same vines were planted in many different *terroirs*.

From Terrains of Exchange to Religious Economies

To understand the outcomes of these 'locally global' exchanges between different religious actors, the following chapters draw on the model of religious economy.[9] As a model developed within sociology, at the heart of religious economy is the transactional process of exchange between producers and consumers of religious goods, services and values. What is crucial about such exchange is that it requires negotiation between two or more parties, such that the social and semantic contours of religion are generated by the exchanges the negotiations within a given market terrain between the various individuals and groups who constitute the supply and demand sides of the economy. In this way, religious economy avoids the pitfalls of conventional 'top-down' models of religion that

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focus exclusively on the familiar 'supply side' of religious productivity by way of prophets, priests and churches. By contrast, religious economy brings to light the interactive dynamics of religious life that in turn allow historians to recognize and track religious change. Compared to more traditional (particularly Weberian) forms of sociology, the model also has the advantage of allowing for a variety of religious outcomes as the products of a given marketplace take shape in accordance with the interplay of producers' resources and consumers' demands. Because it recognizes many different kinds of marketplace liberal or controlled, dynamic or stagnant, pluralistic or monopolistic religious economy therefore has no teleologies: different kinds and conditions of exchange will generate different religious outcomes.

Having originated as a branch of sociological theory, the model charts the role of religious transactions in the production of social power through the effective 'marketing' and 'communicating' of religious 'entrepreneurs' and 'firms'. For religion takes its various semantic and structural shapes through the dynamic interplay of the supply and demand forces created as different individuals and organizations manipulate the social power that religion provides through its abilities and promises to save and heal; to comfort and convince; to organize and lead; to tithe and control. Building on the approach to religion outlined in the previous section, the model makes religion visible as a means of social power, as a tool for getting things done. In so doing, religious economy not only allows us to trace the contests for religious power that unfolded at a global level in the age of empire. It also helps us address questions of the dynamics of power that lie at the heart of sociology and history.

Here, one of the key analytical differences to more traditional forms of the sociology of religion is the prominence given to space and geography rather than time and history in mapping religious change. For in contrast to the linear, temporal trajectory of Weberian sociology, the model of religious economy points to a planar, spatial dynamic that, in place of Weberian differentiation through time, reveals an alternative process of differentiation through space. In place of the classic Weberian trajectory of 'disenchantment' and the secularizing modernization theory that followed in its wake, this alternative sociology is able to accommodate the contemporaneity of a range of religious forms in different spatial terrains. Religious economy recognizes the heterogeneity of global history through pointing to interactions between what remain distinctive

terrains of exchange. In the hands of their various impresarios, and in accordance with the changing demands of their followers, 'enchanted' and 'disenchanted' religious productions can in this way be seen as competitively co-existing or sequentially displacing one another without the Weberian expectation that one of them will ultimately triumph. As a result, the model is also better equipped to deal with dynamism and change, plurality and agency, and thence the complex and generative interactions that are defined below as 'rates of exchange'.

While religious 'entrepreneurs' and 'firms' produce, market and distribute their proprietary religious products (such as books, talismans, clothes and ritual items), religious economies are for the most part service economies whose suppliers promise their consumers such varied services as blessing, healing, salvation, protection, belonging, networking or other means to realize goals. While these services can be offered by the solo entrepreneur, the collective institutional unit of the religious firm (such as a church, mosque, brotherhood or mission) offers its participant investors social networks and sub-communities that can be used for not only the production of social power but for a variety of more specific this-worldly purposes, including commerce, cameraderie and access to livelihoods. And like other service-based economies, religious economies also specialize in the production and transaction of value, that intangible commodity that entrepreneurs exchange for material capital, authority and loyalty. Since the joining together of individuals beneath a single leader is one of the most effective routes to social power, religious firms do not even need products and services so long as they can gain followers through the production and dissemination of value. But as often as not, the potential follower qua consumer demands a quantifiable return on his or her allegiance, whether by way of a cure, a lesson, a job or a social connection. Once again, exchange lies at the core of religious economy. The transactions between religious producers and consumers in this way help us understand the generation and attribution of social power, as followers ('religious consumers') offer their support to leaders ('religious suppliers') in return for value, salvation, material support, solidarity, community, healing and a host of other services.

The strategies that religious entrepreneurs use to attract consumers include the modes of 'adaptation' and 'innovation' that form much of the focus of this book. As employed here, the term 'adaptation' is used to show how Muslim entrepreneurs modified the techniques of their

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Christian competitors and then, through the catalytic effect of the evangelical onslaught, those of their Hindu and other competitors in turn. By extension, the term 'innovation' is used to point to forms of religious strategy that go beyond adapation in some cases, through accumulative adaptations to generate distinctively new (albeit typically hybridized) religious forms. Since part of the purpose of this book is to develop a new analytical vocabulary for interpreting the social operations of Islam, it is important to distinguish this sociological use of the term 'innovation' from the generally negative theological usage of the term 'innovation' (*bida'*) among Muslims themselves.[10] Conceived within the social sciences rather than phenomenology, the model and vocabulary presented here are of an *etic* nature. This is important, because the reliance of Islamicists and historians more generally on the *emic* language of Muslims (in particular reformist Muslims) has led to the academic internalization of categories, and with them discourses, invested in the projects of Muslim normativity and unity. This has crucially prevented analysts from effectively theorizing Islam as not only a dynamically productive 'discursive tradition', as modelled by Talal Asad, but also as an internally competitive field of social actors and organizations (referred to here as 'entrepreneurs' and 'firms').[11] One of the aims of this book is therefore to help develop an effective etic language and analytical framework to cope with not only, in the language of the liberal humanities, the 'plurality and diversity' of Islam but also, in the starker language of the social sciences, the 'pluralization and divisiveness' of Islam.

Through a model of religion that recognizes the 'demand' role of practitioners as well as the 'supply' side of producers, the negotiations between religious suppliers and demanders allow us to track the variable social generation of religion in different ethnographic terrains. Collectively, religious demand is the complex accumulation of individual choices and preferences. When seen interacting with the 'products and services' of religious suppliers, this allows for a far wider variety of outcomes than the linear shifts towards 'disenchanted', 'modern', 'uniform' or 'globalized' religious forms that have been the focus of so much scholarship. Conceiving the values, products and services that constitute the social life of religion as being shaped by the negotiated exchanges between what is supplied by religious organizations ('firms') and what is demanded by religious practitioners ('consumers') allows us to see how religion is constantly generated, reproduced, communicated and, crucially, adapted.

In this way, religion is rendered malleable and manipulable in the social world rather than conceived as the static hand-me-down of 'tradition'.[12] This is important, since it allows us to historicize Islam better; that is, to detect change better by way of the adaptations and innovations that are highlighted by the model of religious economy but subdued by the analytical language of 'tradition'. As a means of making sense of history, it is also important to clarify that the model of religious economy does not assume the a priori existence of a religious marketplace. Indeed, one of the key purposes of *Terrains of Exchange* is to show how a variety of different local (but at the same time globally interacting) religious markets qua 'terrains of exchange' emerged as historical developments from the particular interactions on which the following chapters focus.

As conceived in this book, a 'terrain' is a market of religious transactions which, while in some cases contiguous with other such markets, can nonetheless be isolated as a single field of analysis. The model of religious economy conceives the social facts of religion the sum total of religious activity in a given market terrain as the outcome of exchange between religious supply (by 'entrepreneurs' and 'firms') and religious demand (by 'consumers' and 'investors'). In being fundamentally concerned with social interactions between these religious suppliers and demanders, the model conceives religion as the 'productive' and 'generative' outcomes that are generated by these interactions. These exchanges can take various forms, not least those that are the concern of this book by way of competition, emulation and adaptation. This competitive, emulative and adaptive logic of exchange means that religious fusions and hybridity are particularly characteristic of intensified market interactions, a point which brings us back to the earlier point about the hybrid character of the cultural productions of globalization.

By presenting religion as the outcome of interactions between multiple sets of suppliers and demanders, the model of religious economy equips us well for analyzing complex environments with multiple religious actors. It is for this reason eminently suited for the cross-fertilized terrains of globalization. One of my earlier books, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean*, used the model to show how an industrialized colonial port with a diverse Muslim population was transformed into an intensely competitive 'production zone' from which new Muslim religious 'firms' successfully exported their membership, products and services as far as South Africa and Iran.[13] There was a certain

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irony in colonial Bombay's success as a religious producer and exporter. For this most industrialized of Indian cities did not specialize in the literate, reformist or otherwise 'modern' Islams predicted by Weberian sociology, but rather in charisma-based cults centred around shrines, miracles and holy men. This finding that industrial modernity could promote an 'enchantment' as much as a 'disenchantment' of the world points to the usefulness of religious economy as a sociological method. The findings here for the Indian Ocean region echo the similar findings of Benjamin Soares in colonial and postcolonial West Africa, where modernity brought not so much disenchantment and institutionalization as the re-enchantment and personalization of Muslim religiosity.[14] For unlike the Weberian sociology that has so influenced the study of Islam, the model of religious economy suggests no single linear trajectory of religious development towards rational and reformed religions, towards a 'Protestant' Islam, though the latter may well emerge as one among many competing productions.[15] In this way, religious economy has no modernist (or, for that matter, anti-modernist) teleology. Instead, it allows for a multiplicity of outcomes that better reflects the uneven character of global historical developments.

By breaking down religion from such analytically slippery monoliths as 'Christianity' and 'Islam', the model of religious economy also enables us to recognize these terms as respectably familiar emic labels deployed by religious entrepreneurs whose enterprises flourish or founder through their appeal to consumers and their interplay with competitors or state regulators in their marketplace. While many readers will shirk at the repeated usage of such terms as 'entrepreneur', 'impresario' and 'firm', they are used with the deliberate purpose of defamiliarizing readers and so creating analytical distance from social entities ('Islam', 'Christianity') and actors ('Muslims', 'Christians') that readers will assume they already know. The analytical language deployed here, then, serves as a kind of anti-rhetoric or perhaps a rhetorical antidote that helps the reader see familiar things in a new way.

Moreover, seeing the social life of religion as the outcome of complex accumulations of variables makes intuitive sense from what we can casually observe in the dizzying variety of religions of religious products and services, entrepreneurs and firms that stubbornly persist in a postmodern and globalized world. For as the following chapters show, even as missionaries dreamed of converting the planet to one faith or another,

increasing contact and exchange did not reduce the sum total of religion in the world. Instead, increasing interaction provided religious entrepreneurs with opportunities to create new organizations, theologies, books, revenues, schools, shrines, rituals, networks and partnerships. As more and more of such suppliers and consumers were brought into contact from the four corners of the world, globalization resulted in the production of increasing amounts of both the tangible and intangible stuff of religion, stuff that was itself transformed through the intrinsic dynamism of exchange. In this respect, it may be appropriate to link such increasing religious productivity and diversification with the rising numbers of entrepreneurs who, as in Schumpeterian models of business economics, seem to characterize the modern era.

What all this suggests, then, is that religious change emerges through interaction; *ipso facto*, the more interaction, the more change. In colonial Bombay, the arrival of American and British missions acted as a catalyst in the creation of a more competitive religious economy in which the adaptive logic of the market led different religious firms to borrow each others' 'tools' while simultaneously differentiating their 'products'. Versions of the same process unfolded on the supply side of many other religious markets, whether with regard to the effect of Christian missionaries in triggering the formation of emulative Muslim missions or the use of Christian printing technologies to propagate Islam. While religious labels (such as 'Muslim' and 'Christian') might remain the same, the changes generated by these competitive and adaptive interactions meant that the social substance to which these labels referred was often radically transformed. Whether dealing with the first Muslim printers or the first Muslim missionaries, the following chapters trace the exchanges that lay behind these transformations. Since this book aims less to present a treatise on theory than to recover the empirical texture and ethnographic terrain that shapes different religious exchanges, the language of religious economy has not always been made explicit in each of the case studies. But through the global movement of new religious firms and their individual representatives between these far-flung terrains of exchange, these 'glocal' markets of faith should still be seen as interacting. This is not least the case because the long nineteenth century was the great age of global movement. From individual imperial adventures to collective labour migrations, the nineteenth century saw the movement of both religious suppliers and demanders on a massive scale, making

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exchange between the religious economies of different regions a basic feature of a more integrated planet. By tracing small-scale interactions between individuals as far apart as Astrakhan and Edinburgh, the following chapters pursue the incremental expansion of these exchanges from one corner of our world to another.

Part of the story here is therefore that of the globalizing of religious competition. This does not mean that the model of religious economy should be seen as a dystopian vision of destructive spiritual capitalism, for religious competition represents only one outcome of these economies of exchange. Competition between religious entrepreneurs and firms should not necessarily be equated with conflict between religious practitioners or consumers. Sometimes religious competition does generate wider social conflict; in other cases, it is merely mistaken for it. Yet the interactive and adaptive logic of the essentially social domain of the marketplace does mean that cooperation is as much a potential outcome as competition. The emergence of various European edicts on religious toleration from the horrors of the Thirty Years' War (1618 48) is the most famous example of such competition generating cosmopolitanism. Again, the strength of the model of religious economy lies in the variability of its potential outcomes, outcomes which are themselves seen as the collective products of human choices and decisions.

If competition represents one side of the economy (more often than not from the side of the producer), then cooperation therefore forms the other side (more often than not from the side of the practitioner). Phrased differently, what this means is that, depending on the interplay of decisions and choices, cosmopolitanism and tolerance are as much a potential outcome of religious exchange as competition and intolerance. For consumers faced with the offers of a range of religious service-providers, a form of piecemeal cosmopolitanism is often a rational response through the applied market logic of Pascal's wager: why accept only one offer of salvation when several options are available? While religious suppliers devoid of alternative support (for example, by a state) attempt to restrict such consumer cosmopolitanism due to their need to compete with rivals for the attention of a limited market of supporters, religious consumers devoid of external compulsions (for example, by a law) will for their part logically 'shop around' between different providers. Sometimes, this demand-side logic of the market finds traceable expression in ecumenical written theologies or acts of ritual syncretism. Rather

than presenting an unduly pessimistic vision of religious exchange, one of the chapters here deals with such 'positive' outcomes of exchange by way of Hindu appreciations of a Muslim holy man. We shall also see how religious choices can be used to blur social identities as a means of personal empowerment as various 'middlemen' strategically moved between religious identities in their interactions with would-be converters.

While the chapters that follow examine the rich soil of different terrains of exchange, their collective harvest shows the intersection of locales through the worldwide movement of both Muslim and Christian 'entrepreneurs' and 'firms'. In plainer speech, what we see is the globalization of religion as a social entity. Contrary to theories of the homogenizing or standardizing of religious forms through globalization, what these case studies show is not the emergence from these global interactions of a dominant single 'supplier' or 'brand' of Islam, but a variable range of outcomes instead. In colonial Bombay, the interplay of the various forces in its religious economy the net outcome of the interactions between religious suppliers and demanders resulted, in what was then the most industrialized city in Asia, in the success of charismatic holy men and such 'customary' organizations as shrines and Sufi brotherhoods. But in different times and places, there have existed as many forms of religious economy as commercial economy, whether free markets of faith or state-controlled monopolies, highly regulated or liberalized marts for missionaries, isolated or integrated entrepôts of exchange. What is therefore important to recognize is that, as a branch of historical sociology, the model of religious economy provides a way of understanding religious developments as the net outcome of social interactions in any given 'marketplace'.

In this way, the insights of religious economy can be applied to the various terrains of exchange described in this book. For a focus on the social life of religion on its organizations and technologies, its suppliers and consumers, its competitions and distributions shows how religion serves as a mechanism of interaction between different individuals and groups. As the following chapters show, some of the most effective players in these varied terrains were new kinds of religious 'firm' that used modern forms of organization, finance, distribution and propagation to compete with the more established religious suppliers of particular localities. These firms comprised the new missionary organizations of the long nineteenth century, first Christian and then Muslim. The transforma-

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tion the reorganization and redeployment of Islam as a parallel missionary counterpart to Christianity was one of the most important global developments of the period surveyed here.

Rather than overburden the chapters with theory, it is finally worth re-emphasizing here the process behind this pluralizing model of religious globalization: an assortment of new religious entrepreneurs and organizations emerged from the competition to satisfy the different needs of different people in the world's different if nonetheless connected religious marketplaces. Examining what Arjun Appadurai has conceived as the central problem of global interaction by way of 'the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization', the book's focus on the varied outcomes of religious exchange reveals the 'dynamics of indigenization' that Appadurai has seen reconciling global homogenization and local heterogenization.[16] By pointing to the logic of religious exchange through the individual stories told in its chapters, *Terrains of Exchange* hopes to show that even as the outcomes the firms, leaders, values, products and services are variable, in different global locales, the social forces at work remain the same.

From Imperial Histories to Global Histories

While the following chapters do not pursue a single set of characters and instead present case studies of particular moments of exchange, when taken together they do show the repeated unfolding of related processes across an incrementally global scale. Not least among these processes is the religious economic interplay between competition, adaptation and innovation, whether seen through the borrowing of Christian printing technologies or the dispatching of Muslim missionaries to America. For as the scale of religious exchanges expanded, the marketplaces of religion shifted in turn, from the imperial domains of the British and Russian Empires, to the fringes of empire in such notionally independent states as Hyderabad and Iran, and onwards to the far horizons of America and Japan. By following religious actors between these different geographies imperial, sub-imperial and (as they were at least at the time perceived by Muslims) non-imperial domains *Terrains of Exchange* pursues the crossover between imperial and global history. In doing so, the book builds on the New Imperial History and the related turn towards the study of 'trans-colonial networks', which have conceived empires as over-

lapping layers of social networks that were potentially manipulable by even the colonized.[17] As Frederick Cooper has noted, colonized peoples were quite capable of 'deflecting, appropriating or reinterpreting the teachings and preachings thrust upon them'.[18]

As we shall see, religious conversion or cooperation formed one means of accessing the resources of trans-colonial Christian networks that linked imperial Russia to Germany, Britain, Iran and India. Such movements were set in motion as religious competition that began in such evangelical hothouses as Cambridge in England and Halle in Germany triggered Muslim responses in the local terrains of the Russian and British Empires, before moving in turn to entirely new pastures as far away as America and Japan. The discrete but contiguous cases brought together in this book allow us to see global history unfolding through the interplay of parallel encounters and private choices unfolding on the local terrain of different religious marketplaces. This reflects what David Harvey has described as a key consequence of globalization at ground level: 'the shrinkage of space that brings diverse communities into competition with each other implies localized competitive strategies'.[19]

Once again, looking at global history from ground level *sur le terrain*, as the French expression has it reveals how originally localized forms of organization and interaction incrementally expanded as their exponents moved across the world to access new religious markets. In 1900, the idea of converting Americans to Islam in the heartlands of the Midwest was hardly imaginable. But as we shall see, by 1925 there were several Muslim religious entrepreneurs competing for followers in such cities as Chicago and Detroit. As a dynamic Muslim Christian encounter that began in Punjab worked its way to the United States, this expanding scale of religious interactions laid the parameters for the religious competitions of our contemporary world. For in terms of their sociological profiles, discursive formations, organizational apparatus and geographical distributions, the players in current worldwide religious contests did not spring from the recent ruins of the Cold War. They are instead the heirs to the interactive religious transformations of the long nineteenth century.

As different religious markets increasingly came into contact through the imperial expansions and communications revolutions that took place between around 1800 and 1940, local citizens inexorably became global citizens who were aware of the wider world without ever leaving their homes. For Muslims, this was the 'age of steam and print', when contact

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with Europeans brought access to new technologies of communication that widened the scope of their mental as well as physical horizons as printed texts bore ideas and steamships bore bodies between the most distant points of the planet.[20] As the following chapters show, religious interactions were even central to the transfer of technologies as Christian missions served as enabling networks for would-be Muslim Gutenbergs. Printing was, after all, to prove the most essential of all the new tools accessed by the Muslim religious firms that responded to the Christian missionaries' own vast investments in vernacular publishing. As the imperial development of steamship and rail networks carried European and American Christians into the religious markets of the Middle East and Asia, Muslim missionaries responded in turn by sailing and railing to new proselytizing fields in Europe, Africa, Burma, the United States and Japan. Whether through printed propaganda or peripatetic preaching, these Muslim religious entrepreneurs and the organizations they represented made use of communication technologies in great measure. Distributed afar by steam and print, religious competition was played out on a global stage as new markets of faith were established from Detroit to Kobe. For by the 1920s, new impresarios of Islam had adapted the techniques introduced into their home regions by foreign missionaries to export their own religious firms into distant but now connected terrains of religious exchange worldwide. From the mountain villages of the Caucasus to the car factories of Detroit, the world's terrains of exchange were ploughed with a fertilizer of blended faiths that cultivated the 'strange yet familiar' quality of contemporary religious encounters in which Islam is no longer a foreigner to America and Christianity millions strong in India.

Contexts of Exchange: Islamic, Imperial and Global

Much, though by no means all, of this book deals with the Muslims of India, a name used here to encompass the modern nation-states of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. With a Muslim presence dating back to a few generations after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, by the early middle ages India would emerge as a major Muslim region. Under the Mughal Empire between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, India became the site of more complex encounters between ruling Muslims, their Hindu subjects and Christian visitors from Europe.[21] By the time

the East India Company was transformed into a regional power in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Mughal Empire was already falling apart: Muslims' rapidly diminishing political power set the tone of urgency that underlay many of the subsequent exchanges with non-Muslims discussed in this book. Even so, in either India or its surrounding regions, the collapse of the Mughal Empire did not signal the end of Muslim social power based on access to economic and/or religious resources. Muslim merchants and, in time, industrial organizations remained powerful throughout the period of colonial rule, in many cases using the connected geography of the British Empire to find new commercial markets overseas. Even such key institutions of colonial power as the army could be manipulated to provide mechanisms for promoting and distributing new Muslim business and religious enterprises.[22] More traditional mechanisms of religious support also survived the colonial period as several of the Muslim-ruled successor states that emerged from the Mughal Empire survived as 'princely states' until 1947. But in most of India, Muslims felt doubly threatened: on the one hand by the religious, scientific and political power of the British, and on the other by the sheer demographic power of a majority Hindu population.[23] Against this background, the Muslim-ruled princely states served as important bulwarks and patrons of Islam: they were interacting but quasi-autonomous religious economies operating at one remove from British India. As quasi-independent, quasi-colonized environments, these princely states served as hothouses for all manner of religious hybrids. Though there were many, the most important of these Muslim-ruled states was Hyderabad, a kingdom roughly the size of Britain which we shall see to be an important site of Muslim exchange with British Christians no less than Japanese Shintoists.

In such ways, through the long nineteenth century India presented Muslims with more diverse terrains of exchange than probably any other part of the planet. India was the frontline if by no means the only line of Muslim interaction with Christian power. One of the aims of this book is therefore to highlight the response of India to what was perceived as a Christian imperialism by pointing to its importance as a Muslim religious 'production zone'. For India's importance lies not only in religiously demographic terms (that is, in its vast number of Muslim inhabitants), but also in religiously productive terms (that is, in its large number of Muslim religious firms). As we shall observe, these firms

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operated not only in India itself but were also exported to other regions of the world. While the scope of this book is limited to around 1940, the forces studied here that were set in motion over the previous century have continued to this day in both the secular Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, which continue to export their Islams and Muslims to all corners of the world. To give just two examples, by the middle of the twentieth century, the Tablighi Jamaʿat ('Preaching Society') founded in 1926 near Delhi was gaining large numbers of followers from America and Europe to Africa and Japan.[24] Similarly, the Jamaʿat-e Islami ('Islamic Society') founded in 1941 in Lahore has exported franchises of its politicized reorganization of Islam to such varied sovereign nations as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Britain and the United States.[25] The study of India's Muslims is not only central to South Asian history, but also to global history.

This links us to the remit of the case studies brought together here, which connect India's Muslims to not only non-Muslims in India but also to fellow Muslims in the Middle East and potential Muslim converts in Africa and America. The point of bringing together such varied terrains is to show a commonality of processes at work in different regions of the world through the competitive, adaptive and emulative logic of exchange. In standing at the frontline of modern European imperialism, India's Muslims were in many senses 'early adaptors'. They responded quickly to the new ideas and technologies introduced by the British and made effective use of imperial networks to find larger arenas for their activities.[26] But the aim here is less to champion the global impact of one region's Muslims against another's than to point to the operation of forces in India that were also at work in other Muslim regions and which from there spread in turn to previously non-Muslim regions of the planet. As the following chapters show, these forces can be seen in the catalyzing effects of Christian missionary firms in Russia's imperial borderlands in the Caucasus no less than in Britain's imperial borderlands in Hyderabad. While the chapters here focus mainly on Indian, and to a lesser extent, Iranian Muslims albeit ultimately in contact with Americans and Japanese the larger aim is therefore to point to more general processes, ranging from competition to cooperation, that were at work in other terrains of exchange between Muslims and non-Muslims.

By beginning in the early nineteenth century, the case studies here commence at an important turning point in the development of

Muslim Christian encounters. For a while the medieval and especially the early modern period had seen a sequence of merchants, missionaries and diplomats move between Muslim and Christian domains, outside the Mediterranean sustained interactions were limited to a small range of sites and social groups. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, this earlier mode of 'courts and ports' interaction began to change rapidly as a far wider range of persons and places were brought into contact. This was, then, a globalizing century that saw terrains of global exchange multiply as far larger numbers of people from increasingly different backgrounds were brought into contact in many more places. Undoubtedly, much of the momentum behind these new encounters came from Europe's imperial expansion, which pushed different kinds of Europeans into more distant parts of Asia, including continental interiors as well as the older port cities and courtly carrefours. As the moral conscience of empire, missionaries were among the most intrepid of these imperial wayfarers, meeting Muslims in porous cultural borderlands on the very edges of empire.

Yet these new contacts were two-way, as European power perceived as well as actual triggered reciprocal interactions to a correspondingly varied cast of Muslims who began travelling to Europe in turn. Among them were the first groups of Muslim students to study in Europe, such as the first Iranian students sent to London in 1812 and the first Egyptian students sent to Paris in 1826.[27] Dispatched from sovereign Muslim states on the frontiers of European expansion, these pioneering knowledge-seekers acted as transcultural 'middlemen' who were able to translate ideas and transfer technologies from Christian to Muslim environments. And indeed they still were 'Christian' and 'Muslim' contexts, for as both a discursive and a social apparatus, religion served as a means both to conceive and to engage with the 'other'. The aim here is not to de-secularize every dimension of history. But as the first three chapters show, in the opening decades of the nineteenth century, religion provided conceptual mechanisms for Britons, Russians and Germans to imagine and then enact their relations with newly conquered peoples no less than it offered Indians, Iranians and Arabs the social mechanisms to access resources in European hands. The impact of religion on world history lies in the utility it had in the conceptual no less than the social domain, a utility magnified by the pliability of religion as an adaptable tool. In the increasingly interacting world that is traced in the following

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pages, religion formed a means of connecting peoples. It was a tool as well as a product of exchange.

In concrete terms, the most important apparatus of religion to emerge in this regard were the global networks forged by the new Protestant missionary societies in the early 1800s.[28] Through their innovative modes of organization, financing, distribution and recruitment, these new religious 'firms' built conduits for knowledge as well as people, for languages as well as technologies. Transcending the geographies of individual empires or sovereign states, the missionary societies forged genuinely trans-colonial networks that carried people, ideas and resources between vastly distant and dissimilar regions of the world. Whether in the Dutch East Indies or Qajar Iran, the local outposts of these networks formed influential points of contact and thence exchange. Through their inevitable reliance on local assistants, sometimes converted and sometimes not, these missionary firms substantiated religion into manipulable social networks through which cooperators or converts could access influential persons, places and resources. Embedded in its far-flung social environments, once again religion formed a means of getting things done.

In the new religious markets that developed around these missionary outposts, local responses ranged from cooperation to competition. In each case, there was contact and exchange. As we shall see with regard to the Muslim assistants of these Christian missions, there was often a fine line between competition and cooperation as erstwhile converts reneged on their conversions and became competitors instead. In 'liberal' religious economies where religious freedom is allowed, such acts of choice are among the most effective social forces of religious exchange by affording the religious consumer access to different religious firms and all they have to offer. Protected (if not necessarily promoted) by imperial promises to uphold the freedom of religion, Christian missionary firms forcibly pluralized religious markets by investing in polemical printers and preachers to undermine a region's traditional suppliers of salvation. The 'opening' of religious economies to new competition, first by foreign Christian missionary firms and later by both domestic and foreign Muslim missionary firms, created new conflicts as well as new choices. Here too, the model of religious economy helps us grasp the tangible operations of religion as a transformative force in the world.

Since missionaries are often casually associated with the medieval more than the modern period, it is important to clarify what was distinctive

about the new evangelical firms that emerged around the early 1800s. Triggered in large part by what domestic moralists saw as the ungodly mercantile agenda of empire, the new missionary societies (whether French, German, American or British) were Christian responses to empire. Based on reports sent from the colonies, these new religious firms were themselves the product of encounters, whether real, exaggerated or imagined, which circulated in narrative form from sites such as Shiraz to Calcutta, London, Basel and Boston. Be they English or German, Persian or Urdu, the missionary biographies that flourished in this period were invariably tales of travel, travail and triumph in foreign climes. Distributed through print and rumour, such narratives of encounter formed one of the key discursive assets of the new evangelical firms. Whether through stirring up riots, galvanizing fund-drives or recruiting volunteers, these tales of fearless reverends and indignant imams were discursive instruments for getting things done. Once again, the intangible and tangible tools of religion, the texts and organizations, formed means of making things happen in the world by channelling collective commitments and resources into the hands of the religious firm and its directors.

For over two centuries, the dominions of the East India Company had been closed to missionaries. Then, under pressure from evangelicals in parliament, in 1813 the Company was forced to 'open its markets' to the missionary multinationals of Christendom. Establishing themselves around the seat of Company power in Calcutta, the new British, American and German missionary firms founded around 1800 began dispatching their representatives far and wide. In some cases, this involved lone missions, as when the Reverend Henry Martyn left Calcutta to preach the gospel in Iran in 1812. In other cases, it involved groups of missionaries founding new franchises for their firms, as when a branch of the London Missionary Society was established in Malacca in 1815. In addition to the missionaries proper was an evangelical entourage of fellow travellers in the outposts of empire, sometimes churchmen serving as military chaplains, sometimes laymen serving in bureaucratic offices.[29] This was as true of the Russian and Dutch no less than French and British Empires. Whether by secretively preaching to native regiments or promoting Christian causes in education, in India these evangelical imperialists penetrated many levels of the East India Company and subsequently the Raj as it absorbed the Muslim homelands of the former Mughal Empire. And as the British established new footholds further east in such places

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Fig. 1: Literate exchanges: Henry Martyn translates scripture with his *Munshi*

as Singapore, sympathetic empire-builders like Stamford Raffles (1781 1826) made sure the missionaries could found outposts amidst Malay Muslims as well. Between 1812 and 1820, British evangelicals had established themselves among Muslims as far apart as Astrakhan, Shiraz, Calcutta, Malacca and Singapore. The imperial meridian was also an evangelical meridian.

While in Britain alone, over twenty missionary societies were established in this period, the most important of the new religious firms were: from Britain, the Baptist Missionary Society (founded 1792), the London Missionary Society (founded 1795), the Scottish Missionary Society (founded 1796), the Church Missionary Society (founded 1799) and the British and Foreign Bible Society (founded 1804); from the United States, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM, founded 1810) and the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society (founded 1813); and from Denmark Germany Switzerland, the Danish-Halle mission (Dänisch-Hallesche Mission, founded 1706) and

the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society (Evangelische Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel, founded 1815). While all of these organizations opened regional franchises, some founded major regional subsidiaries, such as the Russian Bible Society (founded 1813), which reached out to the varied peoples under tsarist rule. As the number of British missions in this list makes clear, in the years of its imperial expansion Britain became as abundant an exporter of religion as of textiles. As we shall see later with regard to mass-produced Bibles for overseas markets, the industrial forces behind both types of export were markedly similar. With different denominations establishing their own particular missions, Britain's export-oriented productivity drew from the pluralistic domestic religious economy that had emerged from the easing of restrictions on domestic Nonconformist organizations since the seventeenth century. The process was paralleled in the exported religious productivity of the United States.[30] With the shift from the First to the Second British Empire in the late eighteenth century, the new Asian colonies replaced America as an outlet for Britain's religious entrepreneurs, for whom Hindus and increasingly Muslims replaced the Native Americans targeted by the earlier Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (founded 1701).

What the various new Christian religious firms held in common was their basic profile as Protestant organizations dedicated to the championing of scripture and the freedom of conscience. Although the expansion of French imperialism saw the re-establishment of the older Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris in 1815, through their innovative binding of an ideology of literacy to new technologies of vernacular printing, it was the Protestant missions that were the most important early catalysts of exchange. Strange as it may now seem, the new missionary societies of the early nineteenth century were the religious heirs to the Enlightenment, which contributed to their promotion of the freedom of religious conscience through access to education and printed scripture.[31] As such, for all their zeal, they were also societies and networks of learning. As well as introducing the first European schools to such regions as Iran in the 1830s and overseeing the development of modern vernacular education in India on behalf of the colonial state, the missionaries collected data on the languages, beliefs and practices of those they sought to educate and convert.[32] In sociological terms, knowledge therefore flowed in two directions through these organizations, from

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their metropolitan bases to their Asian outposts and from those Asian outposts to the metropolis. At home and abroad, the houses, schools and printing offices of these missions were themselves terrains of exchange.

In the British as in the Russian Empire, missionaries sometimes pursued and sometimes preceded the pace of imperial expansion. In an important signal of the global rather than narrowly imperial scope of religious networks, foreign missions also penetrated third-party empires, as with the expansion of the Evangelische Missions-gesellschaft zu Basel into the Russian Empire and the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society into British India. These missions were highly effective transnational and trans-colonial firms introducing new religious services (such as education and medicine) and new religious products (such as printed books and European clothes) into religious economies that were catalyzed by their arrival into responding in turn, whether with vernacular Muslim books or atavistically Prophet-like clothing. By the 1820s, from the shores of the Caspian to the bazaars of central India, missionaries were triggering such responses through their printed criticisms of Islam and their public debates with its leaders.[33] As SherAli Tereen has argued in a study of these missionary public debates (known as *munazarat*) which from the mid nineteenth century were attracting audiences of tens of thousands in India, their polemical comparisons of the merits and demerits of different religions encouraged 'the emergence of a new kind of [human] subject whose job it was to decide on the truth and untruth of competing religious claims'.[34] Setting in motion repeated local cycles of critique, comparison and self-reform, the arrival of these Christian firms in the new global markets of religion roused responses from defenders, reformers and re-marketers of Islam. In a repeatable process seen in many different terrains, interactions generated new religious productions. Again, religion was both the means and the outcome of exchange.

Seen through the rubric of religious economy, such encounters had catalytic effects that had deeper social repercussions than the simple statistics of conversion might suggest. Emboldened by the prestige and protection of empire, and funded by the deep purses of their transnational subscribers, missionaries had a tremendously destabilizing effect in the new markets they penetrated. Between around 1800 and 1830, when from Algeria to Sumatra the French, British, Dutch and Russians were defeating one Muslim state after another, the missionary assault on Islam had an effect that was magnified by its sheer rapidity as the new missionary

firms dispatched their representatives far and wide. If there were invariably relatively few Muslim converts, the larger impact of the missions came through the responses they set in motion in local markets by way of comparison, adaptation and emulation. Even where they failed to create large numbers of new Christians, the missionaries did unintentionally create new Muslim (as well as Hindu and Buddhist) counter-missions. In many cases, these were 'self-strengthening movements', organizations that aimed to purge and reform Islam by internalizing the critiques of the Christians. Such entrepreneurial self-critics used critique as a tool of self-empowerment as the spokesmen for 'true Islam'. In other cases, the new Muslim organizations sought the conversion of non-Muslims, whether Indian Hindus, American Christians or Japanese Shintoists.

In many cases, these new Muslim religious firms were founded by individuals who had no place in the former religious establishments of their home regions. They were as likely to be former soldiers, businessmen or journalists as the scions of Sufi families or the masters of old madrasas. In organizational terms, the religious firms they founded often looked more Christian (or later, communist or fascist) than traditionally Islamic. In other cases, religious entrepreneurs either emerged from or revived older forms of religious organization, such as the Sufi brotherhoods or the madrasa schools, though even in these cases they adopted many of the Christian firms' techniques. Across many regions of the planet, these exchanges led to adaptive hybridizations that saw the emulation and distribution of new religious ideologies that variously stressed the importance of personal faith, private experience and scripture or of rituals, bodily comportment and miracles. Different religious firms promoted different religious 'packages'. Promoted and produced by so many new firms and entrepreneurs, Islam became many different things; in its sociological profiles, it became many different Islams. This was particularly the case with regard to the new modes of organization, financing and outreach that were adopted by new Muslim religious firms and entrepreneurs. In its social substance, by 1900 Islam was a far more varied enterprise than it had been when it began its missionary exchanges around 1800.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the Christians' critiques were empowered by their dominance over the period's most important technology of religious outreach: printing. With a couple of pioneering exceptions, before around 1820 Muslims did not print

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books.[35] But through their interaction with Christian missionaries and empire-builders, from around 1820 Muslims quickly developed printing enterprises as far apart as Cairo, Tabriz and Calcutta.[36] Here we see the technological implications of the Protestant theology of the British, German and American missionaries whose emphasis on converting through providing individual access to scripture through printing and translating the Bible had the unintended effect of transferring both language skills and printing technologies to Muslim religious rivals. In such places as Calcutta and Tabriz, the missionaries' former Muslim assistants began to print their own counterblasts to Christianity. One of these, *Barahín Sabatíyya dar Radd 'Aqa'id Nasara* ('Proofs of Sabat Against the Christians' Beliefs'), written and published in Calcutta in 1814 by the erstwhile convert 'Nathaniel' Jawad ibn Sabat, was one of the first books ever printed by a Muslim.[37] Nor would Sabat be the last Muslim to print such rejoinders to the missionaries' Bible translations. Among the many who followed him in subsequent decades was British India's greatest impresario of Islam, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who in 1857 bought a printing press for 8,000 rupees and, adapting Reverend Henry Martyn's methods for Muslim ends, hired an Englishman (for the English text) and a Jew (for the Hebrew text) in order to publish his hybrid Urdu English Hebrew Arabic *Taba'in al-Kalam fi Tafsir al-Tawrat wa al-Injíl 'ala Míllat-e al-Islam* ('Contrasting Commentary on the Old and New Testaments according to the Muslim Community').[38] The exchanges that Martyn and Sabat had set in motion were adapted by many subsequent traffickers of faith.

To return to the founding moments of Muslim print around 1820, for the most part it was initially Muslim governments who oversaw the first Muslim printing presses, albeit through their middlemen's contact with the Christian printers of Europe and India. In regions such as Iran, we shall see the state itself respond to the missionaries' printed Bibles by patronizing the first printed Qurans. As access to the technology widened, a growing number of Muslim religious firms began to respond to the Christians' missionary outreach with their own propaganda. Given the fact that Muslim states were rapidly being conquered in this period, the transfer of religious activity from the state to these new private firms was an important development. In the emulative logic of the marketplace, the new Muslim firms responded to the thousands of Christian polemical tracts printed in Muslim languages by printing their own counterblasts, such as that of Jawad ibn Sabat. While the far reach of

Europe's imperial and missionary networks distributed Christian propaganda to many different regions within a few short years, the sheer scale of interactions that took place in India saw the subcontinent emerge as a tremendously productive print market by the 1850s. The new public sphere that this enabled intensified both the scale and scope of interaction between competing religious firms as new Hindu, Zoroastrian and Sikh organizations joined the Muslims and Christians in the Indian marketplace of print.[39] Toughened by a bruising public arena of preached and printed polemics, in subsequent decades India's religious firms began to look for new terrains overseas. Whether through exporting books to England or shipping missionaries to America, the case studies that follow show the impact of India's religious economy both at home and abroad.

This brings us to the point where imperial history, religious history and global history intersect. For the transfer of communication skills and technologies by empire-builders (spreading rail and steamship networks) and by missionaries (spreading vernacular printing and translation skills) lent the targets of this 'evangelical imperialism' the means with which to respond. In the rubric of religious economy, this lent Muslims the ability to create innovative religious enterprises; the means to publicize them through printing books, magazines and posters; and the access to transportation systems that distributed printed matter and preachers to regions far beyond the older geographies of Islam. In some cases, this saw new cities emerge as hubs of religious production and distribution, especially those with heightened access to communication technologies. One of these new production zones was Bombay, where from around 1850 new religious firms reached out to the varied Muslim populations of the Indian Ocean.[40] Between around 1800 and 1940, access to communications technologies allowed the same process to unfold in the hubs of other interconnected terrains, seeing new Muslim centres emerge in such unlikely settings as London, Cape Town, Singapore, Tokyo and Detroit. As in the case of Bombay, many of these new Muslim production zones had few if any earlier links with Islam, pointing to the generative character of exchange played out on a truly global scale. While African, Malay and Arab religious entrepreneurs were also active in these new Muslim outposts, as the following chapters show, Indian religious firms were remarkable for establishing franchises almost everywhere. To take just one example, by 1920 the Indian Muslim Ahmadiyya organization had its missionaries printing and preaching in cities from North America to

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the Caribbean, Europe, West Africa, the Middle East, South East Asia and even China. By around 1900, then, the adaptation of communication methods by Muslim religious entrepreneurs in the marts of evangelical and imperial exchange had enabled their firms to expand to the far corners of the world. Islam had truly globalized and it had happened as an outcome of exchange and, indeed, competition.

What is crucial to recognize is that this process had not involved the creation of a single global Islam. Quite the opposite had happened as an exponential number of interactions had led to the creation of more and more Muslim responses by way of new authorities, theologies, organizations, ideologies, communities, modes of deportment and dress. Played out no a global scale, the exchanges of religious economy saw a fragmentation of Islam that, in the absence of any unifying institution comparable to the papacy, was even more intense than the fragmentation of Christianity through the period's parallel generation of new Christianities from the interactions of the Atlantic world.[41] As part of this global process, which gathered pace through the long nineteenth century to continue to the present day, there emerged the first Muslim missionary organizations. Having effectively learned from the Christian evangelical onslaught in the first half of the nineteenth century, Muslims in the second half of the century began to establish their own counter-missions. Through the logic of market exchange, they did so by adapting the forms of organization, technology, propagation and fund-raising that they had seen used by Christian firms. In an attempt to indigenize these adapted techniques, these Muslim missions re-deployed older Arabic terms such as *da'wa* ('inviting'), *tablīgh* ('preaching') and *isha'at* ('announcing'), though others were content simply to borrow the Christians' own word as *mishan*. Again, even as each of these new firms claimed to distribute the sole true Islam, this Muslim missionary response did not see the dissemination of a single 'uniform' or 'global' Islam.[42] Rather, these various organizations produced and propounded various Islams, each taking shape in response to the cultural resources, preferences and competitors present in the market where they operated. Moving into new terrains imbued its own fragmentary logic as exporters of Islam were forced to adapt their 'product' to increasingly varied conditions, whether ethnic and cultural or economic and legal. Religious mobility generated religious change; communication generated transformation.

As these new Islams were adapted for their multiple terrains, Muslim missionaries not only competed with what were by 1900 their familiar

Christian, Hindu and Buddhist rivals. They also increasingly competed with 'fellow' Muslim religious firms. Indeed, as the most likely potential followers and investors in their firms, existing Muslim populations formed the most contested of all consumer bases for these new firms. Here was the market production of sectarianism.[43] In regions with scarce resources and limited mechanisms of social mobility, religion served as a correspondingly important, and contested, route to social power, producing still greater sectarian competition. As perhaps the most productive of all Muslim religious markets through the long nineteenth century, colonial India produced several of the most influential players in this internecine competition by way of the Deobandi madrasa network (founded 1866); the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam (founded 1889); the Barelwi madrasa network (founded 1904); the Tablighi Jamaʿat (founded 1926); the Jamaʿat-e Islami (founded 1941); and a whole gamut of religious firms based around Sufi brotherhoods. By the early twentieth century, parallel firms were also emerging in the Middle East, such as Muhammad Rashid Rida's Jamaʿat al-Daʿwa wa'l-Irshad ('Preaching and Guidance Organization'), founded in Cairo around 1913. But the new Indian religious firms were among the most ambitious Muslim enterprises to expand overseas in attempts to win converts for Islam or sympathizers for Muslim causes from America to Britain and right across its Asian and African empire to Japan on the far side of the world. The Indian-run Khilafat organization of the 1910s was after all the first great pan-Islamic enterprise to capture worldwide attention while by 1920 the Ahmadiyya Movement was running worldwide missions from China to Germany and West Africa.[44] Two of the chapters in this book pursue different types of these impresarios of Islam as they moved out of India to the United States and Japan.

As other case studies show, with their different propagation methods and their different forms of Islam, the outcome of this global expansion was less a unified Muslim chorus than a polyphony of voices that sang in tune with non-Muslims as often as it kept harmony with fellow Muslims. In sociological terms, there was nothing intrinsically 'good' or 'bad' about this development, even if it does contradict the claims of both Pan-Islamists and conspiracy theorists. In some terrains, these pluralizing and fragmenting processes generated tolerantly cosmopolitan forms of Islam; in other terrains, they fed violently sectarian theologies. Different conditions of interaction — different 'rates of exchange' — generated propo-

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nents of cooperation or confrontation. As the product of the variable local conditions in any area of encounter, these differing rates of exchange led to a multitude of religious outcomes. From a Sufi brotherhood funded by factory-owners to plans for Muslim empowerment through emulating imperial Japan, the following chapters present a sample of these outcomes as they developed from the intersecting terrains of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Multiple Outcomes of Exchange

Working through the rubric of religious economy by way of interaction and exchange, the chapters that follow form a processual sequence of case studies that focus on various aspects of the processes described in this Introduction. Focusing on intersecting terrains that stretched from the colleges of Cambridge to the towns of princely Hyderabad, the chapters point to the playing out of religious economic processes, whether of emulation and adaption or cooperation and competition. Examining different religious participants no less than different religious products, some chapters focus more on Christian missionary catalysts and others more on their Muslim cooperators; some on Hindu admirers of Muslim holy men and others on Muslim competitors with Christians; some on new forms of organizing Muslims and others on new forms of disseminating Islam. By looking at materials often overlooked by historians including poems and biographies, travelogues and etiquette books the aim is to gain an inside view of global encounters seen through alternatively Muslim and non-Muslim eyes, as well as through the eyes of the transcultural middlemen who often served as human media of exchange. The close attention to different texts in turn allows us to capture the semantics of religious exchange that saw the emergence of hybrid new genres (such as Muslim Japanology) and new words (such as *mishan* or 'mission'). By using mixed materials from different languages, regions and registers, the chapters view global processes not only from local terrains but through local materials. Moreover, the aim is to use materials (or combinations thereof) that were themselves means and outcomes of exchange. Having in this Introduction presented a larger-scale view of global processes, the chapters use the scattered fragments of microhistorical excavation to present smaller-scale sketches of a contracting world seen from a variety of terrains.

The first three chapters are grouped together in the section 'Evangelicals: Missionary Catalysts, Muslim Responses'. Since it was the initial catalytic assault of the new Christian missionary firms that set in motion so many Muslim responses, Chapter One focuses on one of the most important production centres for this evangelical offensive on Islam: the English universities of the early nineteenth century. As gathering points for 'orientalist' information culled from every corner of Britain's emerging empire, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge disseminated a new awareness of Islam and a new means of Christian outreach: evangelical orientalism. Not only were the universities among the first institutions to train missionaries for such regions as India and Iran, they also produced the intellectual tools of exchange by way of grammars of Islamic languages for missionaries in the field and translations of the Bible into Arabic and Persian. With the old prestige of their colleges and their ties to the ruling establishment, the university evangelicals sought next to manipulate the social networks of empire and have sympathizers appointed in India. By the 1830s, England's universities had become the Parnassus of an evangelical empire that governed millions of Muslims from Delhi to Singapore.

This imperial context is important for understanding why *Terrains of Exchange* positions Christians in the first chapter and appears to portray them as the prime movers of exchange in a way that raises the obvious question of whether this lends primacy of agency to Europeans. Here it is important to recognize that the book deals with a particular historical period and its particular cycles of exchange; and that this was a period and set of cycles that, unlike those of the medieval and early modern era, saw Muslim societies placed under multiple pressures from aggressive state and sub-state organizations expanding from Europe. Among these organizations, the first chapter deals with the religious firms and their individual entrepreneurs whose evangelical strategies triggered a new cycle of Christian Muslim exchange at the same time as acting as a catalyst for new forms of inter-Muslim religious competition and innovation. While there were certainly earlier competitive cycles of Christian Muslim exchange, including the dispatching of Catholic missionaries and the translation of scripture, these were distinct from this 'evangelical' phase that from around 1800 coincided with the military and commercial expansion of Europe's empires. For unlike their predecessors, the Protestant evangelicals and the evangelical orientalists as their interac-

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tive vanguard were the children of an industrial and informational revolution: the new resources available to them enabled the evangelicals to develop new techniques of organizing and funding their activities; of knowing and critiquing their interlocutors; and of communicating and distributing what turned out to be the surprisingly adaptable resources of missionary religion.

For in producing this evangelical orientalism, the learned professors of Oxford and Cambridge were forced to rely on Muslim cooperators or converts, revealed in the next two chapters as important adapters of Christian techniques and as innovators in the face of their competition. Much of the efforts of these Muslim cooperators with the new missionary societies was given over to translation projects: as Protestants, the missionaries were convinced that the Bible would itself convert the infidels if only they could read it in their own languages. By the early 1800s, printing in the vernaculars of Islam was in this way the global expansion of the vernacularizing agenda of the Protestant Reformation in Europe. Yet in a period when the first European dictionaries of Islamic languages were only just being written, such translations required the help of educated native speakers. Here was the great irony of the missionary enterprise, that it required the assistance of former or even practising Muslims in order to defeat Islam. As a result, the great translation projects that were the most expensive and prestigious of all missionary enterprises were themselves the products of exchange between Muslims and Christians. In practical terms, such reliance on native language experts opened for these cooperators various channels of opportunity as missionary networks functioned as practical social networks for getting things done. In examing the workings of such competitive, adaptive and ultimately generative exchange, Chapters Two and Three examine the different ways in which individual Muslim entrepreneurs turned the techniques of the Christian missions to their own varied purposes of personal or collective empowerment.

As not merely foreign but transnational religious firms, the Christian missions thus formed social networks that Muslim converts or cooperators were able to manipulate to access influential persons, institutions or resources. This could occur locally, through the flow of resources from the missionary home base to the Muslim locale in question, or at a distance, through the travels of the convert or cooperator to the mission's home base. The resources that flowed along these networks were not

merely financial but also technological. And as Chapter Two shows, the most influential of these technologies was printing. Missionary networks helped spread printing to several Muslim regions around 1818, both in terms of passing on the technology itself and triggering the Muslim need to respond to the flood of translated Bibles. In terms of its impact on Muslim printing, the most important of all the evangelical associations was the Bible Society, which Chapter Two reveals as the trainer of the most important early promoter of printing in Iran. Turning towards other skills that Bible translation helped transfer, Chapter Three moves to the southern borderlands of the Russian Empire in the Caucasus mountains and the northern shores of the Caspian Sea. There, from around 1815, missionary outposts were established by two non-Russian religious firms: the Scottish Missionary Society and the Evangelische Missions-gesellschaft zu Basel. As these European Protestants sought to translate scripture into the bewildering array of languages spoken by local Muslims, from Persian to Kalmyk and Tatar, these foreign firms came to rely on Muslim assistants, sometimes converted to Christianity, sometimes not. Through their Bible work, these language workers in turn acquired skills that helped them manipulate the missionary organizations as trans-colonial networks. As a result, from their initial terrains of exchange in some of the most remote towns of Eurasia, a series of Iranian cooperators went on to find influential positions as far away as Saint Petersburg, London and Bombay, as well as at the royal court in Tehran. Whether through printing skills or language skills, missionary educations could be turned to a variety of Muslim uses.

The next two chapters form a section entitled 'Innovators: Communal Competitors, Local Cosmopolitans'. Here we move on from the catalytic effects of the Christian missionaries to trace the next stages in the religious economic process of competition, emulation and adaptation as external critiques generated internal reforms and foreign ideas generated creative local fusions. Moving from the Russian imperial borderlands to their British counterparts in the quasi-colonized state of Hyderabad, Chapter Four turns to the effects of a missionary firm beyond the formal boundaries of the British Empire. In 1902, there arrived from the industrial city of Birmingham a representative of the Church Missionary Society to the Indian provincial town of Aurangabad. He soon began to distribute tracts outside mosques and to preach against Islam in the bazaar. Adapting elements of his critique, a local religious entrepreneur

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responded by founding a counter-mission that reorganized the Sufi Islam of the region in ways that drew from his Christian competitor. Distancing his new teachings from those of older Muslim firms in the area, the founder of this Muslim mission propounded a reformed Sufi Islam in which, like Protestant Englishmen, Indians were encouraged to hoist themselves to heaven by their own bootstraps. As in Bombay to the west, Aurangabad's industrialization helped empower this religious enterprise as a local Muslim businessman imported the machinery to found a textile mill that supplied the mission with both human and financial resources. As worlds intersected in small-town Hyderabad State, two competing missionary firms thus drew on parallel industrial revenues in their contest for supporters.

Chapter Five introduces Hindu religious entrepreneurs into the picture who, as with Muslim and Christian interactions, variously competed or cooperated with their Islamic counterparts. This triangulated pattern of Christian Muslim Hindu interaction helps us understand how the religious economy of colonial India became so productive how it produced so many new religious firms as a result of the sheer quantity and variety of exchanges it encompassed. Cross-fertilized by so many farmers of faith, the rich *terroirs* of the subcontinent offered an abundance of religious resources to the godly entrepreneur. Chapter Five focuses on a cooperative encounter between Muslims and Hindus that involved two figures from the top and bottom of Indian society: a Hindu maharaja from princely Hyderabad and a former Muslim soldier discharged from the colonial army on grounds of insanity. The Urdu source materials here allow for an insightful case study by showing that it is not necessary to identify or be identified as a Muslim to produce Islam: Islamic ideas and organizations can be produced by a whole range of social actors (a fact that was cunningly realized by Germany's Islam propagandists during the First World War). In the social operation of religion, agency is therefore more important than identity. Exploring cooperative rather than competitive forms of exchange, the chapter shows how the innovative exchange between a Hindu maharaja and a Muslim holy man generated the new religious fusion of a Hindu Sufism. This was not a unique case. As Hyderabad's religious marketplace opened to such cosmopolitan foreign firms as the Theosophists and Freemasons, the princely state formed fertile terrain for Hindu paeans to the Sufis no less than Muslim adaptations of Vedanta. Even as the world descended on Hyderabad, its reli-

gious producers responded with no single global Islam, but with a range of new religious options. Once again, we see how different terrains, with their different rates of exchange, generated different religious products.

Having moved towards India from Britain, Persia and the Caucasus in the book's first section, and proceeded through colonial to princely India in the middle section, the final section of *Terrains of Exchange* completes the orbit of circulation by following the export of Indian religious products to new markets overseas. The Muslim religious firms that had been catalyzed into action by the arrival of foreign Christian missions had by the end of the nineteenth century become exporters themselves. Entitled 'Exporters: Pious Passengers, Islamic Impresarios', this final section shows how India's domestic religious firms began to search out their own cooperators and converts in regions far beyond India. Initially, this process saw these Muslim firms adapt imperial communication networks to their own purposes by using British steamship lines to seek followers elsewhere within the empire, whether in Africa, Malaya or the imperial centre in Britain. In Liverpool, London and Woking, in the years either side of 1900 several hybrid organizations were founded as Indian, Egyptian and Yemeni Muslims worked with British converts to found Muslim missionary firms on English soil.[45] Here was a pattern of circulation, as missionary methods exported from Britain in the early nineteenth century were adapted in India to Muslim requirements before being re-exported back to the imperial centre. But in the increasingly integrated world of the early twentieth century, the globalizing of passenger transport brought destinations beyond the bounds of empire within Indian reach.[46] Taking advantage of the new steamship routes that linked Indian ports to South East Asia, China, Japan and ultimately North America, a new generation of Muslim emissaries looked out to this wider world beyond the British Empire.[47] What had begun in the early 1800s as local responses to an evangelical imperialism had by the 1920s been transformed into a truly global Muslim outreach for cooperators and converts.

Tracing the widening ambit of these markets of Islam, Chapter Six turns to various groups of Indians including students, agriculturalists and political activists who began travelling to North America from around 1900.[48] Most of them sought education, farm land or political freedom for their homeland, but in 1920 a Muslim arrived in Philadelphia from Punjab with the ambition of converting America to Islam. Sent by

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the Ahmadiyya Movement perhaps the most efficient of all the Muslim religious firms to emerge in colonial India this Punjabi missionary spent the next three years in New York, Chicago and especially Detroit. Transferring the techniques of the Indian religious marketplace to the American Midwest, he made ample use of America's own public sphere by making speeches, publishing newspaper articles and founding his own magazine, *The Moslem Sunrise*. If a century earlier the evangelical orientalists of Oxford and Cambridge had learned to publish their own propaganda in the languages of India, then by 1920 India responded by sending its own evangelical occidentalists to publish in the chief vernacular of the American melting pot. Preaching in English around the car factories of Detroit, he sought followers among labour migrants who ranged from Syrians and Poles to African Americans newly arrived from the Deep South. In 1921, just a hundred yards from Henry Ford's pioneering assembly line in Detroit's Highland Park, he helped found the first purpose-built mosque in America. By drawing on his Urdu autobiography, Chapter Eight shows how the missionary techniques that such Muslims had adapted from their Christian competitors in the course of the nineteenth century could by the 1920s be exported to new markets in the quest for American investors in Islam.

Tracing the Muslim outreach to other new regions of the world, Chapter Seven moves eastwards to follow other Indians who sought not so much converts as cooperators for Muslim causes in Japan. In the wake of the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905, not only Indian but Egyptian, Ottoman, Iranian, Malay and even Tatar Muslims similarly travelled to Tokyo. There, in terrain on which no follower of Muhammad had ever trodden just a generation before, these globetrotting entrepreneurs founded Muslim magazines, organizations and collaborations. By fleeing critical colonial encounters with Europeans in their homeland, through their travels to Japan, Indians entered into new exchanges that produced novel Muslim enterprises in turn. Seeking aid, inspiration and education, they were forced in return to re-think the old categories by which they understood the world as they struggled to justify the idea of a Shinto Buddhist nation as the model for a Muslim future. But by the 1910s and 20s, Muslims were not only trying to learn lessons through their exchanges with Japan, but also to export their own religion there. Though in practice religion was still policed by the Japanese state, the Meiji Constitution of 1889 had promised freedom of religious conscience,

allowing a wide range of religious entrepreneurs from Catholic and Protestant Christians to Theosophers, Baha'is and Muslims to enter the diversifying, if nonetheless controlled, new religious marketplaces of Japan. This was particularly the case in port cities such as Yokohama and Kobe, where Christian missionaries had been active since the 1860s. Drawing on the records of the first mosque to be founded in Japan, this final chapter turns to Kobe to show how by the early 1930s Muslim entrepreneurs had reached what were now truly global terrains of exchange.

Overall, the polyphonic approach that is pursued in these pages by listening to many Muslim voices shows that globalization does not necessarily produce a single form of Islam or community of Muslims. As the chapters aim to show, in its social as well as intellectual substance, Islam has been multiply transformed, fragmented and reproduced in its many terrains of exchange. In some cases, this led to the spread of what are often described as 'reform movements', but one of the findings of this book is that such purifying reforms were themselves the outcome of exchange. In other cases, the outcomes were such cosmopolitan hybrids as Sufi-Vedanta; in yet others, sectarian enterprises drawing boundaries with Hindus and Christians. In more recent times, interactions in other terrains have produced religious firms that promote such contrasting visions as Islamic democracy and Islamist fascism. The larger lesson is that multiple global interactions produce a variety of religious outcomes shaped by the interplay in any given terrain of many different variables. These variables include the profiles of religious supply and demand; the availability of cultural, technological and financial resources; and the number and character of religious and secular competitors. In any given religious marketplace, the sum of these variables the different 'rates of exchange' in any particular terrain is the determinant of religious outcomes.

As the following case studies reveal, from some terrains Muslims emerge looking more like their interlocutors; from other terrains, they emerge more differentiated than before. But for all their very real differences, the many modern-day Islams and the religious firms that have produced them are all the products of exchanges of the kind examined here, exchanges that continue to take place in the high mountains of Caucasia no less than the suburbs of middle America. As new forms of religious organization, technology and outreach have become available to a widening range of religious entrepreneurs since the nineteenth century,

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more Muslim authorities and with them more Islams have become available for believers to choose from. The increasing intensity of global interactions shifting from the printsphere studied here to the blogosphere of today has produced an increasingly integrated and yet at the same time fragmented religious marketplace. In an age of diminishing resources, the efficacy of Islam as a route to social power will ensure that in the years to come such crisscrossed terrains will produce many new Muslim claimants to authenticity and authority.

EVANGELICALS

MISSIONARY CATALYSTS, MUSLIM RESPONSES

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1

PARNASSUS OF THE EVANGELICAL EMPIRE

'Sir, there are two objects of curiosity: the Christian world and the Mahometan world.'

James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791)

An Evangelical Orientalism

If a great deal of ink has been spilt about the 'colonial' agenda of oriental learning since the publication of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, then far less attention has been paid to the role of Christian evangelicalism in mediating the relationship between empire and knowledge.[1] Challenging Said's fundamental assumption that orientalism was a product of the secular Enlightenment, this chapter points to the promotion of oriental learning at England's most prestigious sites of religious production in the first half of the nineteenth century. By tracing the definitively Christian approach to empire propounded by the evangelical orientalists at England's universities, we shall see how there spread from the universities to the colonies and beyond a distinctly anti-secular and 'providentialist' reading of empire. Building on Michael Mann's recognition that the control of institutions is crucial to the production of social power, this chapter shows how the evangelicals' access to university chairs, funds, colleges and missionary firms empowered themselves and their agendas and in turn provided access to the farther reaching institutions of empire.[2]

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Unlike the secular orientalism of the eighteenth and later nineteenth centuries, this 'evangelical orientalism' formed a major institutional means of first understanding from a distance and then interacting at close quarters with the Muslim peoples of Britain's Asian empire during the decades when it was chiefly acquired. In place of the collusion of extractive imperialism and secular knowledge forms delineated by Edward Said, the following pages outline a relationship between orientalism and empire that was more religious than secular. For Said, orientalism emerged from secularizing elements in eighteenth-century European culture which saw 'the old religious patterns of human history and destiny ... reconstituted, redeployed, redistributed in ... secular frameworks'.[3] Among Said's critics no less than his disciples, the orientalist enterprise has been repeatedly framed in these secular terms, terms which ironically themselves belong to late imperial modes of self-representation.[4] What this formulation crucially ignores is that the period in which Britain actually acquired its 'Oriental' empire saw an intensely 'evangelical' religious revival.[5] It was in the terms of this revival that the academy at home established its first connections with the empire abroad. Far as they were from the chief outpost of colonial power in Calcutta, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were terrains of exchange in which the textual and sometimes human embodiments of Islam were encountered and responded to.

This evangelical orientalism was a different orientalism from that which blossomed from the cosmopolitan conversations of the likes of William Jones and Henry Colebrooke with their *munshis* on the distant verandas of Bengal. Instead, this distinctive orientalism emerged in the libraries and lecture halls of the universities of the homeland. Far from secular, both the academy and the empire which it imagined were of a profoundly Christian character. Since this book's model of dynamic exchange is intended to reveal patterns of productive reciprocity, it is not the intention here to place primary historical agency with Christian Europeans. This focus of this first chapter on a particular terrain in Europe is therefore primarily for heuristic purposes and it is important to recognize from the outset that the university orientalists were not prime movers but were themselves responding to Muslim stimuli carried to England from India. Nor is it the purpose of this chapter to argue that these evangelical orientalists created an all-encompassing 'discourse'. They lectured and preached, translated and printed; and while they

wielded increasing influence in India and beyond as the East India Company established bases as far away as Canton, their godly model of empire was certainly challenged by alternatives.

If the aim here is therefore not simply to replace one hegemonic orientalism with another, then it is to displace the hold of the secular over our understanding of modern empires and their knowledge of and interaction with their subjects worldwide. To do so, the following pages survey the period between around 1800 and 1850 in which evangelicals came to dominate oriental learning in the English universities. For this was a period that saw moral no less than intellectual reconfigurations in Britain as a response to the rapid acquisition of an Asian empire. Abroad, the East India Company seethed with the practical activities of conquest and governance; at home, the universities rumbled with discussion of the moral responsibilities of conquest. As information about the religions of distant India and Iran reached the learned Christians of England, those Christians in return exported their own religion, albeit in a form that by this very encounter was already transformed into such hybrid products as Persian Bibles and Urdu catechisms.

It was through these exports that the universities made major inroads to the Asian empire and beyond it to such further terrains as Qajar Iran, the Dutch East Indies and Qing China. Before around 1815, the empire had little common business with the universities, which were mainly the training ground of the squirearchy and clergy and were not a major recruiting ground for the East India Company. Nor in turn did the universities concern themselves with the places and business of the Company. Orientalism in a Saidian sense was simply not a feature of English university life: the universities did not produce knowledge for or about the Indian Empire. The small number of university men (like the young William Jones) who were interested in Indian languages were forced to study them in their own time and so founded their own centres of oriental learning outside the universities, such as the Asiatic Society of Bengal, founded in Calcutta in 1784, and the Royal Asiatic Society, founded in London in 1823. But before the educational reforms of the mid nineteenth century, the universities comprised a faculty of churchmen and it was this basic fact which defined the course of their interactions with the empire, an empire which was viewed in theological terms by the clerical fellows of Oxford and Cambridge and, to the north, St Andrews and Edinburgh. If on the ground in Calcutta the swift acquisition of vast new

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territories was primarily seen as an administrative and practical problem, in the universities it was magnified into a moral, religious and even eschatological problem. This might anyway have been expected from the intellectual profile of these colleges of churchmen. But the acquisition of the eastern empire also coincided with a religious revival which would eventually be termed 'evangelicalism'. It was those scholars most closely associated with new religious firms the missionary and scripture societies who developed the greatest interest in the 'heathen' who had recently fallen under British rule. And so, in the period of the great expansion of oriental studies in the decades of Britain's conquests in India, the relationship between academy and empire was mediated by the evangelical desire to convert Asia to Christianity.

While evangelicalism grew from older antagonisms between the established church and its social responsibilities at home and was not originally caused by events abroad, the new empire quickly became inseparable from the practical realization of evangelical aims.[6] Whether in India or America, empire provided abundant territory for the 'conversionism' that David Bebbington has seen as the crucial defining feature of evangelicalism.[7] The moral crisis triggered by an easily-won empire was thus framed in religious and specifically providentialist terms, terms which paralleled those used to explain the corresponding loss of Muslim power by the new Muslim pietists who emerged through contact with these muscular Christians.[8] For the pietists of Oxford and Cambridge, the delivery of India into Christian hands was a divine invitation to evangelize; for their Muslim interlocutors in Lucknow and Delhi, it told of God's wrath and the need to purify their own faith. In such distant but connected terrains, the encounter with other peoples who were conceived primarily in religious terms galvanized individuals on both sides into founding new theologies, organizations and tools of communication. With its Hindustani grammars, its Persian tracts and its Arabic Psalters not to mention its countless texts in Malay, Chinese and even Maori Evangelical Orientalism was one such toolkit for communication and competition.

Propelling these endeavours was a sense of cosmic duty. In the words of a sermon delivered in 1826 in Madras by the Reverend Thomas Robinson, future Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic on his return to Cambridge, 'It is hard to conceive ... that the dominion of this vast continent should have devolved upon a little island of the west for the sole

purpose of aggrandizing her children, without some ulterior design of moral and religious good.’[9] This shift from a mercantile to a moral understanding of empire coalesced in the debates on the renewal of the East India Company’s charter in 1813. In their attempt to Christianize the empire, the Evangelical wing in Parliament won two important concessions from the company: the creation of an Anglican diocese for India with archdeacons in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and the entry of the new English and Scottish missionary societies founded around 1800 into Company dominions.[10] The empire was officially opened for the new missionary firms to establish their outposts and franchises in town and country. These concessions were not easily ceded and the relationship between the practical and the moral guardians of empire would remain an ambivalent one throughout the nineteenth century. But the Charter Act of 1813 nonetheless expressed a new Christian understanding of empire which would open the religious economy of India to stirring competition from the Protestant religious firms of Britain, America and Germany. And the need to supply these firms with books and with staffing, with intellectual and human resources, in turn found expression in the reconfiguration of the tasks of the universities.

At the centre of this reconfiguration stood oriental learning, perhaps Europe’s chief discursive product from the period’s heightened global exchange. For in the early 1800s, the inward-looking tradition of Arabic studies that had developed during the Reformation as an aid to the exegesis of the Hebrew Bible began to turn its concerns outwards towards India, and the oceanic spheres beyond it, by drawing the study of new languages Persian and Arabic, Malay and Maori into the ambit of the professors of Hebrew and Arabic who held the only endowed positions in oriental studies. As evangelicals infiltrated these few key posts, they became the intellectual centre of an evangelical network that, after 1813, reached deep into the empire to undermine the Company’s older pragmatic agenda towards non-Christian peoples. Later chapters assess the actual impact of this evangelical outreach on those distant regions. Here, the terrain under inspection is that of the universities themselves as their evangelical oriental learning made its first connections with empire during the crucial years in which Britain gained the greater part of its possessions in India and the Malay and Arabian peninsulars either side of it. What we are examining here, then, are the intellectual production centres of a religious engagement with empire that provided an explicitly

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Fig. 2: A missionary manufactory: Professor Macbride's Magdalen Hall, Oxford

Christian moral, intellectual and social framework for interactions between imperial Britons and their Muslim others. As recent scholarship has shown, in what was a globalizing no less than an imperial age, this framework of evangelical knowledge was by no means uniquely applied to Asian or Islamic regions of empire.[11] And this suggests in turn that the 'Orient' was not a unique discursive space but part of a wider 'heathen' globe understood in uniform ways.

As C. A. Bayly has rightly observed, 'following the growth of Methodism and the trauma of the French Revolution, the link between evangelical Protestantism, nationalism and empire was forged more strongly'.[12] The universities were key sites for the forging of these links by translating books and training churchmen who could be dispatched deep into Asia. To recover this university role in both orientalism and empire, this chapter has two parts: one provides the first survey of evangelical orientalism, the other draws out its essential paradox. For here lay the rub: providing access to scripture required its translation into the complex languages of

an expanding empire. It was the need for such translations that placed the professors at centre stage, for translation of Holy Writ was no task for the theological neophytes of John Company. But charged with translating into rather than out of such languages, the professors' own linguistic uncertainties compelled them to seek help among the small circle of educated Muslim travellers to England. Here was the basic paradox of evangelical orientalism: it rendered Christians reliant on the very 'heathens' they sought to convert. While the focus in this chapter is on the university orientalists themselves, as we shall see in Chapter Two, Middle Eastern visitors to Britain helped the professors under scrutiny here in their godly translations into Arabic and Persian.[13] Like other imperial ventures, evangelical orientalism ultimately emerges as a collaborative venture, as a process of exchange, both cooperative and competitive.

The Rise of the University Evangelicals

The leaders of the evangelical revival were very different people from the pastors of James Woodford's amiable eighteenth-century *Diary of a Country Parson*.[14] They were also, perhaps paradoxically, products of the Enlightenment: to spread religion as scripture was to defeat religion as superstition.[15] Although the eighteenth century saw Oxford and Cambridge as bulwarks of Anglican conformism, for all their required allegiance to the established church, both universities played important roles in the rise of evangelicalism. While the Scottish universities are not the terrains in focus here, they too (particularly St Andrews) were important production zones of evangelical exporters of Christianity.[16] Such institutions were central to the social power that evangelical religion was to gain in this period, allowing it to influence Muslims and other non-Christians far across the world. Expanding this institutional base, the early 1800s also saw the founding of several missionary training colleges, such as those of the London Missionary Society at Gosport (founded 1780) and of the Church Missionary Society at Islington (founded 1825). But what was important about university orientalism was its institutional connections to the heart of the establishment, in Calcutta no less than in London. For above the many new producers of preachers and prayerbooks for the east loomed the Christian spires of Oxford and Cambridge; 'Oxbridge': the Parnassus of an evangelical empire. There among the manuscripts and the occasional *munshi* imported

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from Asia emerged the institutional powerhouses of imperial religion whose many productions would trigger responses from Muslims far and wide through cycles of generative exchange.

The earliest and most influential example of a university evangelical movement was Methodism, which grew out of the sermonising tours of the erstwhile Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, John Wesley (1703 91).[17] Although Methodism was effectively suppressed at the universities, the tenor of the age was changing by the beginning of the nineteenth century and there emerged a small but influential fellowship which railed against the apathy of the established church and vigorously promoted a new spirit of self-examination, morality and evangelism to undergraduates and through them to society at large. If the mission began at home, ever since John Wesley travelled to North America in 1736 the empire presided over a larger arena, which in 1813 shifted to the east with the evangelical opening of India and other Company territories beyond it. With the crumbling Mughal Empire and its more able Muslim successor states as the Company's main rivals, their religion of Islam became the focus of evangelical attention.

The main early outpost of university evangelicalism was Oxford's St Edmund Hall, where the new piety took root as early as the 1760s. It was not an easy ascendance and the 'religion of Teddy Hall' was seen to pose such a resemblance to Methodism as to result in the rustication of six of the Hall's undergraduates.[18] By slowly gaining their connections and footholds over the following decades, the evangelicals acquired positions of institutional power at Oxford, particularly through the efforts of Isaac Crouch (1756 1835), who was also at St Edmund Hall. Despite opposition from other colleges, Crouch was instrumental in creating a haven for evangelicalism in Oxford. He was also a close friend of Thomas Charles of Jesus College, who in 1804 co-founded the British and Foreign Bible Society, the greatest global publishing magnate of the age that had printed tens of thousands of Islamic-language Bibles by the time the earliest Muslim-owned presses of the Middle East and India had issued their first books. It was through the Bible Society that we shall see the skills of both universities' orientalists being subsequently channelled in this chapter and, in the next, Muslim cooperators gaining access to printing for themselves. Back in Oxford, up to around 1810 it was largely the younger generation of undergraduates who proved the keenest converts to the new 'enthusiasm', men like Crouch's pupil the Reverend Daniel

Wilson (1778–1858). After succeeding his teacher as Vice Principal of St Edmund Hall, in 1812 Wilson left the university to become a London vicar before turning east to evangelize the empire.[19] Appointed Bishop of Calcutta in 1832, for the following quarter century he was the most influential churchman in India. As Oxford and Calcutta became connected through the flow of books and churchmen, the university increasingly served to export to the empire the tangible stuff of religion.

Other university men began to follow Wilson in directing their bodies and minds towards India. In 1795 a former undergraduate of Oxford's Magdalen Hall, the Reverend Thomas Haweis (*c*.1734–1820), became one of the founding members of the London Missionary Society. Unable to exert sufficient influence within the university itself, other Oxford undergraduates and fellows founded local franchises of the other missionary firms that were springing up in the early 1800s. In 1813 an Oxford branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society was established. Through the entire Victorian age, the British Bible Society was governed by a series of Oxford-educated evangelicals.[20] And on the foundation of its Oxford branch, the Bible Society began to ship overseas the hundreds of thousands of export Bibles that were printed at the University Press in this period. Printing Bibles for the world's converts and heathens was a massive business and one which revolutionized Britain's own publishing industry no less than it provided thousands of people across Asia with the first books they ever owned.[21]

In 1825 an Oxford franchise of the Church Missionary Society (itself founded in 1799) was also established.[22] As the nineteenth century progressed, the position of evangelicalism—and of missionary activity in particular—grew more secure at Oxford, leading the university to export a growing number of evangelizing graduates to India and other corners of the empire.[23] In terms of the 'soft power' of empire—in the sphere of education in particular—the university evangelicals were key players. This was seen most vividly in the central roles played by the Scottish missionaries John Wilson (1804–75) and Alexander Duff (1806–78) in the foundation of Bombay and Calcutta universities, new institutional terrains of exchange that would produce many a religious and cultural fusion in turn during the course of the nineteenth century.[24] Indeed, the vernacular translations of Wilson's critiques of Islam, Hinduism and Zoroastrianism that were printed in Bombay were crucial catalysts in transforming that city into a competitive new religious marketplace.[25]

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Oxford's role in sending churchmen to India was not new in itself. As early as 1681, John Fell, the father of Oxford publishing and Dean of Christ Church College, had persuaded the East India Company to fund scholarships to train its chaplains at Oxford, a practice which was already operating for the Levant Company's chaplains.[26] But these earlier chaplains were expected to preach solely to fellow Britons and not to local Muslims. Although the turning point came with the opening of British India's religious economy to Christian missions in 1813, in the preceding years the university was already involved in the build-up of evangelical pressure, exerting its institutional power over the Parliament and thence the East India Company. In 1805, the Cambridge evangelical and former Company chaplain, the Reverend Claudius Buchanan (1766 1815), endowed two prizes of the large sum of £500 each at Oxford and Cambridge for the best essay on 'The probable Design of divine Providence in subjecting so large a Portion of India to the British Empire'.[27] In 1806, Buchanan also wrote to the Vice Chancellor of Cambridge urging him to direct the university's scholars towards 'translating the Scriptures into the Oriental languages', offering 30 guineas to any university churchman who would preach sermons on the subject at the university church.[28] From its very origins, then, evangelical orientalism emerged from India as much as England; or rather, from the points of exchange between the two.

Nor was Buchanan's influence limited to financial investments in the evangelical cause, for he also endowed the university with its first substantial collection of Persian and Urdu printed books that the East India Company had printed in India. While certain Cambridge colleges already possessed rich collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts, the University Library at the Senate House was far poorer in its oriental resources. It was to this more accessible library that in 1804 Buchanan granted a collection of almost a hundred copies of the classical Persian works and vernacular 'Hindustani' works that had recently been printed in Calcutta for the training of East India Company secretaries.[29] From Calcutta Buchanan thus redirected towards Cambridge the tangible intellectual resources of the East India Company, books that had been printed at great expense through the collaborations of Britons and Indians in the Company's employment. In so doing, his aim was to promote through the institutional power of the university an expressly conversionist agenda for learning such languages as Persian, Urdu and Sanskrit, particularly to train

preachers with language skills subtle enough to hold public disputations with mullahs and brahmins. By this time, Buchanan was Vice Provost of Fort William College in Calcutta and from there the rich prizes he endowed sponsored the new providentialist paradigm that evangelicals employed to engage with the Muslims of the British Empire.

It was a radical agenda and, unsurprisingly, one that found many objectors, both practical and conscientious. By 1815, evangelical activities had become sufficiently well known at Oxford to stir the kinds of debate also found among Company servants. In January of that year, for example, a debate ran through successive issues of the *Oxford University and City Herald* newspaper, in which the Reverend Daniel Wilson defended the activities of the Church Missionary Society against anti-missionary critics, publicizing and praising their work in converting Muslims and Hindus.[30] The heyday of evangelical orientalism was dawning. Between Oxford, Cambridge and Fort William College in Calcutta, the empire's three producers of oriental learning, there moved books and bodies that were dedicated to the defeat of Islam.

Evangelical Orientalism in Oxford

Before the rise of the evangelical concern with Britain's Asian empire, the teaching of Arabic at the universities had primarily served the exegetical concerns of Protestant theology. In the seventeenth century, Oxford's first chair in Arabic was established for the express purpose of using Arabic to clarify the obscurities of Biblical Hebrew by the exercise of comparative linguistics.[31] This older tradition of oriental learning was primarily an inward-looking one, concerned with the interpretation of scripture among Protestants themselves. In this earlier period, distant encounters with non-Christians in Asia had not yet given rise to external concerns and, in the First British Empire, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (founded in 1701) had focused on the less organized religions of Native Americans. As a consequence of the hermeneutical motivations of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Oxbridge orientalists, the universities took little interest in Islamic languages other than Arabic, leaving the early development of Persian, Sanskrit and Hindustani studies to those in the employment of the East India Company. The Persian studies of the few university members associated with the Company (such as William Jones) were thus the fruit of

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private passion rather than institutional interest. In 1768, for example, Oxford ignored Company appeals to found a chair in Persian.[32] It was only with the rise of evangelicalism that expertise in oriental languages other than Arabic began to find a formal place in university life and, through cooperation with the new missionary firms founded around 1800, began to be used for engaging with the manifold Muslims of Asia.

The most important representative of evangelical orientalism at Oxford was John David Macbride, Lord Almoner's Professor in Arabic and holder of other influential positions, notably Principal of Magdalen Hall.[33] Under his leadership, Magdalen Hall became Oxford's main institutional producer of evangelicals, in the first decades of his headship providing no fewer than four bishops and scores of humbler preachers affiliated to the Church Missionary Society.[34] By 1815 Macbride was already committed to the evangelical cause, as is evident from a letter he addressed in that year to the undergraduates of Magdalen Hall, urging them to work for the spread of Christ's word as the highest vocation of a university man.[35] Apart from this letter, we must turn to his writings from the mid 1820s for a fuller insight into his evangelical opinions. Writing in a set of lectures for the undergraduates of Magdalen Hall that were printed in 1824, Macbride stated that 'I trust I have never forgotten that the edification of believers, or the conversion of infidels, should be our object in our explanation of the Bible'.[36] A central theme of his teaching was the problem of miracles, which he sought to explain in the new scholarly fashion of giving historical context while nonetheless preserving their integrity, with the evangelical faith in the infallibility of scripture serving to overcome the objections of reason.[37] Having championed the authenticity of the miracles of Christ and his apostles, Macbride then pointed towards these miracles as requisite proofs for aiding conversion to Christianity, before bewailing the fact that the early Christian communities of the east had been 'usurped by Mahomed'.[38] Echoing Buchanan's providentialist imperialism, Macbride declared that 'the immense colonial empire which it has pleased Divine Providence to bestow upon Britain, making her the sovereign of many more millions of heathen than of Christian subjects, clearly points it out as our imperative duty to take the lead in the glorious office of converting the world'.[39] In the same lecture, Macbride went on to encourage his students to support both the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society.[40] In 1841, while still serving as Principal of Magdalen

Hall, MacBride was nominated Vice President of the Church Missionary Society, which by then Oxford had already provided with many a gentleman missionary.[41]

We should not underestimate Macbride's importance as a shaper of opinions and actions during his nearly sixty years of teaching. In the words of a contemporary, 'the influence of Macbride's lectures, given to succeeding generations at Magdalen Hall men over many years, should not be overlooked. Their flavour was unequivocally evangelical.'[42] It was to one such Oxford graduate working for the Church Missionary Society among the Muslims of north India that Macbride dedicated his magnum opus, *The Mohammedan Religion Explained, With an Introductory Sketch of its Progress, and Suggestions for its Confutation*.[43] Dedicated to the Reverend Thomas Valpy French (1825–91), a former Fellow of University College and by this time principal of the Church Missionary College at Agra in India, *The Mohammedan Religion* was written in response to the Indian 'Mutiny' of 1857.[44] Spelling out his vision of an evangelical imperialism, Macbride admonished the Company policy which he saw as having led inexorably to the Mutiny: 'while our rulers tolerate false religions, may they imbibe the spirit of the Bible, and re-establish our Government on Christian principles … We know that in our God's appointed time Islam must, like all false religions, fall.'[45]

Capping this theological reading of world history, Macbride evoked the great justificatory claim of imperial superiority: 'there is scarcely a Mohammedan state in any part of the world which does not exhibit symptoms of internal decay'.[46] Having provided almost two hundred pages of detailed description of Muslim history and theology, in the final chapter of *The Mohammedan Religion* Macbride laid out a detailed theological refutation of Islam based on systematic comparison of verses from the Gospel with verses from the Quran in Arabic.[47] As the sum product of his Oxford career, Macbride's *Mohammedan Religion* was a textbook that the missionary could use to 'confute' his Muslim opponents in public debate. In the book, Macbride presented verses from the Quran or sayings of the Prophet Muhammad in the original Arabic before then translating them, picking them apart for inconsistency or folly, and giving appropriate arguments and Biblical verses with which to disprove them. It was a technique that in later chapters we shall see adapted by Muslim responders to the evangelicals for their responses to such missionary competition.

Such was the chief work of a man who for fifty-five years held one of Oxford's two senior positions in Arabic. Here is not only firm evidence

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of the evangelical character of university orientalism in the age of ascendant empire, but also an example of the tools of religious competition that such learning produced. For *The Mohammedan Religion* was a missionary's field guide for identifying Islam, comparing its theological components with those of Christianity and persuading Muslims to exchange it for the superior tenets of Christianity. But Macbride was not content to champion the conversion of only India. As Britain expanded its imperial reach, his ambition led him to herald 'the commencement of a new era in the history of Missions, by bringing us to the frontier of Afghanistan and Persia', which he hoped would also be opened for the missionaries of Christ.[48] He poured praise on the Cambridge 'opponent of Islam', the Reverend Henry Martyn (1781 1812), who had already ventured into Iran, and celebrated the scriptural translations of Buchanan in Calcutta that had helped convert Indians all across Bengal.[49] A university man to the core, Macbride took special pride in Oxford's achievements in exporting so many evangelicals and in providing such bishops to the diocese of Calcutta as 'the amiable lamented Heber, and the present and still energetic Diocesan, [who] were not mere [Oxford] Graduates, but Residents, the first as a Fellow of All Souls and Bampton Lecturer, and the second commenced his long public course of usefulness as Vice-Principal of St. Edmund Hall'.[50]

Intuitively recognizing the importance of institutions in the production of social power, Macbride regarded the very existence of the university as justified through the training and connections it lent to missionaries. Picturing the religious marketplaces of faraway Hindustan, he wrote that 'the philological and philosophical studies' that the university imparted enabled missionaries 'to argue with the subtle Mahometan opponents of Christianity, and to preach to the disputatious Brahmins in their own tongue in the Bazaars'.[51] In a lecture given to raise money for the Church Missionary Society in 1851, Macbride went so far as to express his desire that Oxford as a whole should be transformed into a centre of missionary training to rival Halle, the German home of missionary Protestantism, voicing his hope Oxford should 'become a second Halle, and shall send forth a goodly band of devoted ministers' to convert the people of India and so rival the university that had reared such missionaries for India as Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg (1683 1719), the Danish pioneer of printing Christian scripture in the languages of India.[52] Oxford was thus to be the training ground for ebullient and

erudite salesmen of Christ who could compete in the boisterous religious markets of India.

Macbride was not the only senior orientalist to promote such an agenda at Oxford. By the mid 1820s, evangelicals had gained further power through Oxford's other chair in Arabic, the Laudian professorship. In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, the Laudian Professor had been Thomas Winstanley, DD (1749 1823), though aside from writing a Latin version of Aristotle's *Poetics*, he published nothing of note in his entire career and appears to have had no knowledge of Arabic whatsoever.[53] Matters changed when Winstanley died in 1823 and he was succeeded by Stephen Reay (1782 1861), a crypto-evangelical who in 1818 had published a spirited defence of the Church Missionary Society under the pseudonym Pileus Quadratus.[54] More and more, the universities and the missionary firms were pooling their institutional resources in common cause. Reay's appointment was itself probably made through the manoeuvrings of Macbride, who as Lord Almoner's professor played the central role in the selection. When Reay died and the chair became vacant again in 1861, his successor was one of Macbride's right-hand men. This was Robert Gandell (1818 87), who for thirteen years up to (and for twelve years after) his appointment as Laudian Professor had been Macbride's closest colleague as tutor in Hebrew at Magdalen Hall, the evangelical heart of the university.[55]

Evangelical Orientalism in Cambridge

It was not only Oxford's scholars who turned towards evangelicalism in the early 1800s; Cambridge's oriental scholars were if anything even more enthusiastic supporters of converting the empire for Christ. At Oxford the evangelicals were chiefly associated with St Edmund Hall and Magdalen Hall; their main centre at Cambridge was Queens' College, where they first gathered under the aegis of the college president, Isaac Milner (1750 1820).[56] A bluff Yorkshireman of a girth considered huge even by the standards of the Regency high table, Milner was a close friend of the Cambridge-based founder member of the Church Missionary Society, Charles Simeon (1759 1836). It had been Simeon's example that had inspired the Reverend Henry Martyn to set out on his journeys to convert the Muslims of India and Iran, the first major attempt by a university evangelical to combine learning with action

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through Martyn's move to Calcutta, his translation (with Muslim assistance) of the New Testament, his subsequent preaching tour of Iran, and his death in 1812 at Tokat in Anatolia.[57] Martyn's formal position as an East India Company chaplain rather than a direct employee of any of the missionary societies points again to the strategy of infiltrating imperial institutions (in this case the Company's army) through which the evangelicals gained their footholds in the empire.[58] During the same years, this same strategy of missionary firms penetrating the East India Company was being employed further to the east by the London Missionary Society representative, Robert Morrison (1782 1834), who during his years in Canton and Macau translated and published the New Testament in Chinese while also serving as the Company's translator. Godly Englishmen like Martyn and Morrison were not above manipulating imperial networks for their own concerns. In response, we shall see in Chapter Two and Three how various Muslims manipulated evangelical resources for their own agendas.

Despite Martyn's early death and the faults that were soon found in his translations of scripture, he had tremendous influence as a promoter of Persian and Urdu printing no less than as a translator: when his revised Persian translation of the New Testament was posthumously printed in 1815, it catalyzed the Iranian government into establishing their own first printing press in 1817.[59] Through his youthful demise abroad at the height of the Romantic Movement, Martyn also served as a powerful inspirer of many other young university men to follow his example, for his was a kind of Christian counterpart to the overseas death of the atheist Percy Shelley a few years later. Even before Martyn perished at Tokat, his bold departure for India was already inspiring other Cambridge men. In 1811, for example, his Cambridge associates Simeon and Milner formed an undergraduate branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society, reflecting the Oxford franchise of the Church Missionary Society founded a few years later.[60] It was Milner who had written the letter of recommendation that in 1797 secured the post of chaplain to the East India Company for his protégé Claudius Buchanan, whom we have seen subsequently patronizing evangelical essay prizes at both universities.[61] When Milner died in 1820, he was almost succeeded as President of Queens' by the noted evangelical William Mandell, who as Vice President of Queens' ensured the college maintained close contact with the Church Missionary Society, not least through the patronage of the

Venn family. One member of the family, Henry Venn, became a Fellow of Queens' in 1818 and later served as Honorary Secretary of the CMS.[62] Queens' College, Cambridge and the Church Missionary Society had become interwoven institutions between which evangelicals could move in their quest to export their faith.

As the missionaries came to rely on Muslim cooperators for their all-important translations, Queens' College and the Reverend William Mandell in particular also hosted the Iranian students Mirza Ja'far and Mirza Salih, the latter of whom we shall re-encounter in the next chapter using these contacts to export a printing press for his Muslim patron back home in Iran.[63] During his time in Cambridge, Mirza Salih also spent several weeks staying and working with Professor Samuel Lee (1783 1852) on his translation of the Bible into Persian and Arabic. As missionary networks channelled Britons like Henry Martyn into Shiraz, they thus correspondingly channelled Iranians like Mirza Salih into Cambridge. Amid the windy provincial fens that the evangelical orientalists had connected to Tabriz and Calcutta, Queens' College became a new terrain of exchange.

It was from among this circle at Queens' that there emerged the most important of Cambridge's evangelical orientalists. This was the aforementioned Samuel Lee, whose university career was largely given over to the translations of scripture into the many languages of the empire with which he acquainted himself. Lee was the youngest of six sons and five daughters born into poverty in the village of Longnor some eight miles from Shrewsbury in the rural county of Shropshire. Early in life, he had found himself apprenticed to a local carpenter, but by buying used copies of schoolboy primers of Latin and Greek, in the evenings after work he managed to teach himself these languages of the classics and upper classes. After a successful turn towards the study of Persian, he wrote in search of preferment to the Shropshire gentleman and former East India Company employee, Jonathan Scott. In such ways, the networks of class, faith and empire intersected. Through Scott's intervention, Lee was introduced in turn to the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, that titan of the godly empire. In a letter dated 13 January 1814, Buchanan wrote, 'I consulted the college to-day concerning the proposed admission of Mr. Lee, the Shrewsbury linguist. It was agreed to admit him at Queens'.'[64] Impressed by the young man's prodigious talents, Buchanan thus arranged for him to be admitted to his own former college.

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Lee soon lived up to the expectations of his patron, and turned away from his Persian poetry translations the older Enlightenment orientalism in the mode of Sir William Jones to concentrate on the Biblical translations that occupied him for the rest of his days. In his first year at Cambridge, he produced Arabic and Persian translations of the evangelical tract *The Way of Truth and Life*, which were printed and distributed in the southern reaches of the Russian Empire by the Scottish mission to Astrakhan, where we shall see cooperative encounters between Iranians and Scots in Chapter Three.[65] Through the flow of such books, the missionary societies thus connected Cambridge with faraway Muslim terrains around the Caspian. By 1817 Lee obtained his BA and was admitted to Holy Orders, with Queens' granting him the curacy of the church at Chesterton, where a year later he hosted his Iranian cooperator, Mirza Salih, whom we shall meet again in the next chapter.[66]

By 1818, Lee was beginning to acquire a name and reputation for himself. In September of that year, there appeared a long laudatory report on his accomplishments in the *Oxford University and City Herald*, which applauded his command for missionary purposes of no fewer than eighteen languages as wide-ranging as Arabic, Persian, Malay, Samaritan and Coptic![67] Qualification was by no means enough to assure the rise of a poor country boy such as Lee and, with him as with other evangelicals, patronage played an important role in his rise through the academic hierarchy. It was in this context that the *Herald* article was written, as part of what turned out to be a successful campaign to elect the self-educated former carpenter to the Sir Thomas Adams professorship of Arabic at Cambridge. Also helping him was a testimonial written by five Iranian students who were then studying in England (one with the Bible Society), who testified to Lee's command over their languages. The ascent of the university evangelicals was thus in itself an outcome of cooperative exchange.[68] By 1831, Lee had risen still further to become Regius Professor of Hebrew, one of the most exalted academic positions in the whole empire.[69]

Although Lee was required to sever his formal connection with the Church Missionary Society when he took up his salaried position in the university on election to the Sir Thomas Adams chair in 1819, his translations on behalf of the missionary societies nevertheless continued apace and evangelical outreach remained the purpose of his vast linguistic learning. The theological underpinnings of his scholarship lent it many

similarities to the work of Macbride, with whom in any case he cooperated to revise Buchanan's Arabic Bible for export to the Middle East.[70] In line with the 'biblicism' which David Bebbington has described as a defining feature of evangelicalism, Lee was a vehement defender of the literal word of scripture.[71] A good example of this strand of Lee's scholarship is his *Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St. John, Investigated*, an exegetical work in which he set out 'to determine by a system of inductive reasoning the *Events* and *Times* of the visions of the Prophet Daniel and St. John': biblical language was not only metaphorically or symbolically true but also a literal record of events.[72] These events were not just past ones, for in this and other works Lee was also a spirited defender of prophecy: the Bible spoke infallibly not only of times that had gone before but also of times that were yet to come. The quiet perusal of scripture in the cloistered courts of Cambridge could thus reveal the inevitable fall of Asia to the Christian soldiers of Albion.

Preached at Cambridge during 1827 and 1828, a second dissertation appended to Lee's *Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, to which are Annexed Two Dissertations* was in this way devoted to a defence of prophecy in the bloody battles with Anti-Christ in the Book of Revelation.[73] But it was in the employment of his linguistic abilities that Lee made his most practical contributions to the new evangelical firms. He translated the Old Testament and the Gospels as well as a whole range of evangelical tracts and other Protestant writings into Arabic, Persian and Urdu, books that were then distributed from the missionary depots that had been set up from Smyrna to Calcutta. Given the high stakes we have seen attached to the translation of scripture, his achievements were not without their detractors. His expanded edition of William Jones's *Grammar of the Persian Language*, for example, led to an extensive pamphlet campaign in which his command of grammar was criticised as unfit for one who would translate the Gospels.[74] The high stakes of rightly rendering the Word of God would, ironically but no less logically, ensure the employment of the Muslim converts and cooperators in these translations that are the focus of Chapter Three.

During his subsequent years, Lee trained a series of students in oriental languages who were part of the regular supply of young men that Queens' provided to the Church Missionary Society, which in turn exported them to the religious marketplaces of Asia.[75] But it was not only with the Indian Empire that the evangelicals were concerned. For Lee

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Fig. 3: An evangelical orientalist: Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge

and his Cambridge associates were also key players in the missionary expansion to the Pacific, pointing to the breadth of the evangelical outreach to a heathen planet in which Muslim domains formed only some of their concerns. This came about through Lee's connection with the Reverend Samuel Marsden (1765 1838), a former undergraduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge, whose early academic sponsor was the evangelical Elland Society.[76] In 1814 Marsden travelled to New Zealand on behalf of the Church Missionary Society and after several years of residence realised the importance of a proper grasp of the Maori languages if missionaries were to succeed. In March 1820, Marsden's missionary colleague Thomas Kendall (1778 1832) returned to England in the company of two Maori chiefs, Waikato and Hongi Hika (1772

1828). Kendall's chief reason in planning their journey was to take them to Professor Lee at Queens' and thereby allow Kendall to defend his interpretation of the Maori language Te Reo. The Maori helped Lee and Kendall further their linguistic studies, leading to their groundbreaking *Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language of New Zealand*. The grammar laid the basis for the first ever book printed either in New Zealand or in Maori, the 1835 *Epistles to the Ephesians and Phillipians*.[77]

As we have seen, some years earlier, both Lee and Macbride had turned to the visiting Iranian students Mirza Salih and Mirza Ja'far for help in their Arabic and Persian Bible translations. In England, New Zealand, India and Iran, the same players, Christian and non-Christian, alternately cooperated and competed through religious networks that bridged the distant terrains of a religiously connected planet.[78] But as we shall see again in Chapter Three with the Muslim helpers in these language projects, the Maori too had their own agendas. For though brought to Cambridge for evangelical ends, while he was there Hongi Hika made contacts that supplied him with a small arsenal of guns with which he conquered much of New Zealand on his return. Maori words, then, were resources that could ultimately be traded for muskets. If the guns that Hongi Hika carried home caused the Musket Wars in the South Pacific, then the thousands of Muslim printed Bibles that were also the product of Oxbridge's terrains of exchange triggered battles that were no less real for being bloodless. In a time when printing was still far from universal and when even dictionaries were rarities, the mastery of languages and the ability to print them lent massive advantages in the world's religious markets. In the universities, those advantages were cultivated for Christendom.

Conclusions

Over the previous pages we have seen how, through the first half of the nineteenth century, supporters of the new missionary organizations came to dominate oriental learning at England's universities. In so doing, these evangelicals acquired important positions of institutional power that amplified the social impact of their ideas, books and organizations far across an expanding British Empire and beyond. Between Cambridge and Iran, Oxford and India, a small but dedicated circle of university evangelicals emerged as an intellectual vanguard which from the early 1800s medi-

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ated the relationship between the British and the peoples over whom they had so quickly come to rule. If the focus here has been on the activities of a small circle of interconnected scholars, then through both the prestige of their universities and the ties they forged with imperial institutions and missionary societies they were able to reach far into Britain's new territories, in the Middle East as well as India. It is important to recognize the novelty of the situation, which like other aspects of the evangelical influence in British society was the outcome of a determined minority agenda rather than an inevitable consequence of nineteenth-century religious attitudes. Through the missionary and ecclesiastical network they created, which after 1813 reached into Indian and Malay as well as British society, the university evangelicals gained a position of authority from which to render their providentialist vision of a Christian empire an influential model of imperial ideology. In the quiet study rooms of Oxbridge, the encounter with rumours, books and people from Asia had generated a new kind of Christianity which, when put into catalytic action, triggered competitive new cycles of religious productivity in turn. Some of these are studied in the chapters that follow.

When the university orientalists began to take an interest in the emerging empire in the early nineteenth century, they did so not in the service of the mercantilist John Company, but with the distinct agenda of converting the empire for Christ. In the ancient universities that were the British Empire's most powerful Christian knowledge-producers, orientalism was wholly distinct from the secular child of the Enlightenment imagined by Edward Said. Insofar as this evangelical orientalism did direct the tangible power of the Company empire, it did so through infiltration and moral suasion, through a redirecting of Company resources and skills and not through a Foucauldian coalescence of knowledge and power. At home and abroad, the impact of this evangelical orientalism came through the founding of new institutions (such as missionary franchises) and the infiltration of existing ones (such as university colleges), institutions which in turn lent access to the human and material resources of social and political power. Evangelical scholars such as Lee and Macbride occupied the most prestigious positions in oriental learning in the entire British Empire, and from there they made persuasive inroads into the practical activity of imperial rule. To take just one example, as part of their campaign for a moral empire missionaries came to take over responsibility for the provision of vernacular education in India by not

only establishing hundreds of schools for Hindus and Muslims but by furnishing them with curricula and textbooks that introduced them to new ways of thinking about and organizing their own religions and communities.[79] Central to the catalytic impact that such missionary educations would have on vast numbers of Indians was the linguistic expertise that the evangelical orientalists had so assiduously developed. By combining that expertise with the technology of printing in Indian vernaculars that the evangelicals had also pioneered, later in the century the Christian Vernacular Education Society was able to publish around 700,000 Indian schoolbooks in a single year.[80] Such was the scale of the evangelical impact on India as it gathered pace in the course of the nineteenth century; and in the next two chapters we shall see how that impact was far from limited to regions under British control.

What we have seen here is the preliminary stage of a new and more intense historical cycle of exchange that was initiated by the powerful social networks, forms of knowledge, financial resources and communication technologies brought together by the impresarios of evangelicalism. By around 1820, the evangelical orientalists had scaled the heights of England's Parnassus and from there surveyed the dizzying prospect of a vast evangelical empire. Turning the colleges of Oxbridge into manufactories of conversion tools, the evangelical orientalists exported their Arabic grammars and Persian Bibles to such places as the shores of the Caspian where in Chapter Three we shall see them generating new cycles of exchange. But first, in a period when Muslims had not yet begun printing, in Chapter Two we shall see how the evangelical promotion of translating and printing the Bible both encouraged and enabled Muslims to access printing technology for themselves. In their vast and innovative investments in printing in the Muslim vernacular languages that the Oxbridge orientalists had so carefully studied, the new evangelical firms not only massively outstripped the vernacular printing operations of the East India Company to become the period's greatest investors in Arabic-script printing. As we shall now see, those same religious firms also introduced to Muslim terrains new religious technologies that entrepreneurial Muslims would quickly adapt for their own new ventures.

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2

THE CHRISTIAN ORIGINS OF MUSLIM PRINTING

To-day we have completed the Persian translation of St. Matthew and to-morrow it is to be sent off to be printed... [Jawad ibn] Sabat is prodigiously proud of it.

Diary of Henry Martyn (6 June 1808)

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw how the combined efforts of the new Christian missionary firms and the evangelical orientalists of the English universities led to the printing of a variety of Christian books in such Arabic-script languages as Persian, Urdu and Arabic itself. Whether vicariously, through the reading of the books themselves, or directly, through the input of Muslim scholars in translating them, these new printed Christian texts became important mechanisms of exchange that linked the courts of Cambridge to the book markets of distant India and Iran. In this chapter, we shall turn to the other side of this encounter by focusing not on the evangelicals themselves so much as the Muslim and Arab Christian 'middlemen' with whom they came into contact and who, in turn, transferred the religious technology of printing to a sequence of Muslim terrains. One of these middlemen was the Jawad ibn Sabat mentioned by the Reverend Henry Martyn in the lines from his diary quoted

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above. For within a few years either side of 1820, through the efforts of such Christianized middlemen, Muslim-owned printing presses were established in India, Iran and Egypt, marking the true beginning of printing in the Islamic world. Printing projects had been initiated before this period most famously by Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674 1745) in Istanbul but these were isolated and unsustained ventures.[1] None gathered momentum to compare with what emerged simultaneously in Tabriz, Cairo and Lucknow when imported presses founded the most important early marketplaces of Persian, Arabic and Urdu printing. To understand the common processes behind this 'triplet' birth of Muslim print, the following pages reconstruct the exchanges between small circles of individuals whose at times discordant agendas collided to create sustainable foundations for Muslim printing in several distant regions around 1820.[2]

Moving the spotlight from the Mediterranean setting which has long dominated discussion of early Muslim printing, here the focus turns towards Iran. The reasons for this are partly heuristic: in the Persian travel diary of Mirza Salih Shirazi (d. after 1841) we have an incomparable first-hand account of the circumstances surrounding the transfer of printing to Iran that we lack for Egypt or India.[3] But there are also substantive reasons for this Iranian focus in that the development of Muslim printing in Tabriz preceded by several years that of Egypt's better-known pioneers at Bulaq and the less famous state press of Ghazi al-Din Haydar at Lucknow. More importantly, the Iranian case highlights the emergence of patterns that appeared in the other Muslim printing zones around the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean in which exchange with European Christians in several cases with the new Christian missionary firms were essential parts of the process. Contact with Christian missions, then, could trigger in Muslim societies catalytic transformations that were as likely to be technological as theological.[4]

This chapter focuses on a short period of convergences between the interacting human agents whose varied motives spread print technology to what would become the most important printing markets for Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Malay. What emerges from this focus is a less familiar modernity predicated on the transnational networks of technologically astute evangelical Christians and transcultural Arab, Iranian and Malay middlemen who were able to move between (even manipulate) their religious identities to empower Muslim states on the frontlines of

European expansion. These 'middlemen' were sometimes Muslims, sometimes converts or cooperators with European Christians, and sometimes Middle Eastern Christians in the service of Muslim-ruled states. These varied and malleable identities point to the function of religion as a workable social resource, a form of strategic identification which can be manipulated (by the middleman or his sponsors) to gain access to different social circles and networks. In the imperial borderlands of the early-nineteenth-century world, such manipulable identities proved crucial to the print-seeking middlemen who entered the terrains of technological exchange between Britons and Iranians or Italians and Arabs.

Such an approach allows us to account for the mutability of religion and culture as negotiable and transformable forces in the lives of the 'exchangers' involved in the foundation of Muslim printing.[5] While dealing with the relationship of printing to such familiar abstractions as 'modernity' and 'religion', here we approach the beginnings of Muslim printing through the more tangible criteria of social networks and technology transfers, that is, the movement and interaction of definable circles of men and their machines.[6] This points to the interdependence of religion and technology in a way that complements and concretizes the previous chapter's arguments for the institutional intersection of religion and empire. But what we see here is not so much evangelical Christians attempting to access the networks of European empire as Muslims attempting to access the keepers of European technologies. For as the evangelical and colonial critique of Muslim societies grew louder through the nineteenth century, printing machines were to prove crucial assets for a new generation of Muslim religious entrepreneurs and their firms seeking to defend, reform or reorganize Islam. Print technology became one of the most crucial assets for the new Muslim religious firms of the modern era, distinguishing them from their predecessors and enabling them to propagate, advertise and distribute their claims to authority far more widely. Connecting religious change to industrial change, such technologies of communication were key to the globalization of religion in the modern era.

In taking a microhistorical glance at several technological terrains of exchange, this chapter's approach draws on recent culturalist analyses of technology transfer that emphasize human-scale 'microsites' and 'microcultures'.[7] Its primary focus is on the emergence of entrepreneurial religious/technological middlemen who used the new diplomatic relations

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that emerged from the Napoleonic 'global war' to travel to specific European cities and acquire there both the skills and machines of the Christian printer. In looking at several of these journeymen a word used in its literal sense as 'apprentice printer' and figural sense as 'working traveller' the chapter draws attention to the repeated presence of transculturalism of hybridity and fusion as the necessary qualifications for success.[8] These processes were already taking shape in the experimental period of Muslim printing: Ibrahim Müteferrika, the 'Muslim Gutenberg', was a Hungarian Christian convert to Islam who migrated to Istanbul, drew on the ambassadorial secretary Sa'id Shalabi's tours of Paris's printing houses in 1741, and imported his own printing equipment from France.[9] Müteferrika's Istanbul press of the mid eighteenth century therefore represented the Mediterranean prologue for the global expansion of Muslim printing around 1820 in which other transcultural journeymen and middlemen would play key roles. These new Muslim printing presses were by no means solely religious enterprises: much of the early output of Cairo's Bulaq press was technocratic in topic. But as we have seen in the Introduction to this book, the spread of printing into Muslim hands afforded a massive transformation of religious production as Islamic texts, propaganda and scripture could be truly mass-produced for the first time. What we are tracing here, then, are the initial exchanges around 1820 that in the decades which followed would allow for the complete transformation of the Muslim means of religious production. So important was this shift that it would in turn transform religious marketplaces as far apart as Egypt, India and Malaysia. For not only did Muslims access print; from around 1820, through print they were able to reproduce, distribute and dispute a variety of Islams promoted by new religious entrepreneurs and firms.

This is not to say that the three primary sites considered here in Iran, Egypt and India were the first places where Muslims ever printed. As we have already noted, between 1729 and 1743 Ibrahim Müteferrika had issued some seventeen works from his press in Istanbul, while in 1797 a Muslim press was established in the Volga city of Kazan under Russian imperial tutelage.[10] Then, in 1803, a second Ottoman press printed an Ottoman Turkish translation of *al-Tariqa al-Muhammadiyya* ('Path of Muhammad') by Muhammad al-Birkawi (d.1573) in the province of Scutari in what is now Montenegro/Albania.[11] Since Birkawi's *al-Tariqa al-Muhammadiyya* was a founding text for the reformist Islam that spread

widely in the nineteenth century, its printing was an important intervention of new technology in the diversifying market of Muslim doctrines. As printing technology spread to other terrains discussed in this chapter, it set in motion a new industrialized dimension to religious exchange that set apart the period considered in this book from earlier times. While focusing primarily on a case study of Iranian evidence for the entrepreneurial innovators behind the Muslim adaptation of printing, this chapter also considers the birth of Egyptian, Lebanese, Indian and Malay Muslim printing to demonstrate the larger patterns that the Iranian case foreshadowed. The answer to how these travelling printers succeeded is found in the small scale of the terrains of exchange where they operated in Europe, terrains in which their transcultural 'qualifications' afforded them access to printing as well as to other elements of the new sciences. Here the chapter draws out the distinctive and often contradictory agendas of printing's demand side (of Muslim statesmen and middlemen) and supply side (of Christian evangelicals and printers). From the small but nonetheless global circles where middlemen gained access to print we shall see patterns that explain the multi-sited emergence of Muslim printing in Iran, Egypt and India in a period of only eighteen months.

The Making of a Muslim Printer

In Chapter One, we saw the prominent place of Christian concerns in the British universities, where even linguistic studies were absorbed into evangelical agendas. Because early-nineteenth-century European science was similarly embedded in a Christian framework, it was necessary for technology-seeking travellers from Asia to presage their mechanical training with strategies of self-transformation. By these strategies, Asian travellers aimed to render themselves 'middlemen' who were equipped to move between not only different religious systems but also between the distinct social circles in which technological knowledge was located. With their ability to move between worlds, these 'journeymen', or travelling printer's apprentices, were essential to the foundation of Muslim printing. For by sending a person to acquire skills as well as machines, their state sponsors addressed a perpetual problem in the transfer of technology: the uselessness of machines without people trained to use them.[12] This human dimension to technology transfer is apparent in the discussion that follows of Muslim access to the small social group that

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controlled Arabic-script printing in England, pointing to the concretely microhistorical scale on which the abstractions of 'religion', 'modernity' and even 'science' should be understood.

We can now turn to the substance of this chapter's investigations by reconstructing the profile of one of the two founding figures of Muslim printing in Iran, Mirza Salih Shirazi.[13] The son of a local notable from Shiraz, Mirza Salih was probably born around 1790 and in his youth became attached to the court of the modernizing Qajar prince, ʿAbbas Mirza (1789–1833).[14] The governor of Iran's threatened north-western provinces along the Russian border, ʿAbbas Mirza ruled over one of his country's most crucial terrains of exchange where people, ideas and commodities from imperial Russia were beginning to cross-fertilize with local Muslim customs in the early 1800s. It is no coincidence that it was this prince and his capital at Tabriz that nurtured Muslim printing through its birth and infancy in Iran.[15]

Although it was in London that Mirza Salih eventually learned the skills of the printer, his first exposure to Europeans and their 'new sciences' (*ʿulum-e jadid*) came in Iran itself when, in 1810, he acted as secretary to Henry Lindsay-Bethune (1787–1851), infantry commander of ʿAbbas Mirza's new model army that was intended to withstand the Russians.[16] In 1812 Mirza Salih was attached to the embassy of Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844), travelling with the British party for much of its journey through Iran and recording its stages in an informational Persian travelogue that he presented to Sir Gore's brother and secretary, the pioneer orientalist Sir William Ouseley (1767–1842).[17] Reflecting again the intersection of imperial and evangelical concerns seen in the previous chapter, in 1812 the ambassador Sir Gore Ouseley was entrusted with the revised Persian translation of the New Testament made by the Cambridge missionary Henry Martyn during his residence in Mirza Salih's home city of Shiraz; as we shall see below, Sir Gore later oversaw its publication in Saint Petersburg. Even before Mirza Salih met Sir Gore, their circles had already intersected through the networks of the missionary societies. As we have already seen in Oxford and Cambridge, the encounter with Islam spurred the evangelical orientalists to produce new hybrid texts by way of translated Bibles and language guides to allow Christian missionaries to speak with (or ideally to dispute with) foreign Muslims. But all such works required the linguistic expertise of native speakers. And so it was that during his time with the Ouseley embassy,

Mirza Salih compiled an example of what, along with the scripture translation, became the key literary genre to emerge from the international collaborations that disseminated print: the language guide. Here in Iran, this young Muslim middleman was already joining the linguistic enterprises of the Christian orientalists of Oxbridge. After all, communication was the most vital of all tools of exchange and language, its most basic technology. For as Mirza Salih taught Persian to the British, he in turn began to acquire skills in English that laid the basis for his journey to the printers' workshops of London. As we shall see below, it was a pattern later repeated by other pioneer printers such as Munshi 'Abdullah at the other end of Asia in Malacca.

Mirza Salih's work on this language book involved the composition of a set of Persian sentences questions one might address to a servant (*nawkar*), clerk (*munshi*), or gardener (*baghban*) and the corresponding answers one might (hope to) receive. The sentences were then given English equivalents by William Ouseley's assistant, the East India Company scholar William Price (1780 1830), who even before Mirza Salih left Iran was to be the first of his Christian cooperators.[18] On his return to England, Price published two editions of these *Persian Dialogues* in joint Roman and Arabic type, featuring the Iranian's name ('Mirza Sauli') as co-author.[19] Through his work on a hybrid English and Persian 'middle text', which belonged to a new genre forming the literary expression of the middlemen's hybrid transculturalism, the cooperation that underwrote the emergence of Iranian printing thus saw Mirza Salih involved in printing projects that spanned an axis linking Iran with India and England. In cooperating in Iran with Britons trained in India, he wrote a Persian manuscript that was carried to England and printed there in Persian type developed a generation earlier in the empire's greatest terrain of exchange in Calcutta.[20]

Already exposed to the ways of the British, Mirza Salih made an excellent candidate when Prince 'Abbas Mirza decided to send students to England to pursue the new sciences he saw as essential to the defence of the realm. In the summer of 1815, Mirza Salih set off with three fellow students under the protection of Joseph D'Arcy (1780 1848), who as part of the new military order (*nizam-e jadid*) being introduced to Iran from Europe was one of several British officers deployed to train 'Abbas Mirza's army.[21] By building on clues in Mirza Salih's Persian diary of his residence in London, the following sections reconstruct the evangelical

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circumstances surrounding his acquisition of print technology and his transfer of it to Iran.[22] In a travel diary that was intended to be instructive to his readers back home, Mirza Salih made clear the cultural transformations that his mission had required, though he brushed over some of his cooperations with the Christian missionary firms, cooperations which are only revealed by reading the latter's own records.

Mirza Salih originally intended to study at Oxford, probably not realizing prior to his actual visits to Oxford and Cambridge in 1818 and 1819 that, as the training grounds of clergy and squires, the universities held in patrician disdain the mechanical arts in which Mirza Salih's sponsors were interested and were in any case closed to all except Anglican Christians.[23] Before realizing this, Mirza Salih had begun to prepare himself by learning Latin, partly because it was a requirement for university entrance and partly because it held such sway over European learning and the social classes among which it circulated. Yet it was not only the language of the British but the religion of the British that he studied in preparation for his mission to acquire the skills and machines of the printer. Working with a series of tutors, he studied Anglican theology, particularly the fashionable writings of the Reverend William Paley (1743 1805), which in line with what we have seen of the Christian profile of the universities were finding a central place on the university syllabus at this time. According to a report in *The Times* from 1818, 'Saleh ... has read Paley's *Natural Theology*; and both [Mirza Salih and his fellow student Mirza Jaʿfar] are curious in their inquiries as to this department of our literature, as well as that of ethics.'[24] As rationalizing theologians like 'watchmaker' Paley attempted to square the new episteme of observation and reason with the doctrines of the church, English science was still intimately entwined with Anglican theology. Even modernizing Muslims such as Mirza Salih needed in this way to engage with the Christians' religion in order to access their technology. And as we shall see, the universities and their evangelical associates formed effective social networks in which religion could be deployed by a middleman such as Mirza Salih to access the assets of technology.

All of the Iranian students sent to Britain found themselves engaging with Christianity as part of their mechanical and military studies. Mirza Salih's fellow traveller, Mirza Jaʿfar, had been sent to England to study engineering, but was also exposed to a no less religiously embedded science. His mentor and mathematics teacher at the Royal Military

Academy at Woolwich was Dr Olinthus Gregory (1774 1841) who, in addition to his mathematical and astronomical writings, in the year of the students' arrival had published *Letters to a Friend, on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion*.[25] There he attempted to refute the rationalizing turn of Paley's *Natural Religion*, showing how Christian engineers could simultaneously hold anti-rationalist positions when it came to the interpretation of scripture. Mirza Salih's diary records himself and Mirza Ja'far being regularly chaperoned by Dr Gregory, blending their exposure to scientific principles with a peculiarly evangelical twist.[26] Such were the British scholars with whom the Iranians were required to engage on their mission to intellectually empower their homeland against the depredations of imperial Russia.

The circles in which Mirza Salih acquired his Latin, English and theology are still more revealing of the religious preamble to his access to print. His journal records how between 1816 and 1817 he studied under a 'Mistar Bissit' in Croydon.[27] The teacher in question was the Reverend John Bisset (d.1852), a provincial clergyman who ran a private 'gentlemen's academy' in the small town of Croydon to the south of London, where he was also master of the Whitgift School.[28] From descriptions of Bisset's Academy, as well as Mirza Salih's own description of adopting English dress and his knowledgeable how-to account of English manners, it becomes clear that the qualifications for his entry to the social circles of scientific learning involved mastering the accomplishments and protocols of the English gentleman.[29] This was, after all, the whole point of Bisset's Academy, an institution that afforded access to the universities and professions for England's provincial middle-class youth through a programme of acculturation to dominant social norms that was essentially similar (if less radical) to that which it provided to Mirza Salih. The programme was a success: British newspaper reports praised the polish of Mirza Salih's manners, and the letters he wrote to his British friends show a command of English prose even by the eloquent standards of the age of Hazlitt.[30] The reports about him in newspapers of the time also made frequent reference to his sympathetic interest in Christianity, remarking on one occasion 'that the preaching in [England's] churches was wholly mystical'.[31]

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Religious Routes to Technology

With the Ouseley embassy to Iran in 1812, Mirza Salih had already made contact with some of the leading patrons of Arabic-script printing as it was developing in London in the early 1800s by way of the Ouseley brothers themselves.[32] Through his monographs and journal *The Oriental Collections*, Sir William Ouseley was an important promoter of Persian typography at a time when no Persian book had ever been printed in Iran. Moreover, pointing to the evangelicals' role in the spread of Arabic-script printing, in 1815 Sir Gore Ouseley had overseen the printing in Saint Petersburg of Henry Martyn's revised Persian New Testament. Indeed, Sir Gore had rescued the translation from Iran after Martyn's sudden death and personally carried it to Saint Petersburg for printing by the local franchise of the Bible Society. Distributed to Iran by the Bible Society's far-reaching colporteur networks, the book was shown to the Iranian ruler, Fath 'Ali Shah, who offered its evangelical promoters 'a decided testimony' in its favour.[33] After all, he had probably never seen a printed book in his own language before. When Sir Gore Ouseley, as a result of his work on the publication and his high-level contacts in Iran, became the vice president of the Bible Society after his return to London in 1816, Mirza Salih who was also by now in London found himself acquainted with the era's most important institutional sponsor of Arabic-script printing.[34] Most likely through Sir Gore's introduction, Mirza Salih also established contact with Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge, whom we saw in Chapter One to be Cambridge's leading evangelical orientalist. Of more interest to Mirza Salih, Lee was also at this exact time busy designing Arabic and Persian type for printing his translations of tracts and scripture.[35]

Through their connections to the Bible Society, Samuel Lee and Sir Gore Ouseley played a central role in Mirza Salih's access to print. As the basic tools of exchange, the communication technologies that were developing in this period included dictionaries and grammars as well as the so-called 'exotic' typesets and presses with which to print them. The scripture translations that we shall turn to again in Chapter Three were inseparable from these basic tools, both grammatical and mechanical. As we have already partly seen in Chapter One, the composition of such language aids caused the collusion of orientalists and evangelicals, printers and diplomats, East India Company employees and Muslim assistants from India or Iran. So it was that during his time in Croydon in 1816,

Mirza Salih also met scholars from the East India Company's military seminary in neighbouring Addiscombe. He seems to have taught some of them Persian in preparation for their officer-rank language exams and he certainly briefly studied himself with the seminary's Professor John Shakespear (1774 1858), whose *Dictionary, Hindustani and English* appeared in 1817 using the new Persian type that London's typecasters were increasingly producing for the missionaries and the Company.[36]

Such connections linked Mirza Salih to the Christian networks of personnel and technology through which by around 1820 the evangelical and administrative enterprises of Britain's imperial approach to Islam increasingly flowed. Through the contacts of the God-fearing engineer Dr Gregory, in 1817 and 1818 Mirza Salih was able to visit several of the industrializing mills and factories that were appearing in towns like Bristol, where printing was also 'very extensively done'.[37] As in the previous chapter, once again we see religion practically manifest in the form of social networks. On another occasion, after meeting Oxford's evangelical orientalist Professor John David Macbride, Mirza Salih was taken by another missionary sympathizer to inspect a paper mill outside the city which contained one of the earliest examples of the Fourdrinier machine.[38] By industrializing paper production, such machines were transforming Britain's publishing industry so as to enable not only the vast expansion of newspapers from the 1820s but also to supply the paper for Oxford's massive business in Bible printing. In practice, then, such machines were avowedly Christian technologies. Abandoning his aspirations of study at Oxford as he realized the absence of the mechanical arts from its syllabi, in early 1819 Mirza Salih became the understudy of a London printer, to whose premises he described himself travelling daily in his diary.[39] Having reached London as a dignified Persian *mirza* ('gentleman-secretary') and left the Reverend Bisset's Croydon academy as an English gentleman, the entrepreneurial Mirza Salih was now transforming himself into one of the innovative industrialists of a global age of change. As we shall now see, it was evangelicals who afforded him this prospect.

One of the key problems with interpreting Mirza Salih's diary is the varied transliteration of English names in its different editions, variations which result from the unclear orthography of the original manuscript. These issues coalesce around the identification of the printer to whom Mirza Salih apprenticed himself in 1819: Ghulam Husayn's edition renders the name (in Persian) as 'Mistar Dans', while other editions give the

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name as Vans/Wans or Vals/Wals.[40] From the hundreds of printers known to have been active in London in 1819 whose names and trading details are recorded, only one name fits both the orthography of the name in the diary's original manuscript and with Mirza Salih's subsequent statement that his printing master had printed translations of the New Testament in Persian, Arabic, Urdu and Syriac.[41] This was the oriental language printer, typesetter, and typecaster Richard Watts (d.1844), for although not suggested by the modern Iranian editors of Mirza Salih's diary, the name Watts is no less consistent with the original manuscript than the other readings which point to neither a printer nor (except perhaps as 'Dance') a viable English name.[42]

Besides Watts, the other printers in London at this time who worked with Persian type were William Bulmer (d.1830) and Vincent Figgins (d.1861), and we can discount any connection with either since they printed secular works rather than the Bibles mentioned in Mirza Salih's diary. Watts is thus the only identification which fits with the extensive evidence on the London print trade. By 1819 he had already made his name as a printer of the Bible in the languages Mirza Salih listed. Indeed, Watts was the oriental printer for the Church Missionary Society, the Bible Society and the Prayer Book and Homily Society. Moreover, Watts was closely affiliated to Mirza Salih's associate Sir Gore Ouseley who, as vice president of the Bible Society and a scholar of the languages in which Watts printed, was in regular contact with the printer.[43] He also worked closely with Mirza Salih's two university associates, Professor John David Macbride of Oxford and Professor Samuel Lee of Cambridge, whom we encountered in Chapter One as the universities' leading evangelicals. With its location at the junction of the Strand and Fleet Street, Watts's Oriental Type-Foundry on Temple Bar was at the heart of London's printing industry. The intersecting networks of empire, evangelicalism and orientalism had directed Mirza Salih to the most fertile terrain from which to transfer printing to his homeland.

If Mirza Salih's cultural skills had allowed him to develop the necessary social connections to fulfil his goals, it is worth pausing to consider the motives of the printer Richard Watts. Here we need to look at his background and the nature of his trade. Watts began his career at Cambridge, where between 1802 and 1809 he held the office of university printer.[44] As we have seen, Cambridge was already a centre of the emerging evangelical movement: the Persian translator of the Gospels,

Henry Martyn, had turned missionary in its evangelical circles, in which Mirza Salih himself moved during his own Cambridge visits.[45] It was amid this pious atmosphere that Watts made his name when, in 1806, he and his successor as university printer, John Smith, issued the Bible Society's launch book: a cheap New Testament in Welsh.[46] Through Cambridge's close-knit evangelical circle, Watts came into contact with Professor Samuel Lee, who himself had a tradesman's background before his language skills carried him to Cambridge under the sponsorship of the Church Missionary Society.[47] Language-learning, then, was central to the business of printing. After Watts's own tutelage with Welsh, he established his reputation as not only a meticulous printer of scripture but also as a caster of non-Roman type, beginning with Greek and progressing through Syriac and Arabic to Amharic and an eventual total of sixty-seven multilingual type sets.[48] In 1809 he left Cambridge to set up his own workshop in Broxbourne and in 1816 established himself in the premises where Mirza Salih knew him on London's Temple Bar, a short walk from the Bible Society's headquarters at Bible House. From here in 1818 Watts used one of his Arabic-script typesets to print Henry Martyn's Urdu prayer book for the Homily Society, a project which may have initially attracted Mirza Salih to him.[49]

In 1819, the very year in which Mirza Salih was apprenticed to Watts, the latter also printed an Urdu New Testament using an expanded version of his Persian type.[50] The work was done under the supervision of Watts's and Mirza Salih's mutual associate, Professor Lee of Cambridge.[51] At the same time another mutual associate, Oxford's Professor Macbride, oversaw an Arabic Psalter through publication by the Bible Society with Watts as the printer.[52] Then in 1821 Watts printed an Arabic translation of the New Testament with the title *Kitab al-Ahd al-Jadid*, which was also corrected at the proofs stage by Lee.[53] Since there is good evidence that Mirza Salih was involved in Lee's Bible translations, it is likely that Mirza Salih played a role in Watts's time-comsuming editions of Lee's Persian Psalter and New Testament, which finally cleared the press in the early 1820s after Mirza Salih had returned home.[54] Mirza Salih would not have been the only one of ʿAbbas Mirza's new men to be brought into such evangelical projects. For on his way back from his embassy to Iran in 1815, Sir Gore Ouseley had persuaded another Iranian by the name of Mirza Jaʿfar to correct Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament which he then helped the Russian Bible Society to print in Saint Petersburg.[55]

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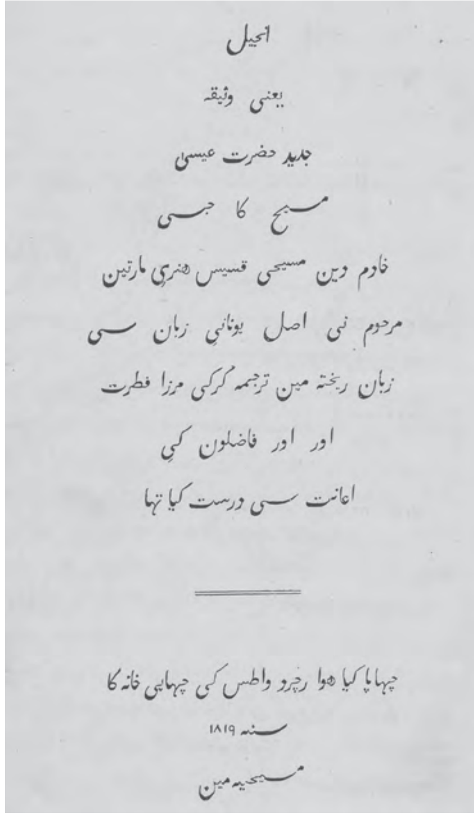

انجیل

یعنی وثیقہ

جدید حضرت عیسیٰ

مسیح کا جسی

خادم دین مسیحی قسیس هنری مارتین

مرحوم نی اصل یونانی زبان سی

زبان ریختہ مین ترجمہ کرکی مرزا فطرت

اور اور فاضلون کی

اعانت سی درست کیا تہا

چہاپا کیا هوا رچرد واطس کی چہاپی خانہ کا

سنہ ۱۸۱۹

مسیحیہ مین

Fig. 4: Richard Watts's edition of Martyn and Fitrit's Urdu New Testament (1819)

Unfortunately, in his diary Mirza Salih recorded few details of his dealings with Watts other than that he went to his premises every day for the last six months of his stay in London. Although we can reconstruct in detail the mechanical aspects of Mirza Salih's apprenticeship, from oiling and repairing the press to preparing the paper and setting the matrices, this is less relevant than the language work in which Mirza Salih was likely engaged by Watts.[56] Given that in taking on an apprentice a master printer expected help in return for training, we can assume there was something in the arrangement for Watts as well as Mirza Salih. Pointing to the entrepreneurial capacity of the literate that we shall see in Chapter

Three, here Mirza Salih's skills as one of the Muslim *ahl-e qalam*, or 'men of the pen', would have proved useful. As Leslie Howsam has noted, the Bible Society regularly employed skilled members of London's transient foreign population in its projects: 'the community of foreigners in London extended to reliable translators, editors and printers who could be entrusted with work that the English-speaking members of the Committee were not qualified to oversee'.[57] We know that other 'trans-cultured' Muslims were occasionally employed in Watts's workshop, as in the case of Sullivan Law Hyder, the son of an Indian Muslim writing master at the East India College, Ghulam Haydar (d.1823), and an Englishwoman.[58] On his father's death, Sullivan (also known as Sulman Hyder, that is, the Muslim name Sulayman Haydar) was apprenticed to Watts for five years before being sent to work as a printer in Calcutta in 1831. With the skills in Persian orthography that Sulivan/Sulman had learned from his father, he must have been a useful understudy for Watts, who was always in need of gifted calligraphers to prepare the originals of Persian and Arabic letters for his punches and typesets.

Such cooperation is scarcely surprising, since for all his technical skills as an oriental language printer, Watts could not actually read any of these languages and relied on scholars like Lee and Macbride to check the accuracy of his copy.[59] But on a day-to-day level, when such familiarity with the language being printed was no less crucial, the professors were not at hand in Watts's London workshop. In 1819, Mirza Salih was. Here it is helpful to differentiate between two distinct elements of printing, namely typesetting (which requires the compositor to have at least basic familiarity with the language, especially with cursive scripts like Arabic), followed by presswork (which requires technical skill but no familiarity with the language being printed).[60] In other words, in an echo of the language books like Mirza Salih and Price's *Persian Dialogues*, such printing ventures typically demanded collaborative effort. Whether Bibles in Arabic or guides for sentences in Persian, the books with which Mirza Salih became engaged through his interactions with the British were the tangible products of exchange between Muslims and Christians.

One solution to the problem of finding Muslim cooperators on such projects was to outsource the printing to locations with easier access to native scholars, a decision that in turn helped further disseminate both printing presses and Christian books into Muslim regions. This was exactly what happened with the establishment of the Church Missionary

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Society's Arabic press in Malta and the Bible Society's joint venture with the Serampore Baptist Press near Calcutta.[61] But during Mirza Salih's years in London, such opportunities were still limited through the concentration at this time of Arabic-script printing technology and its requisite expertise in London. The city was, after all, the publishing centre of an imperial book emporium that reached from Ohio to Bengal. We cannot be certain whether Mirza Salih helped Watts exactly as Sullivan Hyder did, but with Watts working on several Arabic-script publications during Mirza Salih's apprenticeship, it is hard to imagine Watts not making use of his language skills by way of recompense for his training.

Part of the reason for this uncertainty is Mirza Salih's own reticence in recording the scale of his cooperations in a diary intended as a report for his Muslim sponsors back home. Even as his main patron Prince 'Abbas Mirza relied on British trainers for his soldiers, the Muslim clergy remained a powerful force at his court in Tabriz as well as in the main court in Tehran. And so while Mirza Salih did describe Watts as a Bible printer, he did not mention that he worked on behalf of the new missionary organizations.[62] Yet the link between Watts and the Bible Society is crucial. For in terms of scale, the Bible Society was the most important promoter of Arabic-script printing anywhere in the world at this time.[63] An industrial no less than a religious firm, the Bible Society was at this point pushing Arabic-script printing that is, printing in such Arabic-script languages as Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Malay or various forms of Turkish to levels of precision and production that far outstripped even the East India Company's printers, let alone the small number of texts previously printed by Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.[64] Before a single book had been printed by Muslims in Iran, in 1815 alone some 5,000 Persian New Testaments were printed by the Bible Society in Saint Petersburg and by 1825 more than 20,000 Persian, Arabic and Urdu scripture books had been issued from the Bible Society in London alone.[65] This does not take into account the comparable number of vernacular Bibles printed in Calcutta and other overseas missionary hubs. Both the precision and scale of this massive advancement in Arabic-script printing were due to the venture's religious profile, for the Bible was not only a huge book but also one to be typeset and printed with the most scrupulous care. The demands of religion thus refined the use of technology.

The output of the British imperial capital's own religious economy thus reached far and wide. Here we should bear in mind the economic

impact of the Bible trade on London's publishing industry: in the year of Mirza Salih's apprenticeship *Leigh's New Picture of London* (printed at 18 the Strand, a few doors away from Watts's office) celebrated the fact that, taking into account all the languages in which it operated, in the previous year of 1818 the Bible Society had published no fewer than 123,247 Bibles![66] The foreign Bible industry into which Mirza Salih was inadvertently drawn was very big business indeed.[67] In terms of print runs and numbers of pages, Mirza Salih thus found himself apprenticed to the biggest producer of Arabic-script printed books in the world. Although the Protestant missionary societies would later establish Arabic-script printing franchises in the Middle East itself, Mirza Salih's time in London pre-dates even the earliest such ventures (by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions).[68] The connection between an Iranian Muslim middleman and two professors, one diplomat and a printer all associated with the Bible Society is clear evidence of the evangelical circumstances in which print technology was transmitted to Iran. For in the autumn of 1819, a small printing press and a set of Arabic type were purchased on Mirza Salih's behalf by Richard Watts and Sir Gore Ouseley, the Bible Society's vice president. We must assume that Sir Gore hoped that Mirza Salih would use the press to help with evangelical projects back in Iran, like Sir Gore's earlier Iranian assistant had when he printed the Persian New Testament in Saint Petersburg. After all, we do not know what Mirza Salih promised Sir Gore in return, though we hear hints of such collusion in Mirza Salih's case in the memoirs of the evangelical 'bluestocking' Hannah More (1745 1833), whom his own diary also records him visiting in the hamlet of Barley Wood near Bristol in 1818. An English memoir of the meeting records how:

> Mrs. More presented her new Persian friends with her work on *Practical Piety*, which they declared they would translate into their language immediately on their return home, and that it should be the first work which should bring into exercise the knowledge they had acquired of the art of printing, and employ the printing press which they were carrying back into their own country.[69]

Having established this much through a close inspection of the terrain of exchange that was Richard Watts's workshop off Fleet Street, we can now widen our focus to see Iranian printing in the context of the rapid global spread of printing in the early nineteenth century, when a sequence

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of Asian, American and Australasian regions acquired printing presses for the first time. The early nineteenth century was a period of intense industrial competition between Britain and its rivals, in which the export of both machines and trained apprentices was subject to state control. This regulation of technology   and its subversion through smuggling and illegal emigration   was an important factor in the dissemination of industrial technologies in the early 1800s, not least in the spread of new technologies to North America, a factor placing Iran's technological ventures in a larger global context.[70] While Mirza Salih made no explicit confession of smuggling in his diary (we can hardly expect that he would), the circumstances he described around exporting the printing press he acquired from Richard Watts suggest he might be considered alongside other industrial 'smugglers' of the period, such as the pioneer American mill-owner Francis Cabot Lowell (1775 1817). This is how Mirza Salih's journal records events. Shortly before his departure for Iran in September 1819, Richard Watts and Sir Gore Ouseley purchased on his behalf a small, cheap printing press and an Arabic typeset. Then, although the press was acquired in London and Mirza Salih shortly embarked from London's docks, he did not collect his press until several days later when he passed through Gravesend on the Thames estuary, at which point he immediately set sail for the continent and his voyage home.[71] The dockside transaction crops up in Mirza Salih's diary because he complained that the man who delivered the equipment charged far more money than arranged, leading to a costly argument. The episode thus begs the question of why Mirza Salih didn't save himself this trouble and expense by loading his machines at the port of London in the first place. In view of the legal context, one answer is that he deliberately bypassed the central customs house by employing a smuggler to bring his machines further downstream, an arrangement with shady characters that had the predictable consequence of costing more money than expected.

If state regulation formed a potential check on religious technology transfer, developments in technology itself enabled printing presses to circulate more efficiently to distant terrains that would quickly be transformed into productive, and frequently polemical, markets of print. Having looked at the social transactions behind the birth of Iranian printing, we must now turn to the technological dimensions of Mirza Salih's and his contemporary journeymen's success. This technological factor also helps explain the importance of the years around 1820 to

Islamic printing. The key development here was Lord Stanhope's invention in 1798 of the freestanding and portable iron hand-press and the rapid and repeated improvement of his prototype by many imitators over the next two decades. (Stanhope deliberately left his invention without patent.) The new hand-presses revolutionized printing by simplifying the range of required skills and speeding up the printing process. Mass production reduced their cost, and these durable all-in-one machines could be purchased and transported whole rather than reconstructed on location. With an industrial infrastructure capable of producing such cast-iron presses on a profitable scale, early-nineteenth-century England became the world center of printing's industrialization, tying London to a new global network of not only printers but also designers of printing equipment.[72] A converse side of the rapid technological change of the early 1800s also contributed to the diffusion of the hand-press fol-lowed by the device's swift obsolescence in industrial centres like London with the rise of steam-powered machine printing in the 1810s and 20s. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Stanhope and his imitators had manufactured thousands of hand-presses for book and newspaper publishers in London and exported many others under license to Europe. But London's major publishers began to switch over to steam-powered machine presses, with *The Times* newspaper leading the way in 1814.[73] As other publishers made the same switch in the 1820s and later, hundreds of redundant hand-presses flooded the London market and were shipped to the continent and beyond. In the autumn of 1819 Mirza Salih stood at the cusp of this wave and so recorded his purchase through Watts and Ouseley of a used hand-press for what struck him as a surprisingly good price.

Again, the American dimensions to this process place Iranian printing in its properly global context. In the same year that Mirza Salih was apprenticed to Watts in London, the Scottish traveller John Duncan was exploring the industrializing towns of the United States and employing a style of technological diary-keeping that reflected Mirza Salih's accounts of England's mills and factories.[74] Just as Mirza Salih recorded in detail the print runs of London newspapers, in Philadelphia Duncan took notes on the city's newspapers, book trade and 'the finest and most accurate specimens of typography that have yet appeared in America'.[75] Not only Duncan connected Philadelphia printers with London: in 1817 the city's most important print mechanic, George Clymer (1754 1834),

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moved to London to register the patent of his Columbian hand-press and use England's greater commercial and industrial base to expand his business.[76] As we see below, Clymer later met Mirza Salih's own cooperator, Sir Gore Ouseley, in another attempt to spread Christian printing to the Middle East. The new iron hand-presses such as the English Stanhope press and Clymer's Columbian press formed the technological dimension of the rapid global expansion of Muslim printing in the early 1800s as versions of these presses were carried to Malta, Egypt, Lebanon, Iran, the Crimea, India, the Malay peninsula and the ports of China, as well as (and in some cases before) Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada. It is no coincidence that fifteen years after Mirza Salih left Watts's workshop for Iran, Watts's later apprentice William Colenso (1811 99) sailed to New Zealand under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society. Like Mirza Salih, Colenso also carried a portable Stanhope press and within a few months of his arrival in 1835 printed in Maori what we saw in Chapter One was the first ever book produced in New Zealand, the *Epistles to the Ephesians and Phillipians*.[77] To complete the small global circle of these printing pioneers, the basis for the Maori translation and type had been laid by Mirza Salih's cooperator Samuel Lee, whom we have also seen in Chapter One composing a Maori grammar through his meetings with two Maori people brought to Cambridge by the missionary Thomas Kendall. In 1820, just a few months after Mirza Salih's departure from London, that grammar itself a product of religiously-mediated exchange was printed by no other than Mirza Salih's print master Richard Watts.[78]

Mirza Salih did not detail which brand of printing press he exported, but based on the types of portable iron hand-press available in London at the time, it is likely to have been one of the various versions of the Stanhope.[79] The case of another transcultural Middle Easterner who entered the same circle in which Mirza Salih was moving illustrates the global collusion of evangelicalism, travel and new technology. In spring 1819, as Mirza Salih worked daily in Watts's workshop, an Arab traveller claiming to be the Syrian Arab archbishop of Jerusalem appeared in London to ask for help in printing Christian texts. An assembly gathered in response at the Freemason's Arms tavern off Covent Garden (ten minutes' walk from Watts's workshop): there was Samuel Lee; the president of the Bible Society (and former Governor General of India) Lord Teignmouth; and the Philadelphian inventor of the Columbian press,

George Clymer. Together they pledged support that included one of Clymer's new hand-presses, which the 'archbishop' was able to transport to the Levant.[80] In technological terms, the timing of the rapid diffusion of printing in Muslim regions of the world around 1820 had much to do with the invention of such robust, portable and relatively inexpensive presses and their production on an industrial scale. But mechanical ingenuity also needed evangelical networks to spread the new portable presses to Asia.

Cooperation, Competition and the Dissemination of Printing

Having seen how print technology was transferred to Iran, we now address what this transfer of technology was intended for by considering the alternately cooperating and conflicting projects among the small circle in Britain from which printing spread to Iran. What is immediately striking about this collision of agendas is how a state-sponsored Iranian mission to acquire new mechanical knowledge was enveloped in a British project to turn technology towards the conversion of Muslims through Bible printing on a massive scale. We have already seen the likelihood that, like other native-language assistants, Mirza Salih offered service to the printer Richard Watts as a reciprocal part of his training. The details in Mirza Salih's diary of meetings with Professors Lee and Macbride, the leading translators of the Bible into Arabic and Persian, show that, like other Muslim scholars in Britain at the time such as Mirza Khalil of the East India College at Haileybury, Mirza Salih was also drawn into translation work. As the *Oxford University and City Herald* reported in 1818, 'Mr. Lee has in hand a new translation of the Old Testament into Persian, in conjunction with Mirza Khaleel.'[81] The men whom Mirza Salih described as helping him acquire his skills and printing press the Bible Society's vice president Sir Gore Ouseley and its printer Watts may have harboured hopes that Mirza Salih would continue their evangelical efforts in Iran as well as among the many Muslims of the Russian Empire discussed in Chapter Three. As we have seen, Sir Gore had already persuaded an Iranian called Mirza Ja'far to correct Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament in Saint Petersburg, and the Bible Society later sponsored him to work on the translation of the Old Testament as well.[82] We shall see more of such cooperations and of the motivations behind them in the next chapter. As regards Mirza Salih,

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we have already read his recorded conversation with the evangelical Hannah More in which he promised to use his press to print Bibles in Iran, which suggests that he was not above making the evangelicals promises he did not keep. The overall picture is clear of Mirza Salih being drawn into an evangelical printing agenda while at the same time keeping his own agenda in mind.

What, then, can we say about the aims of Mirza Salih and his state sponsors in acquiring print technology?[83] First, there is evidence to support the idea of newspaper printing (that is, a government gazette) as a major Iranian aim in acquiring printing; after all, Mirza Salih earned his fame by later founding the first Iranian newspaper, called simply *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* ('Newspaper').[84] Mirza Salih's diary of his four years in England shows a keen awareness of the powers of newspapers. After shocking a crowd in Cambridge as he apparently rose from the dead after his carriage crashed, for instance, he wrote to the local newspaper asking its editor to refrain from printing any account of the embarrassing episode.[85] Such was the rarity of an Iranian visitor to England that Mirza Salih and his three fellow students had already been featured in the English press, which a few years earlier had garnished every hint of society gossip about the Iranian ambassador, Mirza Abu al-Hasan.[86] Mirza Salih in any case spent his apprenticeship with Watts on the edge of a Fleet Street that was entering its golden age as the home of the English newspaper trade.[87] For his part, Mirza Salih's state sponsor ʿAbbas Mirza regularly received positive coverage in *The Times*, and evidence suggests that Mirza Salih played some part in this. On 12 April 1819, for example, an article in *The Times* praised Prince ʿAbbas Mirza's 'intercourse with learned Europeans; his speaking the English and French languages very fluently'. All of this suggests that ʿAbbas Mirza's awareness of the newspaper as a useful communicative tool, and Mirza Salih's familiarity with the international public sphere that newspapers formed, helped him become the prince's private secretary after his return.[88] Mirza Salih's diary shows his (and presumably his sponsor's) desire to gather facts about newspapers: he estimated the number printed every year in Britain at 25 million and described how up to sixty 'advertisements' (an innovation for which he borrowed the English word) could be placed alongside journalistic content to provide revenue to proprietors and the government through taxation.[89] The pioneers of Muslim printing, then, were also canny observers of the economics of publishing.

Fig. 5: A Muslim print entrepreneur: lithographic portrait of Mirza Salih

Yet it was not until January 1837, eighteen years after he apprenticed himself to Richard Watts, that Mirza Salih issued Iran's first newspaper. Published from Tehran, the *Kaghaz-e Akhbar* lasted for only one issue, though five months later he launched *Akhbar-e Vaqa'iʿ* ('Current News'), which became Iran's first regular newspaper. When it too ceased publication after three years, no newspaper took its place for another eleven years.[90] The earliest surviving record of either newspaper is a sample issue of *Akhbar-e Vaqa'iʿ* from Muharram 1253 (April/May 1837) that Mirza Salih sent to the Royal Asiatic Society in London, reflecting his friendship with several of its founders (including Gore Ouseley).[91] Its Persian con-

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tents demonstrate the ends to which Mirza Salih by this time still in government service put the skills he learned among England's evangelicals. Because of state usage of the press, most of the content concerned foreign and domestic politics, with an emphasis on Iran's international interactions: the return of an ambassador from Istanbul; the arrival in Bombay of a steam-powered British warship; a party at the British Embassy in Tehran for the birthday of William IV.[92] But the evangelical origins of Iranian printing remained present in a prominent report that Mirza Sayyid ʿAli of Shiraz, the secretary who helped Henry Martyn retranslate the gospels into Persian, was to receive a belated gift of a hundred pounds sterling from the Bible Society, which would be sent all the way from London to Shiraz.[93] Although the evangelical connections of Iranian printing have since been forgotten, they were present indeed newsworthy for its early participants.

If newspaper and scripture suggest a neat dichotomy at the birth of Iranian printing between a religious British agenda and a secular Iranian agenda, then the true picture was more complex. For by turning back to the very first items printed in Iran at the time of Mirza Salih's apprenticeship, we see how Iranian printing emerged from the distinctly religious exchanges of the early nineteenth century. Unfortunately, for all Mirza Salih's efforts, I have been unable to recover any book issued from his printing press except a possible *Gulístan* of Saʿdi reported to have been printed on it in Tabriz in 1828.[94] This was in itself a testament of exchange, for the *Gulístan* was the classic Persian text used in the East India Company's colleges to teach Persian to Britons. But in Iran the *Gulístan* served not only as a basic educational text but as a poetic guide to Muslim morality and Sufi wisdom. To examine further the purposes to which the first Iranian printing presses were put, we must turn instead to Mirza Salih's contemporary, Zayn al-ʿAbidin. Another government servant in ʿAbbas Mirza's service, Zayn al-ʿAbidin, brought Iran's first Arabic-script press from Saint Petersburg to Tabriz in 1816. Like Mirza Salih in London, Zayn al-ʿAbidin had similarly been sent to the other imperial capital of Saint Petersburg by ʿAbbas Mirza to study printing. Although Zayn left no diary of his own travels, evidence suggests that he too was exposed to the transnational religious economy of Bible printing that underwrote Mirza Salih's apprenticeship in London. For in the years directly before Zayn's journey, British evangelicals had founded the Russian Bible Society in Saint Petersburg, where we have already seen

Henry Martyn's Persian New Testament being published in 1815 with Iranian assistance and a print run of 5,000 copies.[95] Bible Society records show how the Persian New Testament was eagerly distributed to the southern borderlands of the Russian Empire and beyond it into the Iranian cities of Rasht and Tabriz, where Iranian merchants bought large numbers of copies.[96] Bearing in mind the utter novelty of a Persian printed book before any such thing was produced in Iran and the Bible Society's characteristic less-than-cost price we can easily appreciate the merchants' alacrity. Since Zayn was sent from Tabriz to Saint Petersburg just after the New Testament appeared in Tabriz's markets, it may have been a decisive factor in ʿAbbas Mirza's dispatching him to the city where it was printed, a location stated on the book's frontispiece. Such travel was enabled by Iran's improved diplomatic relations with Russia after the Gulistan Treaty of 1813. But without the Persian New Testament, it is difficult to make sense of the logic of ʿAbbas Mirza sending Zayn to Saint Petersburg. Although in the 1780s the city had been home to Herr Schnoor's 'Tatar and Arabic Typographical Establishment', as a locus of Arabic-script printing it had a much more limited history than the more accessible cities of Bombay, Calcutta, or even Müteferrika's Istanbul.[97] While Schnoor was himself a German immigrant to Russia, even non-Arabic printing in Saint Petersburg at this time continued to rely on immigrant German printers and book importers. Small wonder that the foundation of the Russian Bible Society required the importing to Saint Petersburg of both foreign printers and equipment.

Whatever the evangelical role in Zayn's apprenticeship, in July 1818 just a year before Mirza Salih brought his own press back from London the first book was issued from the press that Zayn al-ʿAbidin brought from Russia in 1816.[98] This, the first Persian book printed in Iran, was the *Risala-ye Jihadiyya* ('Treatise on Holy War'), a collection of Shiʿi legal rulings (*fatawa*) on the legitimacy of a jihad against Russia.[99] Muslim clergy had been consulted *en masse* in cities like Tabriz and Shiraz to gather the opinions that made up the *Risala-ye Jihadiyya*.[100] Similar religious concerns underwrote another of the earliest works to bear Zayn's own imprint, issued in 1823. This was *Muhriq al-Qulub* ('Burner of Hearts') by Mulla Muhammad Mahdi Naraqi (d.1795), whose son Mulla Ahmad Naraqi (d.1829) would write his *Sayf al-ʿAmma* ('Sword of the Cause') in response to the missionary ventures in Iran of the Reverend Henry Martyn.[101] As a counter to the propaganda of the Christian missionaries,

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who as we shall see in Chapter Three were by now also operating in the Russian borderlands just north of Iran, *Muhriq al-Qulub* celebrated the miracles and martyrdoms of the Shiʿi imams. Yet even as a physical object, this Muslim text was an outcome of exchange with Europeans, for it was printed in Tabriz on watermarked paper imported from Italy.

In 1826, in another catalytic response to the flood of Persian Bibles issued by the Bible Society and the missions in southern Russia, the first Quran was printed in Iran on one of the presses introduced to the country by the pioneering journeymen, Mirza Salih and Zayn al-ʻAbidin. When in Tehran in 1832 3 the first Iranian lithograph was printed via the new technology of lithography (*chap-e sangi*) that Mirza Salih was also instrumental in bringing to Iran from Europe, it was again a Quran.[102] Here was Mirza Salih's personal rejoinder to the evangelicals with whom he had cooperated fifteen years earlier in England.

In a period in which, as in England, scientific modernity had not yet been conceived of as the antithesis of faith, the interactions between Muslims and Christians in such new sites of exchange as London and Saint Petersburg had led to an adaptation of print technology to Iran's own terrains of exchange. There, as among the Bible printers of London, the transferred technology was used to mass produce books on religion, whether *fatwas* on holy war or Iran's first printed Qurans.[103] As time went by, the spread of printing to Iran would generate further religious interactions and competitions among Muslims themselves, not least as the printing of legal texts in Persian allowed individual Muslims to manipulate Shariʿa for their own purposes by increasingly using the holy law as a tool in financial disputes. The printed Islamic book became a new religious resource for social empowerment and conflict.

A Type Cast: Repeated Patterns in the Spread of Muslim Printing

Having examined the roles of transcultural exchange in the birth of Iranian printing, we can now turn to the repeated interplay of these forces in the spread of printing to other Muslim regions around 1820. Moving from Iran to Egypt, let us consider the first sustained Muslim-controlled Arabic printing press: the Bulaq Press founded in Cairo in 1820.[104] There, as in an Iran recovering from war with Russia, a modernizing government recovering from the French invasion of 1798 sponsored a journeyman's apprenticeship in Europe. In 1815 the same year

that Mirza Salih arrived in London the Egyptian ruler Muhammad ʻAli (r.1805 48) dispatched Niqula al-Masabiki (d.1830) to Milan, where he spent four years studying printing.[105] The choice of al-Masabiki was no coincidence, for as a Christian Arab from Lebanon he was already a transcultural middleman. In Italian he quickly became known by the suitably Italianate name of Nicolà Mesabichi.[106] While Mirza Salih had needed to enter the Reverend John Bisset's 'academy for gentlemen' in Croydon and study Anglican theology to access the social networks of England's printers, Niqula al-Masabiki had the advantage of already being a Christian who was nonetheless in the service of a Muslim government. Like Mirza Salih in London, in Milan and Rome al-Masabiki was able to tap into a timely confluence of missionary Christianity and industrialized printing. As a Maronite Christian, he entered the expatriate Maronite community of Rome that had been using Arabic printing for several centuries and in Milan, where he mainly resided, the Collegio Ambrosiano had been issuing Arabic works since the seventeenth century.[107] As both Arabic and Italian sources reveal, in Milan al-Masabiki attached himself to the mechanical entrepreneur Giuseppe Morosi (1772 1840), who, as one of the fathers of Milanese industrialization, served as a counterpoint to the printers and mill-owners whom Mirza Salih interviewed in England.[108] Prior to meeting al-Masabiki, Morosi had himself made a long government-sponsored *viaggio tecnologico*, written a travelogue, and inspected, copied, and imported to Italy British-made machines.[109] As Italians were acquiring machines from Britain, Arabs were travelling to Italy in turn in a chain of exchanges between mobile journeymen serving their various governments.

As in the Iranian case, European religion was a key factor in technology transfer to Egypt, but as a Christian al-Masabiki had no need to adapt himself to the same degree as Mirza Salih. Just as Mirza Salih worked with England's evangelical Bible printers, al-Masabiki was similarly able to draw on an older Catholic programme of sponsoring scripture printing among Arab Christians that had earlier seen presses established among the Christians of Syria and Lebanon.[110] Through his mediation between Christian Italians and Muslim Egyptians, al-Masabiki passed printing technology to Muhammad ʻAli's government in Cairo. He returned to Egypt in 1819, the same year that Mirza Salih left London, likewise bringing with him a transportable printing press and the skills to use it. Italian eyewitnesses (including the Milanese traveller Giuseppe Forni) reported

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that the press which al-Masabiki brought with him to Cairo was of the same modern kind used at the Stamperia Reale (Royal Press) in Milan, a new institution dating from the years of Napoleonic rule.[111] When we combine this fact with al-Masabiki's training under Giuseppe Morosi, who himself travelled widely in search of the newest equipment and techniques, it seems highly likely that this was one of the new iron handpresses of the kind Mirza Salih also took back to Iran.

In 1822, the year that al-Masabiki issued Bulaq's first printed book, another Italian traveller, Giovanni Battista Brocchi (1772 1826), described a meeting with 'Mesabichi' in his diary. Brocchi noted how, on his return from Milan, al-Masabiki had managed to cast both Arabic and Turkish type before teaching others in Cairo to do the same.[112] In an echo of the language-learning 'middletexts' that we have seen issuing from the social exchanges that enabled technological transfer, the first book from Cairo's pioneering Bulaq press was an Arabic Italian dictionary through which Muhammad ʿAli hoped his citizens could access European knowledge without the expense of studying abroad.[113] In an echo of Mirza Salih's language book with William Price, the Arabic Italian dictionary was prepared by Don Raffaele de Monachis at Bulaq. Don Raffaele was an Egyptian Melkite Christian whom Napoleon had earlier brought to Paris to teach Arabic at the École des Langues Orientales and who now taught Italian at Muhammad ʿAli's college at Bulaq.[114] The spread of Arabic printing beyond Bulaq was enabled by other such culturally hybridized middlemen. Another of them was Mose Castelli (1816 84), known in Arabic as Musa Kastilli. In 1832, he moved from Florence to Egypt to set up another publishing house, the Matbaʿa Kastilli, in Cairo. Although not a Christian Arab like al-Masabiki, Castelli was in a similarly interstitial position as an Italian Jew.[115] In Egypt as in Iran, we see again the collusion of travel, transculturalism and state sponsorship.

Whereas Italy's older interactions with the Middle East had seen the establishment of missionary outreach to the various Arab Christians as part of the Counter Reformation of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the British case it was the newer evangelical societies who played the key role in promoting printing in the Levant. This was seen in the career of arguably the most important 'Muslim' print entrepreneur of the nineteenth century, Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq (1804 87), whose itinerant career linked Lebanon, Malta and Egypt with Cambridge, Paris,

Tunis and finally Istanbul.[116] An Arab Maronite Christian by birth like al-Masabiki, Shidyaq was introduced to Arabic printing through the British evangelical expansion into the Mediterranean in the wake of the earlier Indian and Iranian missions. From 1837 he was employed at the Arabic press established that year on Malta by the Church Missionary Society. Having been acquired as part of the Treaty of Paris in 1814, Malta was now the closest corner of the British Empire to the Mediterranean Middle East. There, like the language workers in the borderlands of the Russian Empire discussed in the next chapter, Shidyaq translated Christian texts that would then be printed in Arabic. Since the early Arabic type used at the Malta press was cast by Richard Watts in London, the very tools with which Shidyaq's translations were printed were identical to those used by Mirza Salih three years earlier.[117]

The Church Missionary Society press in Malta was an influential catalyst for the spread of printing throughout the Arab Middle East. Just as the educational and polemical translations of Bombay's missionaries triggered reformist responses among Hindus and Parsis as well as Muslims, the publications of Malta's missionaries spurred both Arab Muslims and Christians into founding their own new organizations that printed religious and cultural adaptations of the missionaries' 'product'. Nor was the Maltese press alone, for after 1834 it was followed by various American mission presses established in Lebanon, where their printed output generated responses from other new local religious firms, both Christian and Muslim, in turn. But in dating to the early 1820s, the Church Missionary Society press points to the importance of the evangelical firms of the surrounding years in the initial diffusion of printing among Muslims around the Mediterranean no less than the highlands of Iran and Caucasia we shall see in the next chapter.

Even though he was born an Arab Christian, Shidyaq's apprenticeship with the British missionaries on Malta, and subsequently with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, brought its religious and cultural requirements: he converted to Protestantism and adopted the dress and manners of his Christian cooperators. As in the Iranian and Egyptian cases, such transculturalism found parallel literary expression in an Arabic travelogue (*rihla*) and a set of language-learning French/Arabic 'dialogues' that Shidyaq wrote with the missionary and Arabic printer George Badger (1815–88), with whom he would also compile a voluminous English/Arabic lexicon.[118] Just as Mirza Salih was

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drawn into the evangelical Cambridge circle of Professor Samuel Lee, Shidyaq too worked with Lee and his Cambridge successors, the Reverend Henry Griffin Williams and Thomas Jarrett, on a new Arabic translation of the Psalms. In 1850 it was published in London by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[119]

Like Mirza Salih in Iran, where we have already seen the catalytic effect of evangelical exchanges in triggering textual production, in Egypt Shidyaq went on to found Arabic journalism. Just as Mirza Salih went on to establish Iran's first newspaper in 1837 based on his observations of the British public sphere, from about 1830 Shidyaq spent several years as editor of the first Arabic newspaper, *al-Waqa'i' al-Misriyya* ('Egyptian Affairs', founded 1828). It was published from the press established by al-Masabiki at Bulaq. When he later moved to Tunis and Istanbul to found further newspapers, Faris al-Shidyaq underwent a final self-transformation by converting to Islam and taking the name Ahmad. Through his inter-regional and inter-religious journeys, Shidyaq did more than any other Arab to disseminate printing in Arabic. Whether transferring printing machines or printed genres such as the newspaper, movement between the different markets of print had clear religious dimensions. The ability to redefine one's identity through religion was a key social asset of mobile Muslim middlemen such as Mirza Salih and, by now, *Ahmad* al-Shidyaq. Once again, we see the utility of religion as a mutable tool of identity that could lend access to a variety of social networks and the resources they controlled.

There is only space here to trace in outline the playing out of these processes in India and Malaysia, where Muslim interactions with imperialists and evangelicals also helped found the first presses. In India, it was Ghazi al-Din Haydar (r.1814 27), the ruler of the north Indian state of Awadh, who in 1820 established the first Muslim-owned printing press in India. Just as in Cairo, the first book to be printed in his capital at Lucknow was a dictionary, another 'middletext' in the service of exchange.[120] Distant as it was, Lucknow was also linked to London through travelling middlemen, for in 1801 the Muslim man of the pen Mirza Abu Talib had travelled to London and described its printers and newspapers in his Persian travelogue, *Ma'athir-e Talibi fi Bilad-e Afrang* ('Talib's Testament on the Land of the Franks').[121] And when that travelogue was translated from Persian to English, it was published by none other than Mirza Salih's printing master, Richard Watts.[122] Nor did

such interactions between Awadh and London end there, for when printing subsequently began to spread in Lucknow in the 1820s and 30s, it was through the cooperations between the Anglicized Muslim *munshis* and the English technicians who worked in Lucknow. Even before the first Muslim-owned presses were established in India, interaction with missionaries had enabled Muslims to print their first books. We shall look in detail at one such case in Chapter Three, seeing how 'Nathaniel' Jawad ibn Sabat (d.1827), an erstwhile Arab convert to Christianity and cooperator in Calcutta with the Reverend Henry Martyn on his translation of the New Testament, reverted to Islam and used what he had learned of printing to publish a refutation of Christian teachings. Published in 1814, his *Barahin Sabatiyya dar Radd 'Aqa'id Nasara* ('Proofs of Sabat against the Christians' Beliefs') was a classic example of the generative character of religious exchange.[123] As the outcome of competitive exchange, Sabat's book is further evidence of evangelical midwifery in the birth of Muslim printing.

The emergence of Malay printing in Arabic script followed a similar course. The first Malay text was printed in Malacca in 1817 by the London Missionary Society before the technology eventually passed into Muslim hands through the cooperation of the missionary printers Reverend W. H. Medhurst (1796 1857) and Reverend William Milne (1785 1822) and their cooperator and translator 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah 'Abd al-Qadir (1796 1854), better known as Munshi 'Abdullah.[124] Reflecting the reciprocal exchanges we saw in the previous chapter, in exchange for teaching Medhurst the Malay language, Munshi 'Abdullah was taught how to use the printing press. As 'Abdullah wrote in his autobiography:

> Mr. Medhurst taught me how to arrange the letters, how to hold the block and how to set the pages so that the printed sheets could be folded properly one after another. After three or four months of practice in all these steps I could do the work on my own without his assistance. As time went on I became more conversant with the technique of printing, and knew how to avoid slips when operating the press itself or in setting the type, or in using too much or too little ink. The first order that Mr Milne gave us for printing in Malay was the Ten Commandments given by God to the Prophet Moses...[125]

With his Christian-adapted ideas and missionary associates, Munshi 'Abdullah became the founder of Malay Muslim printing. Over the following years, many other Malay Muslims began to print their own books,

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not only in Malacca but in that other great South East Asian terrain of exchange, Singapore, which as the century progressed became the principal site for Muslim printing in Malay.[126] When Munshi ʻAbdullah himself moved from Malacca to Singapore, like the other middlemen of print his own written output comprised a travelogue, as well as an autobiography. It became the first Malay text to be printed through the new European technology of lithography which, after having mastered typography, ʻAbdullah subsequently helped spread among his fellow Malays. Lithography was a technology that in 1830 his Iranian counterpart Mirza Salih had also helped introduce to Iran from Saint Petersburg, where it had provided the elegant title page to the 1815 Persian New Testament and in 1832 33 was used to print the Quran in Tehran in response to the flood of missionary Bibles.[127] From the Muslim Munshi ʻAbdullah's initial cooperation in printing Christian scripture, by way of *A Vocabulary of the English and Malay Languages* there also emerged another hybrid 'middle-text' that reflected those of Mirza Salih and Don Raffaele, but this time to enable exchanges between English and Malay rather than English and Persian or Arabic and Italian.[128] Once again, in the far maritime reaches of the British Empire no less than the mountainous fringes of its Russian counterpart discussed in the next chapter, translation and print were twin tools of exchange.

Further afield, similar processes were at work in the emergence of Muslim printing in other terrains of exchange.[129] Perhaps the most extraordinary of these religiously reinvented middlemen appeared in Istanbul as early as 1779. When an attempt was made to reinvigorate printing after the closure of Ibrahim Müteferrika's pioneering press, the journeyman involved was a Scottish *renegado* formerly named Campbell. Converted to Islam and now living in Istanbul, Campbell was subsequently known as Ingiliz Mustafa, 'English Mustafa'.[130] Religious identities could clearly be exchanged in either direction to open doors to the networks and resources of different societies, a theme taken up in the next chapter. This manipulation of social identities through sometimes multiple conversions reminds us of the point made in the Introduction: in the social operation of religion, agency is more important than identity. This is a point which will again be taken up in the case study of a Hindu promoter of Sufism in Chapter Five.

Conclusions

By examining the profiles of the founding figures of Muslim printing, we have seen the repeated characteristics that define these printing journeymen as 'middlemen' whose religiously hybrid identities helped them access religious networks in such terrains of exchange as London, Milan, Singapore and Calcutta, through which they transferred print technology from Christian to Muslim hands. Although many of these entrepreneurial middlemen travelled to Europe, others found terrains of exchange nearer to home, as the missionary societies established franchises in such imperial outposts as Malta, Malacca and Bombay. In differing degrees, all of these middlemen demonstrated the ability to combine the forms and norms of the different terrains drawn into contact through their travels. For their most crucial characteristic was their 'transcultural' ability to reshape their identities through a combination of religion, language, dress and behaviour, transformations that in an age when different cultures were far more distinct than today opened new avenues of sociability and ultimately exchange. This defining element of the print entrepreneur's profile had several layers, comprising multilingualism and multiliteracy (that is, the ability to read different scripts), the adoption of European dress and manners, and assimilation to Christianity that ranged from birthright as a Middle Eastern Christian to conversion, crypto-conversion or cooperation with missionaries. In a period when evangelical Protestant organizations became the global leaders in Arabic-script printing, the Christian dimensions to their profiles proved particularly important. As we have seen in the most detailed case study, the journey to England of Mirza Salih came as an Iranian response to the missionary and diplomatic missions that from the early 1800s were sent to Iran from the Indian headquarters of the East India Company in Calcutta. But if British agendas were the spread of Christianity and the defence of India, then the Iranians had their own agendas that centred on the empowering of Iran and Islam against the Christian attacks of the armies of Russia and the evangelicals of England.[131] Access to new technologies such as print was central to an Iranian agenda that, in order to succeed, had to cooperate along the way with British designs.

As we have seen, Mirza Salih was only one of a series of entrepreneurial middlemen involved in the birth of Muslim printing. The synchronicity of the emergence around 1820 of sustained Muslim printing in Iran, the Arab Mediterranean, India and the Malay Peninsula connects Muslim

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printing to the global expansion of industrialized printing in Europe, America and Australasia. If the decision of governments in Iran and Egypt to send educational missions to Europe emerged from the globalizing politics of the Napoleonic era, then their success with printing, as well as the evangelicals' own printing ventures, also relied on the technical development of portable, all-in-one hand-presses in the years after 1800. The spread of printing was at once a religious and an industrial development that was further enabled by the expansion and response to European empires. If the birth of a sustained Muslim print tradition cannot be separated from the expansion of empire, then by narrowing our focus to the 1820s and 30s we have seen that religious actors, organizations and books were as important to Christian imperialists as they were to their Muslim cooperators and competitors. Even Jean-Joseph Marcel (1776 1854), the Arabic printer employed in Napoleon's ill-fated imperial expansion into Egypt, was better known in Paris for printing the Lord's Prayer in Arabic.[132] As well, that is, as his own example of a linguistic 'middletext', his *Leçons de langue arabe*, printed in Paris in the same year that Mirza Salih studied with Richard Watts in London.[133]

Like the multi-alphabetical presses that produced them, such multilingual books were both the products of prior exchanges and the producers of future exchanges. While Muslim printing would in turn produce a range of outcomes, from Arabic newspapers to Urdu novels, one of its most transformative roles was to lend new means of production and dissemination to the hundreds of new Muslim religious firms that emerged through contact with European missionaries and imperialists. From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and in time, as we shall see in Chapters Six and Seven, from the Atlantic to the Pacific as well the transfer of printing from Christian to Muslim hands enabled the polyphonic responses of different Muslims issuing books to convert Christians and confound Christianity in turn. As we have already seen, the entrepreneurial Iranian middleman Mirza Salih had turned the techniques he had learned from the Bible Society back on them when in 1832 he oversaw Iran's first lithograph edition of the Quran.[134] Around the same time in 1829 in Calcutta and in 1830 in Istanbul the first Qurans were printed in other Muslim regions.[135] In the century that followed, as print technology trickled down from such Muslim statesmen to private entrepreneurs, Muslim access to print technology enabled the foundation of scores of religious firms, especially in more liberal print

marketplaces such as Cairo, Bombay, Lucknow and Singapore. As printing spread to every Muslim terrain on the planet including, as we shall see, Japan and America a century later it formed the crucial technology of competitive religious exchange that marked the era studied in this book apart from previous times. For in the hands of a later series of entrepreneurial middlemen, the evangelical outreach of such Christian religious firms as the Bible Society empowered Muslim responses to Christian missionaries as Muslims established their own propaganda and propagation societies. In such ways, competition and adaptation fed a cycle of increasing religious production that publicized a diversifying array of Muslim impresarios and firms and the diverse doctrines that distinguished them in the marketplace. Echoing the key argument of *Terrains of Exchange*, Muslim printing emerged from a process of global and religious exchange that was fundamentally generative in character.

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3

THE ISLAMIC OPPORTUNITIES OF BIBLE TRANSLATION

With Ibrahim in converse deep,
... Beyond the distant Caspian shore

Benjamin Allen, *The Death of Abdallah* (1814)

Introduction

Of the many translation projects that emerged from the global interactions of the early nineteenth century, none was bigger than the Bible.[1] 'Big' is a vague adjective but it matches in its indeterminacy the parameters of the project: the many books of the Bible had each to be sponsored as separate translations; those translations of holy writ demanded the utmost degree of diligence; that diligence required the application of highly specialized skills; those skills called for a commensurate level of remuneration; that remuneration involved the collection and redistribution of funds over vast distances; those distances had to be bridged by forging a diplomatic, scholarly and colporteur network; that network had to channel the disparate skills and resources for publishing on an unprecedented scale in previously unprinted languages; and those languages had above all to be brought into correspondence with the words of Christian

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scripture. In a period in which by way of dictionaries, grammars and chrestomathies, the linguistic apparatus of Eurasian exchange was still nascent and problematic, such correspondence was mediated through personal as much as paper transactions. Through these human interactions the enterprise of Bible translation drew on and in turn gave back to the larger world surrounding it. For like any other form of language use, translation is a social activity and the act of translation an aggregate of skills and resources that can be channelled towards other activities. The following pages pursue examples of this dialectic between the borrowing and concentration of skills and capital for translating the Bible into Persian and their return and dispersal along the same social networks that made the project possible to begin with. As translation amplified communication, the dispersal of these translation skills by the erstwhile religious entrepreneurs discussed in this chapter would lay the foundations for further generative exchanges in subsequent decades.

As we saw in Chapter One, the skills needed to translate the Bible into Persian were such that European orientalists and missionaries eventually found themselves seeking the collaboration of cooperators or converts.[2] Moreover, the Bible was a massive holy compendium whose sixty-six books (in the Protestant canon) had each to be translated in turn. While one set of cooperations took place in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, the small number of educated Persian speakers who passed through the university towns at this time pushed the missionary firms to 'outsource' their skills overseas. Although the East India Company's Indian capital at Calcutta was the most obvious outpost, as Cambridge's Henry Martyn soon discovered, the cooperators available there had fewer linguistic skills than they claimed, forcing him to travel to Shiraz in search of a purer Persian idiom. But seeking cooperation for such a project in a Muslim-ruled land was a risky business and, when Martyn died in 1812, other missionary societies decided to approach Iran through the safer middle ground of Russia. For as Russia conquered the former Iranian provinces in the Caucasus and hosted Iranian merchants in its ports around the Caspian Sea, its imperial borderlands offered accessible terrains of exchange in which Christian missionaries could make contact with learned Iranians. There, in the multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-confessional towns of the Russian Empire, were spaces where Muslims interacted with Persian-speaking Jews and Russian-speaking Scotsmen.

Truly Eurasian in its scope, the translation of the Bible into Persian required a complex web of transactions that between around 1810 and 1830 were concentrated in the terrains of exchange around the Caspian Sea and, from there, reached out to Tehran, Shiraz and Calcutta in one direction, and Saint Petersburg, Basel and Edinburgh in the other. Between these terrains, there moved persons, resources and technologies, all channelled by the networks of evangelicalism and empire. For with the dissolution of the cooperative little circles based on the piecemeal projects of translating this or that book of the Bible or this or that evangelical tract, the erstwhile co-workers Scottish and Iranian, German and Armenian used the skills, contacts and capital they had earned through their labour to navigate lives in the far corners of the Eurasian continent. In speaking of 'co-workers', the aim here is to capture the cooperative conditions of a business which, though taking place against a backdrop of imperial expansion, was no simple story of repression and extraction but a trans-colonial enterprise lending opportunities and openings across empire's spatial and social boundaries. If the Iranian state did lose its Caucasian provinces to Russia during the wars of 1804 13 and 1826 8, this microhistorical focus on individual rather than national histories and on multiple rather than binary interactions suggests ways in which individual religious actors responded to the life opportunities presented by changes in political conditions.[3] The arrival of Christian missionaries in Iran, and the establishment of mission houses on the southern frontiers of the Russian Empire, presented precisely such opportunities to Iranian Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Again, it is worth stressing that these missions cannot be simply reduced to stereotypical vanguards of colonialism any more than Muslims can be reduced to cynical manipulators. In the period covered in this chapter, Iranian officials looked to the distinct diplomatic entities of Britain and Bengal as allies rather than oppressors; Scottish and Swiss Protestant missions played no formal role in Russian imperial expansion and were ultimately expelled as a threat to imperial fiat and Orthodoxy; and the Muslim Bible workers were only the specialist arm of a multi-confessional group of former subjects of the shah who migrated into Russian and British territories.[4]

For the purposes of this case study, rather than working with the political abstractions and longitudinal agendas of nation and empire, it is more useful to regard such entities as malleable networks for the flow of persons, knowledge and capital. While access to these networks was in certain

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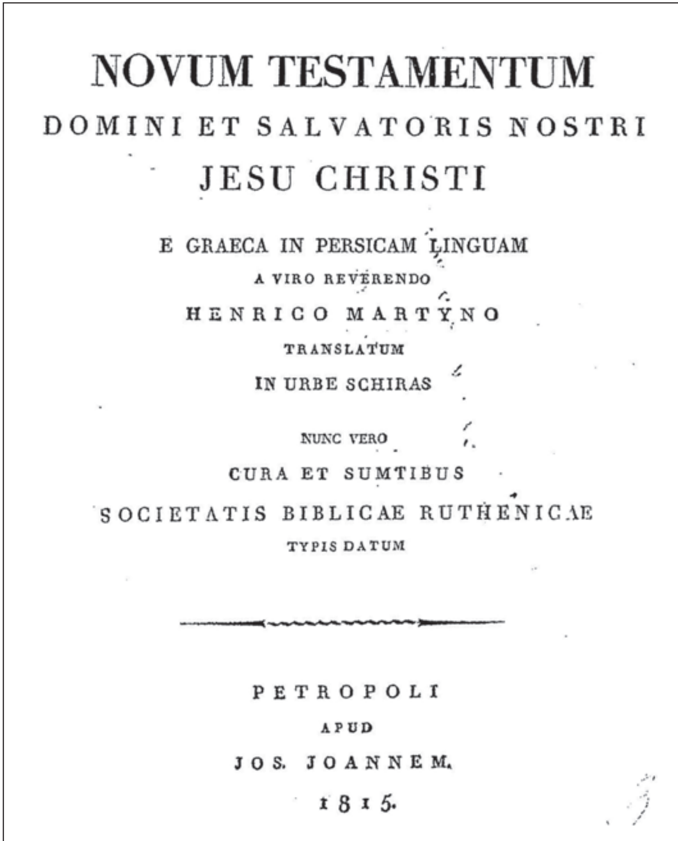
times and places closely guarded (typically in 'high colonial' eras characterized by imperial elite formation and boundary marking), other periods and locales offered greater opportunities of access to or manipulation of these flows. While it is not the place here to revisit debates about syncretistic frontiers or negotiated empires, in the early 1800s the greater Caspian region offered a range of opportunities to a remarkably diverse set of entrepreneurial religious prospectors and firms drawn in many cases from well beyond the Russian Empire. This was as true for the Protestant German and Scottish settlers who preceded the Basel and Edinburgh missionary societies to the greater Caspian as it was for the Muslim men of the pen who sought careers there outside their national arenas.

While the foundations and trajectories of Russian and British imperialism were markedly dissimilar, they were not disconnected. Among the most effective makers of these connections were the missionary societies which in the early 1800s expanded into both Russian and British domains. Echoing what we have seen of the evangelical exports from the British religious economy in the years of ascendant empire, these years saw the founding of the Russian Bible Society in 1812, the opening of East India Company dominions to missionaries in 1813, the establishment of the Scottish and German missionary stations at Astrakhan and Shusha in 1814 and 1824, and ultimately the relocation of their workers through evangelical and imperial channels across India, Britain and Russia.[5] As transnational and trans-colonial religious firms, the missions formed truly global networks that transcended the frontiers of empires and states, confessions and languages.[6] As the epigraph to this chapter shows, the story of some of the 'obscure' Muslim Bible translators examined here made news and drama as far away as Boston, Massachusetts. Religious organizations, then, formed concrete mechanisms of information and communication, interaction and exchange.

In their emphasis on literate and rational religion, the missionary societies were products of the Enlightenment; enabled by new developments in long-distance finance and industrialized book production, they were no less the product of globalizing capital.[7] The very novelty and high promise of these missions brought them the patronage of imperial personnel. The trans-colonial character of these missions therefore lay not merely at the institutional level of their simultaneous expansion into India and Russia, but in the very persons involved, implementing an effective merger of the networks and institutions of diplomats, evangelicals and 'men of the pen'.



NOVUM TESTAMENTUM
DOMINI ET SALVATORIS NOSTRI
JESU CHRISTI

E GRAECA IN PERSICAM LINGUAM
A VIRO REVERENDO
HENRICO MARTYNO
TRANSLATUM
IN URBE SCHIRAS

NUNC VERO
CURA ET SUMTIBUS
SOCIETATIS BIBLICAE RUTHENICAE
TYPIS DATUM

PETROPOLI
APUD
JOS. JOANNEM.
1815.

Fig. 6: Exports for Iran: title pages of the St Petersburg New Testament (1815)

We have already seen some of the Muslim outcomes of these collusions in the previous chapter, where the Iranian Mirza Salih used his connections with Sir Gore Ouseley, the former ambassador to Iran and vice president of the Bible Society, to acquire a printing press for his homeland. With their well-connected supporters from many walks of life, the missionary firms brought many different kinds of people together. For behind the founding of the Russian Bible Society in Saint Petersburg, the borderland missions at Astrakhan and Shusha and the missionary entry into Iran itself lay a trans-colonial network forged by mobile evangelicals who frequently left their 'national' missions to access resources elsewhere,

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not least on the great missionary frontline against Islam that was India. While each of the Christian religious entrepreneurs discussed in this chapter were key players in Persian Bible translation, the collaborative nature of such work meant that they had to rely on a diverse group of Iranian co-workers who were mainly Muslim but also included an Iranian Jew and a Christian slave previously converted to Islam. By focusing on the careers of these entrepreneurial cooperators, we shall see how, even on the small scale of the individual life, religion provided resources of social power that allowed these provincial cooperators to rise to higher stations in their own and other societies.

As entry-points to opportunities that were Eurasian in ambit, Christian missionary firms and the networks that connected them opened new conduits for the ambitions and endeavours of local cooperators. As a formalized social apparatus lending access to tangible material benefits and instrumental forms of knowledge, missionary firms constituted 'religion' as a workable means of accomplishing things. And as religion rendered an arena of professionalized interaction between the starkly different peoples of Eurasia, Bible translation formed an important means for language-working 'middlemen' to access such instrumentalized religion. The skills to be deployed or the relationships to be made in the process were manifold. Like the 'double practices' described in Michael Dodson's account of Hindu scholars of Sanskrit in the service of the East India Company, these were skills and relationships that enabled alternative careers far beyond the translation desk.[8] Already skilled in one or more Asian languages and their own writing systems, the Muslim co-worker might learn the English, German or Russian of his interlocutors or the Latin, Greek or Hebrew of the scriptural source text. Later redeploying these skills, he might translate other works of his own or of other patrons' choosing. Seeking equivalence between not only individual words but entire linguistic systems, he might gain the mastery required to write works of comparative grammar or work as a language teacher. Correcting proofs or setting type, he might, as we saw in the previous chapter, learn the art of Arabic-script printing that until 1818 had not spread south of czarist Kazan or west of Company Calcutta. Scrutinizing every word of Christian scripture, he might think comparatively about the Quran and use this knowledge alternatively to defend or attack Christians or Muslims. Sitting daily in the company of his co-worker, he might grasp

the mentality of the Christians and write a guidebook for his country-men to European ways. Working hard on his duties, he might earn moneys or favours from men in high places and use these to help his family and friends. None of these opportunities are suppositions and, as the following pages show, all were realized by different language workers through their work on the grand project of the Persian Bible.

If imperial structures can be characterized as variably institutionalized networks of persons, knowledge and capital, then as we have noted, the same can be said of the missionary societies that from the early 1800s emerged alongside them. Whether at different times paralleling, intersecting or competing with imperial networks, missionary societies offered access to relationships which could be likewise manipulated to gain access to the capital or intellectual flows which they directed.[9] Nowhere was this more the case than in the collaborative activity of translation: as the Reverend Alexander Carson wrote in 1830 as part of a dispute over the reliability of the British side of this linguistic collaboration, 'We have authority no higher than that of the translator'.[10] If an influential brand of scholarship has emphasized the colonial 'command of language', a scrutiny of the detailed records which Bible translation left behind suggests that even in this grandest of linguistic projects, European command of language was fragile at best and highly dependent on relationships with foreign language specialists.[11] This intrinsically interactive process was all the more so in the terrains of exchange explored in the following pages, where a series of talented, ambitious and mobile Muslim translators used Bible work as an opportunity to access missionary firms' technologies, contacts and capital and to redirect them towards their own individual agendas.[12] Once again, religion in concrete terms appears as a route to social power.

The Imperial Opportunities of Religion

It is worth pausing here to look more closely at the political functions of religion in the imperial terrains in view. For the imperial expansions of the early modern period helped construct an arena of 'religion' in which to negotiate with and indeed make sense of the heterogeneous groups brought together under Russian imperial jurisdiction.[13] While clearly defined religions and 'orthodoxies' in the terms of Talal Asad helped render subject peoples more predictable and controllable, the same con-

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structions of 'orthodoxy', of institutions and standards, were used by indigenous interest groups either to protect existing influence or to gain new authority.[14] As Derek Peterson and Darren Walhof have noted, 'making and remaking religion is a political enterprise, intimately linked to the imagination of new social and intellectual communities'.[15] In the decades either side of 1800, the expanding geographical and social reach of both Czarist and East India Company rule was accompanied by an assortment of ideologies that ranged between tolerance and Orthodoxy, Utilitarianism and Anglicanism.[16] While the foundations and trajectories of Russian and British imperialism were markedly dissimilar, they were not disconnected. One of the clearest examples of these trans-colonial interactions is the missionary expansion into both domains in the early 1800s that, as noted above saw the founding of the Russian Bible Society in 1812, the opening of East India Company dominions to missionaries in 1813 and ultimately the establishment of franchises of Scottish and German missionary firms at Astrakhan and Shusha in 1814 and 1824.

If such missionary firms were not allowed entry to British India until 1813, then they were no less new to Russian terrains. After an early modern policy of what Michael Khodarkovsky has termed the '"naturalization" ... of non-Christian peoples who were to be made "Russian" through conversion to Christianity', in the later eighteenth century the Russian Empire had been governed under the religiously tolerant policies of Catherine II.[17] Its religious economy was transformed. During the early nineteenth century, the new missionary firms gained influential supporters in Russia no less than in Britain. As entrepreneurial organizations, their novelty and promise brought them the patronage of imperial personnel. In the case of the Bible Society alone, this involved the Russian Minister of Religious Affairs and first President of the Russian Bible Society, Prince Aleksandr Golitsyn (1773 1844), and the former Governor-General of Bengal and first President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Lord Teignmouth (1751 1834).[18] Such imperial involvement in missionary firms was as often a matter of private conscience as collective policy, in the British case only possible after formal resignation of office and in the Russian case the result of personal interventions that were overturned by the mid 1830s. The relationship between mission and empire was ambivalent and contingent, subject to the personal agendas of those who directed and occa-

sionally moved between their intersecting networks. But what is clear is that, in a brief liberalizing period under Czar Alexander I (r.1801 25), the opening of the Russian Empire to foreign missionary firms set in motion a series of cooperative and competitive interactions whose ripples were felt far and wide.

The trans-colonial reach of these missionary firms lay not merely at the institutional level of their simultaneous expansion into India and Russia, but in the very personnel involved. In the founding of the Russian Bible Society in Saint Petersburg, the missions at Astrakhan and Shusha and the missionary entry to Iran itself, lay a series of trans-colonial linkages forged by mobile evangelicals who by no means served only their own national missions: the English Henry Martyn (1781 1812) began his labours in Bengal before moving to Iran; the Scottish John Paterson (1776 1855) and Ebenezer Henderson (1784 1858) entered the employment of the Czar in the Russian Bible Society after failing to gain permission in Copenhagen to preach in the Danish colonies in India; the Devonshire carpenter's son Richard Knill (1787 1857) established himself in Saint Petersburg after working for several years as a missionary in south India; the German Jewish convert Joseph Wolff (1795 1862) relocated to India after his missionary tours of Iran in the mid 1820s; and another German, Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803 65), spent a dozen years in the Russian Caucasus before preaching to the Muslims of India for the Church Missionary Society. Each of these figures was a key player in the Bible translations with which we are concerned; they were entrepreneurs opening missionary franchises in the opening religious marketplaces of southern Russia, from where they exported Christian books to the Muslims of both Russia and Iran, and later to the Muslims of India as well.

Given what we have seen of the collaborative character of the translations behind these books, the missionaries' careers cannot be seen in isolation. For as social entry-points to opportunities that were trans-colonial in ambit, missionary networks and the work that was the cost of entry to them could be no less attractive to their Muslim co-workers in providing supra-national conduits for ambition and endeavour. These Muslim cooperators were by no means a unique case and by offering access to new forms of knowledge and technology and entry to new social arenas, such networks attracted a range of other associates at this time. One example is the Crimean Tatar Muslim educationalist and imperial lieutenant Sultan Kırım Geray (1789 1847), who between Karass,

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Edinburgh and Saint Petersburg, navigated the intersecting networks of mission and empire to generate a new theology that was a fusion of his old Tatar Islam and his new Scottish Christianity.[19]

Proceeding in sequence through the different terrains between which several other missionary cooperators moved, we must now turn to the details of such interactions and to the translation and printing of the Persian Bible that caused them.

Evangelical Networking in the British Empire

While the East India Company had maintained relations with southern Iran since early in its history, the early 1800s saw an increase in diplomatic activity between Tehran and Calcutta.[20] This new era of diplomatic exchanges began with the embassy to Iran of Captain John Malcolm (1769 1833) on behalf of the Company in 1800 01, which was reciprocated by the voyage to India on behalf of Fath ʻAli Shah of the resident of Bushire, Hajji Muhammad Khalil Khan.[21] After Khalil Khan was accidentally killed in Bombay in 1802, the Company dispatched their Muslim representative Farid al-Din (1747 1828), who developed a close friendship with Khalil Khan's successor, Muhammad Nabi Khan.[22] Working in the background for several of these encounters was Sir Gore Ouseley, whom we met in Chapter Two as a cooperator with the Iranian printer Mirza Salih. Before then, Ouseley had begun his career as an independent Bengal trader and then spent several years employed by the Nawwab of Lucknow before finally serving as the British Crown (rather than Company) ambassador to Iran between 1811 and 1814, when he first met Mirza Salih. In certain respects, Ouseley echoed the opportunism of contemporaries like his associates Farid al-Din and Mirza Salih and his other Muslim friends. The networks of interpersonal ties established by the diplomatic traffic between India and Iran were important since they laid the foundation for the earliest employment of Iranians in Bible translation. For on both the British and Iranian sides, diplomatic personnel and their associates were drawn into Bible work through the call of conscience or opportunity. This nexus of intersection of imperial and missionary networks is best seen in the careers of Ouseley, Henry Martyn, Mirza Sayyid ʻAli and the by now familiar Mirza Salih.

The most important figures in the beginning of Bible translation in Iran were Martyn and his Iranian co-worker, Mirza Sayyid ʻAli. After

serving in Bengal as an army chaplain, Martyn moved to Calcutta to begin work on the New Testament in Arabic and Urdu.[23] Indirectly drawing on the emerging colonial apparatus of *munshi* translators and language teachers, Martyn relied heavily on the assistance of the mobile Muslim scholar and erstwhile Christian convert 'Nathaniel' Jawad ibn Sabat (d.1827), who had travelled widely in Arabia and Iran before finding employment with Martyn in Calcutta. Working closely together with Martyn as he was, Sabat cropped up frequently in Martyn's diary. Even though, as we saw in the epigraph to Chapter Two, Sabat was 'prodigiously proud' of their translated Gospels, Martyn could already detect problems ahead as he recorded in his diary 'symptoms of disquiet in Sabat'.[24] For as noted earlier, their relationship was not ultimately a successful one: the translations they made were considered deeply flawed (according to some critics, incomprehensible) and Sabat would in any case use what he learned of Christianity to print his anti-Anglican polemic, *Barahin Sabatiyya dar Radd 'Aqa'id Nasara* ('Proofs of Sabat Against the Christians' Beliefs').[25] Published in Calcutta in 1814, Sabat's pioneering Muslim printed work was one of the unexpected but inevitable products of these catalytic and generative exchanges as Christian competition and technology generated Muslim innovation by way of the novel genre of the printed polemic. In the same way and at exactly the same time, in Shiraz Martyn's Iranian interlocutors were producing an analogous theological genre that would be given the name of *radd-e padri* ('refutation of the padre'). Such Iranian counterparts to Sabat's book included Muhammad Reza Hamadani's *Miftah al-Nubuwwa* ('Key to Prophethood').[26] A classic product of exchange, this was a genre whose hybrid roots are seen even in the language of its name that combined the Arabic *radd* with *padri*, the Anglo-Portuguese loan-word for a Christian priest.

As contemporaries recognized, the relationships between the likes of Sabat and Martyn were highly significant collaborations and no less important failures. So important was the reliability of translators and the sincerity of their conversions (or at least cooperations) that the impact of Sabat's apostasy reached the far global reaches of the missionary firms' networks. Hearing of Sabat's 'treachery', in upstate New York in 1812 the young American evangelical Benjamin Allen (1789 1829) published 150 pages of verse from Boston in haughty response. Here were new American visions of the perfidious Muslim in such dire lines as: *In haste before fierce Sabat fled,/...he said, 'Sire! Be to Allah glory paid!'*[27] Once again, the

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encounters between the missionaries and their cooperators were religiously generative interactions on a truly global scale, leading to the printing of anti-Christian Muslim books in Calcutta and anti-Muslim Christian books in Boston. And in the distant but connected terrains of these two port cities, it was the dissemination of the same mass-produced iron printing presses that enabled the printing to take place.[28] These were the new religious exchanges of an industrializing world.

At the beginning of a longer series of translation encounters that would soon generate further anti-Christian *radd-e padri* polemics in Iran, Sabat's career points to both the high stakes and variable outcomes of Bible work. Determined to find more reliable linguistic support for his Persian New Testament, Henry Martyn had sailed from Calcutta to the Iranian port of Bushire. Aided by letters of introduction from the ambassadors John Malcolm and Gore Ouseley, Martyn established himself in Shiraz at the house of Ja'far 'Ali Khan, the local representative of the East India Company at Shiraz (and Ouseley himself was present in the city at the time).[29] Ja'far 'Ali then introduced Martyn to his brother-in-law, Mirza Sayyid 'Ali Khan, who would serve as Martyn's co-worker on the revised Persian New Testament. After Martyn's premature death in 1812, it was the evangelical ambassador Gore Ouseley who in turn took charge of the manuscript translation and, as we saw in Chapter Two, oversaw its publication in Saint Petersburg through the recently established Russian Bible Society.[30] Published in 1815, the Saint Petersburg Persian Testament was a major milestone in the development of Persian printing and was efficiently distributed over the Russian frontier to the towns of northern Iran. As imperial port cities, Saint Petersburg and Calcutta were evangelical bridgeheads that became productive terrains of exchange, exporting Muslim printing to Tabriz in the Russian case and to Lucknow in the Indian case.

Pointing again to the scale of Bible translation that enabled its function as a medium of exchange, Ja'far 'Ali and Sayyid 'Ali were not the only Iranians involved in these New Testaments. John Paterson, the overseer of the Russian Bible Society, recorded how in 1815 Sir Gore Ouseley was 'correcting the proofs in conjunction with a Persian Mirza then in Petersburg', a figure who reappeared in Bible Society reports as 'Mirza Jaffer' and was described as the secretary to the Iranian ambassador in Saint Petersburg.[31] By 1813 14, four years before as we saw in Chapter Two printing was introduced to Iran with the return of the first

Iranian printer Zayn al-ʿAbidin from Saint Petersburg, two Iranians were therefore already learning the new skills of Persian printing in the port cities of Calcutta and Saint Petersburg. Bible work, then, was a mechanism of exchange that, with Sabat's *Barahin Sabatiyya*, was generating Muslim new religious productions and innovations as early as 1814. Future decades would see these exchanged skills and technologies generate further responses to the output of Christian missionary firms by way of the massive printed output of new Muslim religious firms seen in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Back in Shiraz, Sayyid ʿAli's work did not end with Henry Martyn's death. In recognition of his skills, in 1813 Sir Gore Ouseley wrote him a letter on behalf of the Bible Society offering the generous salary of 500 rupees for him to sail to Calcutta and 'superintend ... the imperfections of Mr Martyn's work and others of the same nature', an offer which we have seen him accept.[32] After Sayyid ʿAli accepted the offer, he travelled to Calcutta, where in 1816 he helped produce yet another Persian edition of the New Testament.[33] Sayyid ʿAli's connection with his missionary employers would remain for the rest of his life, and as an old man in 1837 he wrote in Persian to the Bible Society in London proposing further employment in translating, this time the Old Testament; he explained how ten years of locust swarms over his lands had brought his family to ruin and an earthquake had recently destroyed his house.[34] While by the late 1830s the major projects of Persian Bible translation were over, Sayyid ʿAli did in response receive a gift from the Bible Society of 100 pounds sterling. Once again, we see how tangible resources flowed through the networks created between religious firms and their employees. The gift was sufficient noteworthy as to be recorded in the earliest surviving edition of Iran's first newspaper, which as we saw in the previous chapter, was founded by another of Ouseley's Iranian associates, Mirza Salih.[35]

While working as a servant of the Qajar state, Mirza Salih also rendered service to these British colleagues, though there were benefits for his own cause as well. As we saw in Chapter Two, in 1815 he travelled as one of four Iranians dispatched to study modern sciences in London under the care of the erstwhile military aide to the Iranian government, Captain Joseph D'Arcy. However, once in England, Mirza Salih was effectively abandoned by his chaperone and found Evangelicals to be keenest for his company. During the four years he spent in London,

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described in detail in his Persian diary, Mirza Salih came into contact with a series of influential persons through these Christianizing channels through which he was gradually able to access the intellectual and technological resources which he had been sent to acquire.[36] Between 1816 and 1817, his studies of English, Latin and Anglican theology not only laid the foundations of his subsequent diplomatic career but afforded him the ethnographic insights to write one of the first Muslim accounts of Protestant Dissenting groups.[37] As we have seen in Chapter Two, Mirza Salih's other evangelical contacts included the preeminent university orientalists Samuel Lee and John Macbride, whom he regularly visited to mutual benefit: through them he was able to spend time in the colleges and libraries of Oxbridge, travel to an early industrial paper mill and meet a host of persons of rank. His contact with Lee continued after his return to Iran and they corresponded on various matters, including the continuation of the Bible Society's activities in Iran.[38]

Since Mirza Salih was to supply Lee with the manuscripts of the famous 'controversial tracts' written in response to Henry Martyn by Iran's Shi'ite clergy, there is good reason to suspect that Lee dispatched English books or newspapers for Mirza Salih in return. This is important, because it demonstrates how, in providing social networks for the flow of intellectual resources, religion functioned as a mechanism for generating further exchange. For what Mirza Salih was passing on to Professor Lee was such anti-Christian *radd-e padri* works as Muhammad Reza Hamadani's *Irshad al-Mudillin* (1812) that had been generated by Henry Martyn's preaching in Iran and which through their translation and publication by Professor Lee would in turn generate a new cycle of competitive exchange. In this way, exchanges that had begun through meetings in Shiraz and Cambridge continued years later in both of these distant terrains. Ultimately, though, the most valuable outcome of Mirza Salih's contacts with Lee and Macbride was what we have already seen in Chapter Two of his apprenticeship with the Bible Society's printer, Richard Watts. He was far from the only Iranian to access the technology through such networks, and in later years other Iranians also learned to print from the American missionary franchises that from the 1830s were established within the borders of Iran.[39] While Mirza Salih reentered the service of the Qajar state after his return to Iran in 1819, this did not prevent him from functioning as a religious entrepreneur. For as we saw in the previous chapter, his Bible translation work was a form of

generative exchange in itself which just a decade later would see him adapt the Christians' skills to oversee the production of Iran's first printed Qurans.

A few years later, another Iranian Muslim translator used his entry to British missionary and diplomatic networks to move far beyond his Iranian homeland. This was Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim (*c.*1800 57) who in the early 1820s was introduced to the missionary Joseph Wolff (1795 1862) by Henry Willock, the *chargé d'affaires* left in Tehran after Sir Gore Ouseley's departure.[40] A German Jewish convert to Catholic and then Anglican Christianity, Wolff was an assiduous religious entrepreneur who had worked for various institutions before finding the patronage of the pious English banker Henry Drummond (1786 1860). In the following years, Drummond supported Wolff's language studies in Cambridge and his subsequent travels in the Middle East between 1821 and 1826.[41] Soon after he met Mirza Ibrahim in Iran, Wolff set the young Muslim to work on translating a polemical tract written by Samuel Lee of Cambridge. His next task was in completing what Wolff described in his diary as 'the translation of the tract of Grotius into the Persian language', the latter being the classic early modern attack on Islam, *De Veritate Religionis Christianae*, written by Hugo Grotius (1583 1645).[42] These new religious productions were the first fruits of their exchange.

Wolff's diary then recounts how Mirza Ibrahim travelled through Iran in his company, advising Wolff on local conditions. In return, Wolff arranged for Mirza Ibrahim to be brought back to England and receive an education from the British and Foreign School Society, which had been founded in 1808.[43] Mirza Ibrahim was quick to make use of Wolff's evangelical contacts and even before reaching England he wrote a letter to Wolff's Cambridge tutor, who was none other than Professor Lee. As Lee remembered it, in the letter Mirza Ibrahim explained to him that 'he [Mirza Ibrahim] had translated some Arabic tracts … into the Persian and a Persian tract which I [Lee] had written he had improved by writing a preface and adding a conclusion'.[44] Lee further explained that Mirza Ibrahim 'wishes me to cooperate with him in this and in any other way that may be acceptable', adding to his own sponsors at Bible Society headquarters that the young Muslim cooperator 'would not be extravagant in his [financial] demands'.[45]

In the event, Mirza Ibrahim did reach England and in 1826 found employment as a Persian instructor at the East India Company's college

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at Haileybury. There he received an initial annual salary of 200 pounds (the same as English colleagues of the same rank) which within a few years was doubled.[46] From Haileybury he did indeed cooperate with Lee on further paid translations of tracts and scripture, including the Anglican liturgy and the Book of Isaiah.[47] Lee referred to him in letters to other Englishmen as 'my friend the Mirza Ibrahim'.[48] The two men had, after all, embarked on what were remunerative as well as prestigious collaborations. For at Haileybury and Cambridge, Lee and Ibrahim were both salaried faculty members and, as co-workers on their translation projects, they divided equally the fees paid by the Bible Society (amounting to a substantial 25 pounds each for a new version of the Book of Isaiah, for example).[49]

There is no question as to the highly professionalized skills that Mirza Ibrahim acquired through his work. As his colleague at the East India College, Professor of Persian the Reverend Henry Keene, recounted of his *modus operandi* on translating the Book of Isaiah:

> He knows Hebrew, which is cognate with Arabic, and he has made it a rule to use, in his translation, an Arabic word of the same root with the original, when such Arabic word had been adopted into Persian; and in rendering the sense of difficult passages, he first took that of our authorised version, then consulted the original Hebrew, compared it with the Arabic, and finally discussed the question with some one of the College, besides referring to several commentators.[50]

Yet even though Wolff had originally been encouraged to bring Mirza Ibrahim to Britain through the intimations he offered of his future conversion, Mirza Ibrahim remained a Muslim throughout his years in England. Having learned Latin and Greek by working with the original texts of the Bible, he subsequently used his skills for more secular ends, translating Herodotus into Persian and, amid an expanding imperial market for Persian language books, publishing his own grammar of Persian.[51] Retiring from Haileybury in 1845, Mirza Ibrahim returned to Iran with a retirement gift of 700 pounds and a pension of 350 pounds per annum.[52] Such was the rarity of his command of the language, customs and knowledge of the British that on reaching Tehran he was appointed as private tutor to the future ruler, Nasir al-Din Shah (r.1848 96).[53] On the success of the tracts he had begun translating for Joseph Wolff as a young man, Mirza Ibrahim rose to be the teacher of scores of British officers and finally of the ruler of his own country. All this had been made possible by those early evangelical exchanges.

If Mirza Ibrahim's success was hard to rival, then the help given by other Iranians to Britons travelling in Iran afforded comparable opportunities. While Mirza Ibrahim followed the religious networks that Wolff opened westwards, Mulla Ibrahim Nathan (1816–68) moved eastwards towards India. Despite his name, Mulla Ibrahim was a Jewish Iranian merchant from Mashhad. After the Allahdad riots there resulted in the forced conversion of local Jews to Islam in 1839, Mulla Ibrahim instrumentalized the relationships he had made earlier by financially helping British travellers stranded in Iran.[54] Like the entrepreneurial journeymen discussed in Chapter Two, Mulla Ibrahim was a transcultural middleman whose varied interactions saw him move between Jewish, Muslim and Christian identities in a life path that led to great social empowerment. Although the networks which he used to make his escape eastwards were military as much as religious, coming as they did through his association with the evangelical Indian Army officer Colin Mackenzie (1806–81), when Mulla Ibrahim reached India from Iran he too was drawn into Bible translation. Like his fellow Iranians abroad seen later in this chapter interacting with Christian firms around the Caspian, in Punjab Mulla Ibrahim found work translating scripture portions into Persian at the American Presbyterian Mission at Lodiana, which in 1836 had established the first printing press in Punjab.[55] There, Mulla Ibrahim's and other translators' work would have great effect, for the local reactions to this pioneering printing press would turn Punjab into the most polemical of all India's religious marketplaces. In Chapter Seven, we shall see Punjabi Muslims later responding to the American missionary firms by sending a Muslim missionary to establish the first mosque in the United States.

After moving on from Punjab to settle in Bombay with the reward of a pension for his assistance, Mulla Ibrahim established a flourishing textile business and sponsored the immigration from Mashhad of other forcibly converted Jewish members of his family and community. Yet for all his cooperation with Christian evangelicals, in the end Mulla Ibrahim not only remained a Jew but became one of the leading promotors of Judaism in Bombay.[56] His exchanges with the missionaries — and the contacts, resources and networks they had made available to him — helped create in Bombay what would become one of the Indian Ocean's most important production centres of Jewish religious firms and texts, not least through adapting Arabic-script printing to issue books in Judeo-

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Arabic. Both in Ludhiana and Bombay, the interactions of the entrepreneurial Mulla Ibrahim launched further cycles of religious productivity.

Evangelical Networking in the Russian Empire

While the likes of Sayyid ʿAli and Mirza Ibrahim entered missionary networks inside Iran before moving east and west to the great ports of Calcutta and London, the global reach of the Persian Bible project becomes still clearer when we turn to the case of two missionary franchises founded in the Russian Empire. These outposts of foreign evangelical firms were, firstly, that of the Edinburgh (subsequently Scottish) Missionary Society established in the Caspian town of Astrakhan in 1814 and, secondly, that of the German (subsequently Basel) Missionary Society established in the Caucasian town of Shusha in 1824. As we have already noted, these were foreign Protestant firms allowed to operate in the Russian Empire during a short liberalizing period when its religious economy was opened to non-Orthodox enterprises. However, following an older policy of Russification through conversion to Orthodoxy alone, this early-nineteenth-century liberalizing policy of opening the empire to foreign firms was soon replaced in the mid 1830s by the state-managed religious pluralism that has recently been termed an imperial 'confessional state'.[57] Only briefly did the Russian Empire become an open terrain of exchange before the state reasserted its role as the primary manager of its religious economy.

The exchanges that took place in the Russian Empire reflected those taking place in Britain's imperial domains. As with Iranian official exchanges with Britain and Bengal, the early 1800s also saw Iranian diplomats dispatched to Russia, where they compiled reports on educational practices, technology and even dining habits.[58] The loss of Iran's Caucasian provinces during the Russo-Persian wars also opened up opportunities for Muslim subjects of the shah to choose which country to serve. A good many entered Russian service, including the historian Mirza Jamal Javanshir (1773–1853) and the satirist Mirza Fath ʿAli Akhundzadah (1812–78), whose interaction with Russian ideas spurred them into producing radical new perspectives on Islam and Iran.[59] For thousands of ordinary Iranian labourers as well, the Russian provinces of the greater Caspian opened up prospects for seasonal or permanent labour migration as the nineteenth century wore on.[60] It is within this

larger context of labour movement that the scripture translators employed by the German and Scottish missionaries must be located. For as William Glen (1779 1849), the main Scots missionary at Astrakhan, wrote, in addition to the several hundred Iranian Muslims resident there, 'Astrachan is a mart of trade; and every summer there are great numbers repairing to it from Persia, Bochara, Khiva, and other places beyond the Caspian'.[61] Not only were these Iranian merchants intended as a local audience for the missionaries, in what was still the very first decade of

انجیل مقدّس لوقادن

اوّلکی فصل

Fig. 7: Caspian collaborations: Henry Brunton's Book of Luke in Tatar (1816)

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printing in Iran, they also served as eager middlemen for distributing to Muslims the novel commodities of printed Persian or Tatar Turkish books, even if these books were the Christian scriptures.

While Astrakhan had been incorporated into Russia for over two hundred years by the time of Glen's arrival there in 1817, the establishment of the Scottish mission house there was part of the larger strategy of evangelical expansion that saw Scottish missionary firms establish franchises in Karass (1802) and Orenberg (1815).[62] Before their expulsion from Russia with the closing of its religious economy a decade into the reign of Nicholas I in the mid 1830s, the Protestant missionary firms operated in a permanent flux of negotiations with the Russian authorities as to their rights of evangelical access to the local populations. Even so, there is no doubt that to some on the Russian side the Scottish Christians were viewed as useful to imperial aims, as sub-contracted Christianizing 'civilizers' of the southern frontier. For as the Crimean Tatars fell under Russian control after the Ottoman defeat in the Russo-Turkish war of 1768 74, the empire's southern frontiers were subjected to an officially contested but nonetheless profound policy of Christianization.[63] When the Tatar Turkish translations of the Psalms and Luke's Gospel overseen by the Scottish missionary Henry Brunton (d.1813) were printed in Astrakhan in 1815 and 1816, hybrid Muslim-language Bibles became a major product of these contested terrains of exchange.[64] And hybrid they were, for in their pioneering attempts to make Christianity intelligible in a marketplace of Turkic Muslims, Brunton and his successor had to make their own adaptations to the local marketplace by dressing their Christian message in a borrowed language. At times, it brought them criticism from their patrons back in Britain, who saw such adaptations as dilutions of the Christian message.

Conceived in the distant kirks of Scotland, these were more than plainly 'colonial' projects and the foreign missionary firms were regularly challenged (and ultimately expelled) by the Russian imperial authorities. More global than imperial, this trans-colonial dimension to the missionaries' activities that saw their firms move between and beyond Europe's empires becomes all the more apparent in the interactions in Astrakhan between Iranians and Scotsmen. Although officially employed by the Edinburgh Missionary Society, in order to finance his Persian scripture translations William Glen was forced to manipulate a wider set of missionary networks and ultimately drew on the resources of the

British and Foreign Bible Society more than his employers in the Edinburgh Missionary Society. During the 1820s and early 1830s, Glen worked in Astrakhan with a series of Iranian Muslims, producing translations of the books of Daniel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Job, Ezekiel, Psalms and Proverbs, as well as revising translations resulting from other collaborations elsewhere. The Astrakhan translations which were themselves sent to scholars in Haileybury, Kazan and Petersburg for review, to London or Calcutta for printing and back to Astrakhan and elsewhere for final distribution were part of the larger collective enterprise of translating the entire Old Testament, to which we have already seen Mirza Ibrahim drawn in England and to which we shall later see others drawn in Saint Petersburg.

From his missionary franchise in Astrakhan, Glen also spread interest in printing among the many Iranian merchants who visited the port. He reported how 'every day Tatars and Persians ... were seen on their way to the mission house ... to see that wonderful engine the printing press ... throwing off as much printing in a minute as would have taken them a day to transcribe'.[65] His Muslim co-workers, moreover, learned how to operate the press as part of the training they received with him. Here, on the shores of the Caspian no less than in London's Fleet Street described in Chapter Two, Muslim interaction with Christian evangelical firms enabled the transfer of both the skills and the technology of printing.

Glen's letters provide evidence for such exchange in the rich details of his work in Astrakhan with a series of these Muslim cooperators named Mirza [Alexander] Kazim Beg; Hajji Mirza Abu Talib; Mirza 'Abdullah; and Agha Sayyid Muhsin. Each of these men belonged to Astrakhan's fluctuating Iranian community and their wages were separately negotiated, by mail, with the Bible Society in London. Mirza 'Abdullah, for example, was the son of an Iranian courtier who before relocating to Astrakhan was raised in the southern Caspian port of Mazandaran, where he received 'a liberal education (as the phrase must be understood in its application to Persia)' in what Glen described as a 'seminary', being presumably a Muslim madrasa.[66] A freelance like the other opportunists who tapped the flows of missionary networks, Mirza 'Abdullah had previously worked for the Iranian government as well.[67] According to Glen's letters, Mirza 'Abdullah had long wanted to leave Iranian service and took the opportunity of the renewal of hostilities in Georgia during the second Russo-Persian war to contact Glen through an unnamed inter-

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mediary and use this as his opportunity to leave Iran.[68] Since Mirza 'Abdullah made contact with Glen via the German missionaries at Shusha, it seems that the move took place during the Iranian siege of the former seat of the Karabakh khanate at Shusha in 1826.[69] Even so, when Mirza 'Abdullah was safely ensconced in Astrakhan he took on the additional position as Iranian consul. Like the mobile printers in the erstwhile service of other Muslim governments, Mirza 'Abdullah and the other Iranians in Glen's employment were middlemen who moved effectively between different markets for their talents. The skills that Mirza 'Abdullah used for rendering parts of the Bible into Persian were, after all, transferable. His penmanship was apparently such that 'some of his compositions transmitted to the court of Persia on public business had astonished the whole Court by the talents and command of elegant language which they displayed'.[70]

Through Mirza 'Abdullah, Glen gained access to the wider circle of learned and intelligent Persians in the city, to whom Mirza 'Abdullah read out the translations and collected their remarks to make improvements.[71] If Iranians tapped into the missionaries' social networks, then the missionaries in turn tapped into theirs. For one of Glen's unnamed co-workers (possibly Mirza Abu Talib, who worked with him on the Psalms), Bible translation was clearly undertaken as moonlighting, for during the daytime he worked 'giving Parsee lessons in the Gymnasium [i.e. the imperial school]'. Negotiating with the Bible Society on his behalf, Glen urged the firm to offer the Iranian a long-term contract since he would only work on the translations in the early morning and refused to give up his regular job and salary at the school.[72] Indirect references in Glen's letters also suggest that another co-worker, Sayyid Muhsin, also held down a day job as a language teacher in Astrakhan.[73]

The correspondence in the Bible Society archives sheds light on the salaries that these translators received, pointing directly to the flow of financial resources along the tangible networks of religion. Such records allow us to reconstruct the minute details of religious exchange in its material forms. In accordance with Iranian rather than British employment customs, the co-translators' wages comprised both the formal salary and a substantial additional sum (often comprising six months' salary) 'received in the Persian style as a present'.[74] In 1827 and 1829, this amounted to a salary of 2,000 rubles plus anything up to an additional 1,000 rubles by way of the 'present'.[75] Elsewhere, Glen broke down his

Iranian co-worker's fee for 1829 more specifically as 2,000 rubles 'allowance', 250 rubles 'entertainments', 200 rubles 'present', 175 rubles 'expenses' and 375 rubles for transcribing additional copies of translations, rendering a total of 3,000 rubles.[76] Again, tangible resources flowed through these religious mechanisms of exchange that offered routes to social empowerment. What Nicholas Thomas has argued with regard to missionary firms in the Pacific during the early 1800s can also be said for the greater Caspian region at this time: 'The character of early contact was often such that foreigners were in no position to enforce their demands; consequently, local terms of trade often had to be acceded to.'[77] In an imperial Russian marketplace where employers no less than employees were 'foreigners', this was inevitably all the more so. Would-be Christian colonialists were not necessarily able to set the rates of exchange.

To gain an approximate sense of the value of the sums paid to the translators, we can turn to the inventory of goods available in Russia in 1829 made by the British traveller James Alexander, which included cotton jean at 59 kopecks, fine woven woollen hose at 3 rubles, spades and axes at 3 and 4 rubles, Bolton quilts at 30 rubles and a dozen elegant knives and forks at 45 rubles.[78] When we bear in mind that Glen's Iranian translators were in some cases also drawing additional salaries in addition to the 3,000 rubles they earned from their work with him, it is clear that they were very well recompensed for their skills. When the Bible Society in London attempted to cut these expenses after all, the moneys were being paid to mostly unconverted Muslims who spent much of their time giving lessons to Muslims in non-missionary schools Glen vehemently defended their right to earn a proper salary. He wrote that 'the idea of his [Mirza 'Abdullah's] serving gratis is entirely out of the question' and reminded the Society's committee that though the Iranian was 'of a noble family and to a certain extent provided for independently', he had many dependants and needed to earn money for his family and not only himself.[79] Yet Glen was not above using the same skills and networks to advance the social position his own family, and through the Bible Society's contacts dispatched his son James Glen to study at Cambridge, writing to Professor Joseph Jowett from Astrakhan that his son James already 'reads Persic fluently and understands a little of Arabic and Hindustani'.[80] The same language skills could serve anyone who possessed them and the same evangelical networks could be manipulated by various parties. Even in humble measure, we see again how religion served as a route to social power.

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However, money was not the only incentive and for some of the translators the work seems to have been interesting in its own right (though given the colonial context an alternative line of interpretation might suggest that the translators anticipated non-monetary rewards through assisting the well-connected Christians). For in his letters to the Bible Society, Glen repeatedly pointed to the curiosity of local Iranians as to the contents of the Christian scriptures. While admitting to his funders that there was any lack in such interest was perhaps unlikely, we may detect here genuine Muslim interest in the new teachings, technologies and lifeways that the missionaries presented. Through the impact of their preaching and publishing, Iran's religious economy   both at home and in the diaspora   was rapidly opening to provide Iranians with new religious alternatives to the traditional teachings of their village mullahs. Most vividly, the catalytic impact of the missionaries would help generate Iran's revolutionary Babi and Baha'i religious entrepreneurs. Glen's observations also fit into what is known about popular and scholarly Iranian debates in the period as to the authenticity or forgery of the Christians' holy books. For the first time, printed and cheaply distributed scripture translations allowed individual Iranians to test what Muslim religious authorities had told them about Christianity. The outcome was a new level of choice, aided by the comparisons made by ordinary Iranians and the missionary ideology of the freedom of religious convictions. Through the incremental consequences of these new religious products, comparisons and ideas, the catalytic effect of the missionaries contributed to the rise of new religious entrepreneurs and firms in Iran, many of whom borrowed technologies and strategies from their Christian competitors.

To return to William Glen's Caspian terrains of exchange, working with the mission in Astrakhan placed his co-workers into a religious network that connected Iran with Russia, Britain and India. Given the intersection of missionary with diplomatic networks that we have seen as characteristic of this period, this was a network that included high-placed Iranian as well as Russian and British figures. Potentially at least, for those able to access and manipulate them, these networks were routes to social empowerment. While direct evidence of the Iranians' usage of these missionary networks is difficult to trace, occasional evidence does surface in Glen's letters and elsewhere. Through Glen, Mirza 'Abdullah was able to use the Bible Society's 'packet' post to exchange private letters with his fellow-countryman Mirza Ibrahim at the East India College at

Haileybury, for example.[81] Glen's ongoing correspondence and occasional meetings with the Iranian printer and by this period, statesman Mirza Salih also enabled mutual introductions to translators who could be of diplomatic service to the Iranian state as well as useful to the Scottish missionary firms.[82]

Of all the Iranian Muslims with whom Glen worked, the most successful in making use of these connections was Mirza Kazim Beg (1803 70).[83] Born in the port of Rasht on the Iranian side of the Caspian, he was the grandson of Nazir Muhammad Khan Beg, the first minister of the ruler of Darband, Fath 'Ali Khan.[84] The family's peregrinations had already begun during the first Russo-Persian war, when Mirza Kazim's father moved to Mecca for several years of legal study. Returning in 1809 after the establishment of peace, Mirza Kazim's father took an official post as *shaykh al-islam* in the Caspian town of Darband, which had been absorbed into Russian territory in 1806. There Mirza Kazim was partly raised, before again moving with his father to Astrakhan, where both father and son were counted among the numerous Iranians attracted by the prospects on offer at the Scottish mission house. It was in these circumstances that Mirza Kazim was converted to Christianity in 1823, taking the aptly chosen name of Alexander, as sound a Scots name as it was a Russian one that he shared with the ruling czar.[85] Wise in his transcultural choices, Mirza 'Alexander' Kazim was ever the canny middleman.

From Glen and the other missionaries at Astrakhan, Mirza Kazim learned English and at least some of the languages of Christian scripture. In a close echo of the early work of Mirza Ibrahim in Iran before his relocation to Haileybury, while in Astrakhan Mirza Kazim wrote a tract in Arabic in vindication of Christianity. After being published on Glen's printing press, Mirza Kazim's tract was circulated wide enough in Iran to generate a written rejoinder from Mulla Riza of Tabriz, to which Mirza Kazim in turn responded with another tract in Persian.[86] Once again, evangelical encounters generated a sequence of new religious productions. When Mirza Kazim was called into imperial Russian service a few years later, his language skills and familiarity with European mores enabled him to gain a post in the oriental faculty at the new Imperial University at Kazan. There, like Mirza Ibrahim at the East India College at the same time, between 1826 and 1849 he rose to the position of full professor, before transferring to Saint Petersburg and ultimately serving as Dean of its faculty of oriental studies.[87] Mirza Kazim's Tatar and

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Persian Bible work laid the foundations for this later academic career. Like some of the other middlemen seen working with evangelicals in Chapter Two, Mirza Kazim was also a composer of one of the earliest grammars of Tatar Turkish. Turning his entrepreneurial skills towards the production of new Muslim religious tools, he then transferred Christian bibliographical techniques to Islam by compiling a pioneering concordance of the Quran, which was published in Saint Petersburg in 1859.[88] In the following decades, the concordance was used by many other Muslims in the Russian Empire as they created new reformist Islams through re-interpreting a more accessible Quran that was now not only printed but also bibliographically indexed. No less than printing, the concordance was a transferred religious tool that helped subsequent religious entrepreneurs generate new Islams in which the scripture played a central part. Here were Protestant Islams that were intimately connected to Protestant Christianities.

For at least the first decade after his move to Kazan, Mirza Kazim had stayed in contact with his former missionary co-workers. Glen's letters describe him working on corrections and revisions to the translations made in Astrakhan even as he worked for the Russian state in the great Tatar Muslim centre of Kazan.[89] In later years Mirza Kazim was elected a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and a member of the editorial committee of the celebrated *Journal Asiatique*. Among the other varied connections he forged with European artistic and intellectual life, he served as teacher of the young Leo Tolstoy. Enabled by his early exchanges with the Scottish missionaries of Astrakhan, his trans-colonial career culminated in 1869 70 with a scholarly tour of Germany, France and England.[90] A middleman who was at once Muslim and Christian, Mirza Alexander Kazim Beg was a son of Russia's imperial terrains of exchange.

The port of Astrakhan was not the only site for these evangelical interactions and in 1824 the Caucasian mountain town of Shusha became one of the first foreign outposts of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society (Evangelische Missions-gesellschaft zu Basel). Like the Caspian Sea, the Caucasus mountains represented a porous borderland for Christian and Muslim peoples from the north and south.[91] Among the five missionaries and a printer who staffed the mission, the most important for our purposes was the southern German baker's son, Karl Gottlieb Pfander (1803 65), one of the period's greatest religious entrepreneurs who after

leaving the Russian Empire achieved fame (and infamy) working among the Muslims of India for the Church Missionary Society between 1841 and 1865.[92] One of the distinctive features of the Caucasus missions was their role in the combined liberation and conversion of slaves, positioning them in the end game of the long history of Caucasian slave recruitment.[93] Just to the north of the mountains, in the early years after its establishment in 1802, the Scots mission at Karass developed a policy of what they ingenuously termed as 'ransoming' Kabardian slaves by purchasing them in the marketplace, raising them on the mission until the age of twenty-two and then giving them the option of leaving. Several of the missionaries married these converted former slaves, while one of the Kabardian men (who despite being a subject of the czar took on the Scots name of John Abercrombie) was taught printing. After the closure of the Karass mission he was later employed by the Scots missionaries as a printer at one of their stations in Siberia.[94] The low-status background of these former slave converts and helpers was therefore quite distinct from what we have seen as the largely high-status origins of the mainly Muslim 'secretaries' or *mirzas* discussed in the previous pages. Even so, as we shall see in the case of Pfander's principal translator, such persons could offer comparable skills to their missionary patrons and the outcomes of their exchanges set in motion new cycles of religious competition and production.

Recorded in the mission's *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte*, the reports of the Swiss and German missionaries at Shusha refer frequently to Pfander's interactions with 'Mirza Faruch', his 'local assistant' (*National-Gehülfen*).[95] This was Mirza Farukh Amirkhanz (d.1855), who was born an Armenian Christian near Shusha but at the age of six was captured and enslaved by a Qajar army officer named Amir Khan.[96] Thereafter, an enforced middleman, he was raised as a Muslim until, after Amir Khan's death in the first Russo-Persian war of 1804 13, he returned home and found work as a schoolmaster in the new Russian school in Shusha. It was time to make a strategic change in his religious identity again. Soon after the establishment of the German mission in Shusha in 1824, Mirza Farukh found work as a Tatar Turkish and subsequently Persian translator as Pfander gradually expanded his ambitions to reach across the border to Iran no less than work among the Muslim Tatars who had fallen recently under Russian rule. Mirza Farukh travelled regularly with Pfander to preach to the Tatar tribes around the western Caspian, as well as to the townsmen of Baku and Shamakhi.[97]

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As with the Scottish mission at Astrakhan, which as early as 1815 printed a Tatar translation of the Psalms in Arabic type, the German missionary outpost at Shusha possessed a printing press which, under the charge of Johann Judt, was used to print a wide range of materials in Armenian, Tatar, Arabic and Persian.[98] Indeed, the very existence of the Shusha press was presented by the missionaries as a manifestation of divine Providence (*Vorsehung*) which would trigger a reformation among the Muslims of the region as it had among Europeans four centuries earlier.[99] For the mission's Muslim department, the largest of these projects was the Tatar Turkish New Testament of which Mirza Farukh was co-translator with Felix Zaremba (1794 1874) and Karl Pfander.[100] In his reports, published in the mission's *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte*, Pfander was quite frank about the indispensability of his *National-Gehülfen*. The following extract gives some sense of their cooperation with Pfander:

> Since my return from Persia, I [Pfander] am working on a translation of this text into the Tatar Turkish language. Mirza Farukh is an indispensible help to me in this, putting the utmost effort into improving parts of my translation, so that the language sounds appealing. The content of this text comprises new and strange imaginings in the Tatar language, such that it is often difficult to find the appropriate term, but so far Mirza Farukh has overcome all these problems with his zeal. Without him, the completion of the translation would have been impossible (*unmöglich*).[101]

The untitled text in question was described as 'a short test (*Prüfung*) of Christian beliefs and the Muhammadan religion', which had already been printed in Armenian in 1831.[102] As Pfander's interest grew in the Muslims of Iran, Mirza Farukh's skills were increasingly called on for translations into Persian as well as Armenian; Pfander noted that Mirza Farukh translated the tract next into Persian.[103] This translation was to serve as the foundation for Pfander's subsequent move into the Persian polemical writings that would crystallize in his famous *Mizan al-Haqq* ('Balance of Truth'), first published in Persian at Shusha in 1835 after having been originally composed by Pfander in German in 1829 and printed in Armenian in 1831.[104] In view of the mission report's description of the contents, date, language of printing and length (271 pages in the Armenian edition) of the aforementioned *Prüfung*, Mirza Farukh appears to have been translating for Pfander the same text that was subsequently given the title *Mizan al-Haqq* ('The Balance of Truth'), that is, the text that Pfander later claimed as his own and that made his name.[105]

Pfander exported and reprinted this *Mizan al-Haqq* in India, where it first appeared in several Persian editions from Calcutta in the late 1830s before then being published in Urdu.[106] His other Persian works, such as *Tariq al-Hayat* ('The Way of Life'), were also translated into Urdu and published by the American Presbyterian mission at Ludhiana in Punjab.[107] Over subsequent decades in India, the *Mizan al-Haqq* stirred so much opposition from the Muslims it critiqued that it spurred a whole generation of Muslim scholars into founding their own counter-organizations against the Christian missions and into producing their own books in response, such as the *Izhar al-Haqq* ('Demonstration of Truth') by Rahmatullah ibn Khalil al-Rahman (1818–91).[108] From the Caucasus to Calcutta, the missionary critiques of Karl Gottlieb Pfander had the same catalytic effect.

Relying as he was on Mirza Farukh's help, it is clear that during his Caucasus years at least Pfander was more competent in Tatar than in Persian. As a result, Mirza Farukh translated several other tracts for him into Persian, which in a further pointer to the expanding reach of missionary networks received a subvention from the London Tract Society that now saw funds travel from London to the Caucasus.[109] One of these Persian tracts comprised a translation of a conversion narrative entitled *Der Bekehrte Negersklave* ('The Converted Negro Slave'), which had earlier appeared in evangelical publications from northern Germany.[110] This was itself a German translation of the *Authentic Account of the Conversion and Experience of a Negro* which from 1793 onwards had appeared in numerous editions on both sides of the Atlantic.[111] Printed in Persian for the Muslims of the Russian Empire and Iran, it was a striking repositioning of the experience of the Atlantic world to the closing slave markets of Caucasia. Through the technological and financial flows brought by the arrival of a Protestant missionary firm, even as remote a town of Shusha found connections to Basel, London and even Windsor, Vermont.

As we have seen, the Protestant missions always had an ambiguous relationship with the Russian Empire and on 5 July (23 August) 1835 Nicholas I issued an *ukase* ordering the closure of the Shusha mission. The thirty-year opening of imperial Russia's religious economy to the Protestant religious firms of western Europe was over. But the closure by no means signalled an end to the activities of the German missionaries themselves and six of the workers from the Shusha mission travelled to India and found work there with the Church Missionary Society.[112] The

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idiomatic elegance of Pfander's *Mizan al-Haqq* was such that Pfander was regarded as the finest of all missionary compositors, despite the principal role we have discovered being played by Mirza Farukh in composing its Persian version. Even though the chief *mujtahid* of Lucknow reportedly 'strongly suspected some worldly Persian of having, from worldly motives, assisted in their composition', by the mid 1840s in India, Pfander was firmly defended as the chief writer of the text, with his local assistant merely 'polishing the style'.[113] By then, the entrepreneurial Pfander along with 'his' text and reputation had moved to a different religious marketplace in India where the linguistic mastery of the British ruling classes and their local associates had taken on special urgency. Yet Germans such as Pfander were not the only members of the Shusha mission to benefit from its networks. On the strength of the social connections that Mirza Farukh made through his translations, his son Abraham Amirkhanz (1838 1913) was educated in Basel and subsequently employed by various European missionary societies in Tiflis, Finland, Istanbul and Bulgaria.[114] In its concrete form of organizational 'firms', religion and the exercise of religious choice through conversion offered, if nothing else, a career. On the microhistorical scale of the individual life, in such details we see the role of religious institutions and the networks that surrounded them as routes to social power.

Conclusions

The empowerment of individual Asians traced in the previous pages does not mean that such religious firms as the Basel or Edinburgh missionary societies played no role in Russian colonization. The establishment of the Shusha mission occurred as part of a larger pattern of German migration to Russia's new Caucasian provinces, which by 1830 saw two thousand German settlers in the Tiflis region, while the Astrakhan and Karass missions were related to the smaller project of Scottish settlement in the Russian south.[115] Yet this movement of Scots and Germans into the formerly Iranian provinces of the Russian Empire must be set beside the little-known Qajar policy to attract European settlers similarly to the Iranian frontier province of Azerbaijan, which the rulers of Iran hoped to transform into a vast terrain of centrally planned exchanges with skilled Christian immigrants from Europe. When the Iranian diplomat and former Bible Society printer Mirza Salih made a second visit to

London in the early 1820s, he brought with him an announcement from the Qajar heir-apparent, 'Abbas Mirza, which was circulated widely in the British press. In parallel to the Russian development policy across the border, the announcement sought to attract British and other European settlers to Iran. In the newspaper advertisements, 'Abbas Mirza announced that as soon as the prospective immigrants arrived, he would immediately assign to them:

> portions of land, with residences attached, and every requisite for their comfort and subsistence. The soil will yield abundant crops of wheat, barley, rice, cotton, and every species of fruit or grain they may choose to cultivate; and the natural produce of the country exceeds that of any other quarter of the globe. Besides receiving grants of lands, such settlers shall, as long as they reside in Persia, be exempt from all taxes or contributions of any kind; their property and persons be held sacred, under the immediate protection of the Prince himself, who farther engages, that they shall be treated with the greatest kindness and attention, and, as is the custom of Persia, be at full liberty to enjoy their own religious opinions and feelings, and to follow, without control or interruption, their own mode of worship.[116]

Signed off with the names of Mirza Salih as well as 'Abbas Mirza, the detailed announcement explicitly compared its designs to the recent migration of Europeans to Russian Georgia and Daghistan, as well as to America and New Holland (that is, Australia).[117] This was a radically innovative vision for Iran of a more liberal religious economy that was based on the new exchanges of knowledge between Iran and Europe that enabled Iranian statesmen to consider forms of Christian settler migration that would benefit their own country. Such a project, envisaging an Iranian future through comparison with the far reaches of the European settler colonies, represented the visionary apogee of the many individual fortunes made through Iranian engagement with the rapidly opening Eurasia of the period. Government-sponsored population movements were certainly critical to the transformation of the Caspian, Caucasian and Crimean regions in the early 1800s and 'Abbas Mirza may have been responding to the emigration of Iranian Armenians to Russian Caucasia that would culminate a few years later in the mass exodus after the second Russo-Persian war of 1826 8.[118] While his grand design never came to fruition, its very proposition shows how in a pre-nationalist era Iran's Qajar elite was willing to engage with a variety of non-Muslim peoples in order to capitalize on the exchanges of the early nineteenth century.

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Like the small-scale emigrations of individual language workers, 'Abbas Mirza's large-scale settler initiative shows that, however subsequently disenfranchised by the imperial politics of the nineteenth century, Iranian governmental or intellectual elites saw a range of opportunities in their increasing interaction with Europeans.

'Abbas Mirza's proposal echoed at the level of state policy the private decisions of the individuals traced in the previous pages who sought to empower the more modest realm of the family through their similar exchanges with Europeans. For a series of Muslim language workers between around 1810 and 1830, Bible translation served as a crucible for improving existing talents, acquiring new skills and forging social contacts. Supported by the flow of funds, persons and technologies along missionary networks that connected Iran with Russia, India, Britain and Switzerland, Bible translation was ultimately a social activity that placed Muslim and Christian language workers into direct relationships that could be manipulated by either party towards the achievement of different aims. In a period of increasing labour migrations, a variety of Iranians made the best use they could of these exchanges to serve themselves, their families, their communities and their chosen religion. While the motivations of those pursuing Bible work were no doubt varied and personal, the potential gains of such work were tangible. For in return for their exertions, translators gained access to new skills, cash, technologies, social contacts and routes into a widening world. If diplomacy and commerce represent the more familiar routes for Iranian engagement with the wider world of the nineteenth century, for a small but significant number of skilled workers, Bible translation laid the foundation for careers that carried them to positions of influence and prestige in London and Saint Petersburg no less than Shiraz and Tehran. In an age of social and political upheavals across the Eurasian continent, in the same way as they did for Christian missionaries who were the sons of Bavarian bakers and Devonshire carpenters, the evangelical networks traced in the previous pages served as routes of social mobility for educated Iranian 'men of the pen' and more occasionally for the 'ransomed' slaves of Caucasia.

While the focus of this chapter has been on the Caucasus and Caspian as two terrains of exchange, parallel processes were at work in other regions where Protestant missionary firms were at work. As Pier Larson has written of the impact of access to writing skills and missionary networks on Christian converts in the Indian Ocean: 'Being a Protestant in mid-nine-

teenth century Madagascar and its Indian Ocean ecumene meant knowing how to read and write, and entering frequent communication with friends and supporters abroad, sometimes receiving gifts ... in return.'[119] Just as the erstwhile converts and cooperators of the Caucasus learned to manipulate the relationships and flows of these networks, so their literate Malagasy counterparts similarly 'found themselves at a distinct advantage in fulfilling their spiritual and material longings through their friends and relations abroad'.[120] Around the Indian Ocean no less than the Caspian, religion took the form of social networks which individuals could manipulate for their own and their families' empowerment.

From varied interactions in the borderlands between Iran and the Russian Empire, a variety of resources, skills and technologies were exchanged along such networks. Of these, through the form of linguistic exchange known as translation, the most important skills were language and literacy. Echoing what we have seen in Chapter Two, these linguistic exchanges also enabled the transfer of printing technologies and the skills to employ new machines. Numerous Iranians were attracted by the curiosities and prospects of the Scottish mission house at Astrakhan and the printing press was a key attraction there. As the missionary William Glen noted, 'every day Tatars and Persians ... were seen on their way to the mission house ... to see that wonderful engine the printing press ...[121] From the observations, and in some cases the employment, of Iranians in Glen's and other missionary firms' printing operations along the Russian borderlands, both awareness and skills in this key religious technology spread across the porous border into Iran. In Chapter Two we saw the importance of the Saint Petersburg Persian New Testament to the birth of Iranian printing in Tabriz, the closest Iranian city to the Russian border. There were many more cases of such generative exchange.

A few decades later, the year 1847 would see the production in the same region of a new religious scripture, the *Kitab al-Bayan*. It was written by Sayyid 'Ali Muhammad Shirazi (d.1850), the founder of the new Babi religion, Babiyya.[122] Having grown up in Shiraz, which we have seen turned into a competitive terrain of exchange by the preaching of Henry Martyn, the entrepreneurial Sayyid 'Ali subsequently worked as a merchant in the port of Bushehr. There he learned more of the British before declaring his new revelation back in Shiraz in 1844 and writing his new book of scripture three years later in the Russian borderlands. In a period when the Quran was still only available to Iranians in Arabic and the only

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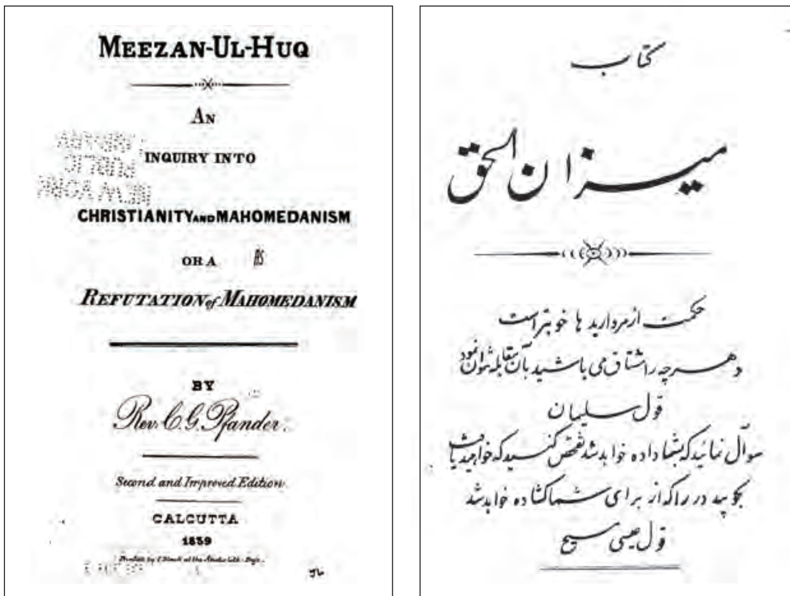
scripture in Persian was the translated New Testament, Sayyid 'Ali's Persian *Kitab al-Bayan* or 'Book of Explanation' was an innovative scriptural product for a market in which the Shi'ite *'ulama* were weakened through their unwillingness to translate the Quran into the vernaculars. In a canny strategic move, Sayyid 'Ali tried to ensure both a lay and clerical readership for his revelation by writing both Arabic and Persian versions. Not only was he willing to innovate in linguistic terms, he was also willing to innovate in technological terms. For in a remarkable testament to its origins in Iran's new terrains of exchange, the *Kitab al-Bayan* not only included numerous references to the Christians and their communicational innovations such as printing and postage; it also included among its divine revelations a statement on the legitimacy of printing and the command that the scripture should itself be printed so that 'there will be no excuse for any single person before God not having [a copy of the] *Bayan*'.[123]

By drawing on the technologies of the Christians, Sayyid 'Ali was able to compete all the more effectively with the Shi'ite religious organizations who presented much greater, and better-resourced, competition. Though he wrote his *Kitab al-Bayan* from a prison cell, by adapting Christian techniques of vernacularization and printing Sayyid 'Ali accessed empowering communication tools that allowed his ideas to spread widely after his death. In such ways, he showed himself to be a gifted religious entrepreneur willing to adapt the technological innovations made accessible to him through the trans-colonial exchanges of the Russian borderlands. In the decades after his death, Sayyid 'Ali's innovations generated a new cycle of exchange in the new Baha'i religion that emerged from his legacy and quickly spread as far as America and Japan. From the legacy of Iranian interaction with the missionary networks of the early nineteenth century, subsequent Iranian religious firms found routes to the wider world to which they exported their own new missions.

Yet Sayyid 'Ali's *Kitab al-Bayan* and the printed scriptures of Baha'ism were far from the only new religious products to be generated through the exchanges traced in this chapter. We have already seen how one particular text, the *Mizan al-Haqq* composed by Karl Gottlieb Pfander and translated into Persian with his assistant Mirza Farukh, was quickly recognized as an important tool in the evangelical battle against Islam. Itself an outcome of exchange, that original translation had a long afterlife as it was exported into other terrains of exchange in the British and then Ottoman Empires. For after Pfander left the Caucasus to move to

British India and enter the service of the Church Missionary Society in 1837, the *Mízan al-Haqq* was retranslated and reprinted in numerous editions in Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Marathi and English.[124] In 1858 Pfander moved to a third empire, this time to the Ottoman capital at Istanbul, where in 1862 he oversaw the translation and publication of his *Mízan al-Haqq* in Ottoman Turkish.[125]

From southern India through Iran into the Russian and Ottoman Empires, Pfander's polemical *Mízan al-Haqq* was read and responded to by Muslims far and wide. Among these many readers invited to weigh for themselves the 'Balance of Truth' between Christianity and Islam were Muslim counterparts to Pfander who learned and adapted the lessons of his method. One such entrepreneur was the Indian Muslim Rahmatullah Kairanawi (1818 91) who in 1854 entered a great public *munazara* debate with Pfander in the city of Agra.[126] Just as the German had transferred and adapted his polemical skills from the villages of the Caucasus to the fading Mughal cities of India, so would his Indian opponent adapt the



MEEZAN-UL-HUQ

AN
INQUIRY INTO
CHRISTIANITY AND MAHOMEDANISM
OR A
REFUTATION of MAHOMEDANISM

BY
Rev. C. G. Pfander.

Second and Improved Edition.

CALCUTTA
1839

کتاب

میزان الحق

حکمت از مرواریدها خوبتر است
و هرچه را مشتاق می باشید با آن مقابله نتوان نمود
قول سلیمان
سوال نمائید که بشما داده خواهد شد تفحص کنید که خواهید یافت
بکوبید در را که از برای شما گشاده خواهد شد
قول عیسی مسیح

Fig. 8: From the Caucasus to Calcutta: title pages of Pfander's *Mízan al-Haqq* (1839)

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skills he learned through his encounters with Pfander's debating and writing. Fleeing India in the wake of the great rebellion of 1857, Kairanawi travelled to Mecca and on to Istanbul, only to find that his opponent had also moved there. And so, in answer to the *Mízan al-Haqq* whose Urdu version he had encountered in India and whose Ottoman Turkish version he found being printed in Istanbul, Kairanawi wrote an Arabic response entitled *Izhar al-Haqq* ('The Revealing of Truth').[127]

Turning Pfander's own methods back on him, Kairanawi used Protestant methods of Biblical criticism to reveal the errors of Christian doctrine, just as Pfander had used those techniques to pick apart the Quran. A dialogical response to Pfander's similarly titled original, Kairanawi's *Izhar al-Haqq* was not only an adaptation for Muslim causes of evangelical Christian techniques. It also drew on Christian Biblical scholarship to turn knowledge of Christianity against Christians. Written in Arabic and first published in Istanbul in 1867, Kairanawi's *Izhar al-Haqq* was reprinted several times and spread quickly through the Arab cities of the Ottoman Empire, where it taught many other defenders of Islam the polemical techniques of scriptural criticism that Kairanawi had borrowed from the missionary evangelicals of Germany and England. Like the *Mízan al-Haqq*, the *Izhar al-Haqq* was subsequently translated into Turkish (1876 7), Gujarati (*c.*1900), and English (*c.*1900).[128] In almost every respect, it was an innovative adapted counterpart to the printed book of Pfander to which it responded. In such ways, from the linguistic exchanges between a German baker's son and a ransomed slave on the edge of the Russian Empire, there spread a cycle of responses, adaptive and competitive, that echoed from Agra to Istanbul and beyond.

INNOVATORS

COMMUNAL COMPETITORS, LOCAL COSMOPOLITANS

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4

MISSIONARIES, MYSTICS AND MILL-OWNERS

'And does he really consider him a saint?' asked Lóris-Melíkov.
'If he were not a saint the people would not listen to him,' said Gamzálo.

Tolstoy, *Hadjí Murád (1912)*

Introduction

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, India's Muslims took political power for granted. The security of Islam itself was largely beyond question due to the power of states commanded by Muslims, whether the Mughal Empire or its vibrant eighteenth-century successors, such as the kingdoms of Awadh or Hyderabad. Islam was in many respects a less prominent frame of reference in constructions of personal, class and state identity than participation in the education, manners and etiquette of Indo-Muslim high culture. But as British power gradually effaced that of the Indo-Muslim states that had flourished for centuries, the fate of Islam came to seem increasingly under threat from both the soldiers and missionaries of the British Empire. By the late nineteenth century, this need to defend Islam was also felt by the administrators of the princely state of Hyderabad, where British influence had gradually increased since the signing of the Preliminary Treaty in 1798 by which the Nizams had entered their lasting alliance with the British.

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While Hyderabad state maintained much of its independence, especially with regard to domestic matters, by the end of the nineteenth century its territories were forced to host larger numbers of British soldiers in the cantonment districts beside its largest towns.[1] The same years saw larger numbers of Christian missionaries arrive in the state.[2] While in the towns of British India Christian missionary firms had been operating since the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1813, they accessed Hyderabad state much later in the century. When they did so, they had a similarly catalytic effect as they had already had on the other regions where we have seen them operating earlier in the previous chapters. In the decades since Karl Gottlieb Pfander had moved from the Caucasus to work with the Church Missionary Society in India, exchanges with Christian missionaries had generated scores of Muslim responses that varied from hybrid messianic entrepreneurs claiming that Jesus was buried in Kashmir to self-purifying fundamentalist firms rejecting every book but the Quran.[3] Since the middle of the nineteenth century, missionaries had been active in the cantonment district of Secunderabad outside Hyderabad city, where they built several churches. In 1852 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts built the gothic revival St Thomas's Cathedral in Secunderabad, for example. Despite official regulations from the Hyderabad government that tried to prevent Europeans from entering the 'native city' on the grounds of their own safety, missionaries did occasionally venture beyond the cantonments into Hyderabad's larger but still restricted religious markets.

One such figure was the Reverend Malcolm Goldsmith of the Church Missionary Society, who in 1890 92 and again in 1894 5 spent several months in Hyderabad preaching publicly in Urdu.[4] A graduate of Cambridge, Goldsmith was one of the many linguists we have seen in Chapter One being trained by the university for the Church Missionary Society.[5] Describing the strategies he deployed in Hyderabad, Goldsmith explained to readers of the *Missionary Review of the World* the best way to preach to Muslims and avoid the inevitable 'acute friction' and 'opposition' that such preaching caused.[6] He went on to describe how he and his assistants in Hyderabad had handed out printed 'Gospel handbills' of Bible sections translated into Urdu. Showing how, by the end of the century, what we saw in Chapter Two of the borrowing of Christian printing techniques by Muslims had come full circle, Goldsmith criticized the fact that his colleagues often relied on Muslim printing compa-

nies to produce such tracts and Bible sections. Warning fellow missionaries of the dilemmas that we have already seen emerging from the cooperative nature of Bible translation, he explained that apparently cooperative Muslim printers surreptitiously undermined Christian aims by 'ingeniously working into the margin or elsewhere ... human faeces (utterly abhorrent to all faithful Moslems) and pigs'.[7] As a result, Muslims threw away these deliberately defiled Gospel handbills as soon as they received them.

If such subversive cooperation reminds us of what we saw in Chapter Three of Jawad 'Nathanial' ibn Sabat's use of Henry Martyn's printing lessons to publish a refutation of Christian doctrines in 1814, then Goldsmith also inadvertently described the generative character of such religious exchanges. Reporting on the Church Missionary Society's activities in Hyderabad, he wrote that 'soon after we commenced [preaching] in 1890, an Anjuman-e Tabligh-e Islam (Society for the Propagation of Islam) was instituted, with paid preachers and workers, which after a short time reported an accession of two hundred converts from Hinduism and Christianity'.[8] Pointing not only to the ways in which new Muslim religious firms emerged in reaction to the Christian missions, but also to their adaption of Christian techniques, Goldsmith added that several of the Anjuman's workers were 'apostates from our ranks', that is, former cooperators like Henry Martyn's 'Nathanial' Sabat.[9]

By moving forward in time and away from Russia's imperial borderlands to those of the British Empire in the provinces of princely Hyderabad, this chapter follows to India the same processes of exchange that we have seen in the Middle East in earlier chapters. Pointing to the innovative character of religious exchange, we shall see how competitive Muslim encounters with a Christian mission helped generate a new Muslim religious firm in the provincial terrain of Aurangabad, the second city of Hyderabad state. By the end of the reign of the penultimate Nizam, Mahbub 'Ali Khan (r.1869 1911), the official character of Hyderabad had become increasingly Muslim as the prestige and purpose of the Mughal Empire slipped further into the past.[10] New administrative bodies were formed by Hyderabadi officials to oversee the religious life of its Muslims, while individual religious entrepreneurs founded their own organizations to propagate Islam among the lower castes and classes. From the 1900s, the towns of Hyderabad were also haunted by the spectre of communal violence between Hindus and Muslims, particularly in

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Hyderabad's western province that bordered on the Bombay Presidency, where Maratha Hindu nationalist religious firms were especially active. A number of new laws and regulations made their contribution to the mass of legalistic and administrative declarations that increasingly served to separate Hindu and Muslim forms of religious expression.[11] As a Muslim-ruled state began to regulate the religious economy of its domains, laws were already being passed under Mahbub 'Ali Khan to regulate the celebration of Hindu festivals, especially when they coincided with Muslim ones.[12]

While the broad outlines of these developments are well documented with regard to the Nizam's capital at Hyderabad, the history of the new Muslim religious firms that emerged in the provinces of this largest of all Muslim-ruled princely states has, until now, remained unknown. Moving on from the earlier phase of missionary attacks on Islam discussed in the previous chapter, here we follow the phase of Muslim response by tracing the evolution of a Muslim revivalist firm that effectively responded to the local competition of a foreign missionary organization. Given what we have seen of the adoptive outcomes of Muslim competition with Christian missionary firms, we shall first look at the arrival of a British mission in Aurangabad, the second city of Hyderabad state. In this provincial corner of an Indian princely state, we can see how state support for Islam combined with the forced opening of the region to foreign missionaries to generate a more competitive local religious economy in which Muslim religious entrepreneurs had to adapt their message, services and organization in order to gain followers. As Hindu villagers interacted with a well-funded British priest and a Sufi revivalist with the support of a local mill-owner, the Aurangabad of the early twentieth century became a bustling terrain of exchange.

A Birmingham Missionary in Aurangabad's Marketplace

The fact that princely Hyderabad was a quasi-sovereign state meant that its society was shaped by a strong degree of separation from British India. There was certainly much exchange at the official level with British India and many of Hyderabad's Muslim administrators had studied at the 'Muslim Oxford' that was the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. But for ordinary citizens, particularly outside the capital city of Hyderabad itself, there were far fewer interactions with either Indians

from 'across the border' or with the British themselves. Even though there was a military cantonment in Aurangabad, British soldiers were forbidden to leave it to enter Aurangabad proper. As the outcome of its quasi-colonial society, the religious economy of Hyderabad state developed at a separate but nonetheless related pace to that of British India. When Christian missionary firms reached the towns of Hyderabad state, they arrived not directly from Britain, but from other regions of India, particularly from Bombay where exchanges with missionaries had already seen Muslim entrepreneurs respond by producing a dazzling variety of new Islams for the marketplace. So it happened that the first Christian missionary to arrive in Aurangabad was a failed participant in the more competitive religious economy of Bombay, where he was unable to make much headway in winning Muslims for Christ. His papers provide an entry point into religious developments in the Hyderabad state of the early twentieth century as he imported new religious techniques into a previously dormant marketplace.

The importer in question was the Reverend Henry Smith, the most important of Aurangabad's missionaries who in 1900 had begun his work among Muslims in Bombay.[13] Educated at the universities of Birmingham and Durham, Smith had learned his trade as a curate in his home city of Birmingham before joining the Church Missionary Society at the age of thirty. In his move from Birmingham to Bombay, Smith's relocation was less dramatic than it might seem, involving a shift in geography but not in the social location of his outreach to industrial labourers.[14] Like any child of 'Brum', Smith immediately recognized the grand Gothic architecture of Bombay no less than the squalor of its working class slums.

In Bombay, Smith was employed by the Church Missionary Society's Western India Mission, which introduced him to Muslims for the first time. Since public gatherings offered the most efficient means of preaching to a mass audience, one of the mission's strategies was to use the saintly *'urs* festivals at Sufi shrines as an opportunity to distribute leaflets and preach 'Hindustani' sermons. These were well-chosen points of outreach, for the annual *'urs* festivals of Bombay's shrines attracted vast numbers of the city's lower classes. In 1902, Smith wrote an account of one such occasion for the *Bombay Muhammadan Mission News* (of which he was then editor), describing a preaching tour to the Bombay suburb of Mahim, where each year tens of thousands of pilgrims visited the *'urs* of Shaykh Makhdum 'Ali Paro (d.1432).[15] But his sermons and attempts to

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distribute tracts were met with great hostility; pelted with stones, he and his helpers were forced to retreat to the safety of a train carriage and flee Mahim in disgrace. In such ways, the shrines of the Muslim saints became sites of competition between Christian missionaries and the local audiences who rejected them.

Finding little success in Bombay, in 1902 Smith moved to Aurangabad to found a franchise of the Church Missionary Society based in the safer terrain of the city's cantonment.[16] Since several Church Missionary Society outposts had already been established in the Marathi-speaking countryside of Hyderabad state, Smith aimed instead to bring Christianity to the Muslims of Aurangabad. Undeterred by his earlier lack of success, he transferred to Aurangabad the same techniques he had used in Bombay such as using the *'urs* festivals of nearby Muslim shrines to reach large numbers of people. Pointing to the expanded role in new terrains of the Bible Society's vernacular printing ventures that we saw emerging almost a century earlier in Chapters One and Two, in a letter from 1905 Smith described his technique of using Urdu handbills printed by the Punjab Bible Society:

> At an Urus held not far from here about two months ago, not less than six thousand of these handbills were distributed, and that was the first occasion ... on which any Christian preacher has been present at this particular Urus. There were lakhs [hundreds of thousands] of people there.[17]

Despite having studied Urdu for the purpose of preaching to such crowds, Smith soon began to realize the obstacles he was facing, particularly after receiving considerate but pessimistic advice from the city's Muslim administrators. In his quarterly letters, he described several of these figures as 'most affable' and 'really enlightened men'. These were after all Hyderabad's English-educated Muslim elite, whose sense of reason, religion and manners were based on education and class that, in the social hierarchy of princely no less than British India, exceeded Smith's own humbler status. In their bluff dismissal of his chances of success and Smith's own remarking that one of them had even studied at Oxford, it is easy to detect the rattling of the provincial Henry Smith's sense of moral and social superiority.[18] These Hyderabadi elites were happy being Muslim; and, having seen at Oxford the best that England had to offer, they saw little reason to shed their ancestral ways to follow a low-born preacher from Birmingham. Pointing to the two-way charac-

ter of exchange, there were even Hyderabadi Muslims who had visited Smith's home city of Birmingham, as with the travelling companions of La'iq 'Ali Khan Salar Jang II who had toured Birmingham and its surrounding industrial towns such as Wolverhampton in 1887. In counterpoint to Smith's English reports on Bombay and Aurangabad, Salar Jang II penned a Persian diary describing his impressions of the towns of the English Midlands.[19] Assiduously inspecting every kind of manufactory the region had to offer, he visited factories that produced rifles, pens, safety pins, nuts and bolts, chandeliers, porcelain, chains and other iron goods. As the Nizam's erstwhile prime minister, Salar Jang II had an interest in the transfer of such manufacturing techniques to Hyderabad, a process of industrialization which we shall see also associated with the region's religious entrepreneurs.

As we have noted earlier, the fact that Hyderabad remained independent from British India lent its peoples a meaningful measure of distance from colonial influences. Even so, through various treaties with the Raj, Hyderabad's administrators lacked the authority to expel this British intruder from their own religious markets. All they could do was discourage him. Smith was told on numerous occasions by Hyderabadi officials that preaching in Aurangabad's old city would lead to great trouble, and subsequently Smith and his helpers followed their advice and avoided the old city for 'fear of molestation'.[20] Such advice echoed the earlier policies of Sir Salar Jang I of minimizing the contact of Hyderabad's people with the British, and the same prohibition on entering the old city was enforced on Europeans in the city of Hyderabad, who were expected to remain in the adjacent cantonment of Secunderabad.[21] The British who were living in the Aurangabad cantonment further discouraged Smith with their own cautionary tales: in 1907 he wrote that 'less than ten years ago, I am told, the City was so full of Moslem fanaticism and bigotry, that it was unsafe for an unprotected European to venture in'.[22]

Yet even if he was making limited progress, the arrival of Henry Smith did represent a meaningful intrusion into Aurangabad's religious economy. His evangelical background among the industrial proletariat of the English Midlands points to the connections between different religious markets that were a feature of this period, when even the provinces of princely India were being opened to colonial religious entrepreneurs. One strategy that Smith transferred between these markets was the identification of the rural and urban working classes as an audience for mis-

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sionary outreach. Another was the critique of 'idleness' through a Protestant ethic of work and sobriety that in India focused on pushing begging *faqir* holy men out of the religious marketplace.[23] As we shall see below, these strategies were also adopted by the main local competitor who emerged in response to his public critiques of the morality of Aurangabad's Islam. Yet Smith's influence was indirect, causing adaptations rather than conversions; by 1907, after almost five years in Aurangabad, he had still not successfully converted a single Muslim. In his official letters he was keen to blame this on the 'bigotry' and 'fanaticism' of the city's Muslims. But in recognition of the skills of his local competitors, he also admitted that language problems meant that he tended to be beaten in public disputations by the city's Muslim preachers. Unlike the Muslim language workers discussed in Chapter Three, whose cooperation with missionaries had taught some of them superb skills in English, Smith was never to achieve a corresponding mastery of Urdu. Whether linguistic or otherwise, exchanges were rarely if ever equal.

Nonetheless, Smith persevered in his work and his unofficial ban from the walled old city of Aurangabad encouraged him to transfer the strategies he had used in Bombay of addressing Muslim crowds at public gatherings. Subsequently, he and his small group of Indian Christian cooperators focused their efforts on the weekly market in the cantonment district and on the shrines of the city's Muslim saints. Reaching from the public to the private religious marketplace, his co-worker Mrs Woods managed to preach the Gospel secretly in the women's-only *zanana* section of another of these shrines.[24] However, even these efforts met with little success, as we see from Smith's own description of a 1909 preaching tour to the shrine town of Khuldabad, about fifteen miles into the country outside Aurangabad:

> We found the people, nearly all Muhammadans, very bigoted and they refused to hear us, or even to read tracts. One reason for their bigotry is the fact that the town contains a number of tombs and shrines of famous kings and saints, and the people of the town, most of whom are attendants at the shrines, live on the extensive endowments of them.[25]

If we read Smith's picture of Muslim 'bigotry' as a simple rejection of his call for conversion, then his report tells us instead about the effective competition offered by the 'older firms' that were the shrines of the saints and the Sufis who controlled them. For these shrines or *dargahs* were the bulwarks of an older religious economy dominated by the insti-

tutions, landholdings and representatives of Islamic sainthood. This was a religious economy in which the shrines and their hereditary keepers were not only upheld through aristocratic endowments and pilgrim offerings, but also through a moral economy of gift-giving (*nazar*) through which the shrines exchanged the material capital of cash and goods for the symbolic capital of miracles and blessings. Having invested in a *nazar* of a rupee or a goat for the shrine, a pilgrim could in return expect cure in times of sickness or protection in times of danger. This shrine-based religious economy, then, offered its participants tangible rewards for their investments of faith, service and capital.

As a result, the shrines and the Sufis who managed them presented Henry Smith with tough competition. For by replacing the Muslim saint and his living Sufi 'friend of God' (*wali-allah*) with a transcendent Protestant God and his agent Smith of Birmingham, the followers of the saints stood to surrender their investments in favour of an Englishman who could offer no miraculous services in return for their allegiance. Where the Muslims of Aurangabad sought a supernatural patron who could help them in Hyderabad's grim decade of famine and disease through the 1910s, Smith could only offer them a distant God whose providence worked in more mysterious than miraculous ways. His mission misinterpreted as 'bigotry' these local choices to remain with saintly protectors; it was crippled by poor Urdu, which left him defeated in public debates; it was sidelined in the cantonment from the local social networks that the saints' representatives had long since penetrated. So for all the proselytizing techniques it imported from England, Smith's mission was unable to compete in the local marketplace.

To understand the failure of Smith's enterprise, we also need to reckon with the new religious competitors he faced in Aurangabad. For it was not only a case of the old established shrine firms maintaining their clientele, but also of new religious firms emerging through interaction with both the Christian and Hindu competition in the religious marketplace. Writing in 1912, Smith complained that Islam was itself now being promoted with 'vigorous propaganda' throughout Hyderabad state. Pointing clearly to the catalytic role of the Christian religious firms in generating this reaction, he recorded that almost all of Aurangabad's mosques had responded to the educational and pamphleteering activities of the missionaries by opening schools of their own and posting noticeboards beside their main entrances.[26] In the same year, Smith detected

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responses to Britain's wider international activities, as the number of Muslim boys attending the mission schools in Aurangabad declined because rumours were spreading among their parents that Britain's role in the Balkan War was being carried out in no less a missionary spirit than the work of Henry Smith among their children.[27] If news from the Balkans served to undermine missionary pledges of peace and goodwill from one direction, then Smith also faced competition from other directions, including British India. For the longer he remained in Aurangabad, the more competitors seemed to enter its religious economy, including by around 1915 representatives of the great Punjabi Muslim missionary firm that was the Ahmadiyya Jama'at. Founded in 1889 by the Punjabi Muslim 'messiah' Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d.1908), by the 1910s the Ahmadiyya Jama'at had adopted the language and organization of the Christian missionaries to send representatives of their own adaptive *mishan* ('mission') as far as England, Africa and China.[28] In Chapter Six we shall see one such Punjabi Ahmadiyya missionary preaching to African Americans in Detroit in 1920. In Aurangabad two years earlier, Henry Smith was reckoning the Ahmadiyya Jama'at's missionaries among his chief competitors. Literate in Urdu as a result of the colonial educational policy in Punjab, the Ahmadiyya preachers from the north could market their firm down south in a way that Smith could never manage. As in neighbouring Bombay, domestic religious firms had greater access and appeal in the marketplace than their foreign competitors who had a limited grasp of local religious demands and of the idioms in which to respond to them.

Eventually, both Smith and his sponsors tired of their lack of success in Aurangabad and in 1918 the mission was relocated to Nasik in British territory and then back to Bombay later in the same year. After this time, the efforts of the Church Missionary Society to convert Aurangabad's Muslims almost died out and by the late 1920s the only British missionaries left in the city were the Reverend W. H. Bishop and his wife, who then returned to Britain in 1928 to tour a number of parishes and gather support for their endeavours. The help of the Worcestershire parish of The Littletons was enlisted to make a scrapbook on Aurangabad for the Midland parishioners who had funded their Indian activities. Describing Aurangabad's inhabitants, and the Bishop pair's preaching and singing in its bazaars, the scrapbook allows us to follow the development of the region's religious economy in the years after Smith's own departure.[29] Yet

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Fig. 9: A Christian multinational: CMS missionaries in Aurangabad (*c.*1915)

Green, Nile. Terrains of Exchange : Religious Economies of Global Islam, Oxford University Press, 2015.
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once again, the evidence it shows is of a Christian mission that was unable to draw support from Aurangabad's Muslims. Although the Bishops still tried to sell their scripture portions to local Muslims, by the late 1920s these Christian entrepreneurs had decided instead to focus their attention on Dalit 'Untouchables'. Both the new and old Muslim religious firms of Aurangabad had presented too much competition, protected as they were by the officials of a Muslim-ruled state and supported by the religious investments of wealthy Muslim businessmen.

Competing Islams in Hyderabad State

In British India, efforts to convert Muslims by not only Christian missionaries but also neo-Hindu organizations led to the foundation of scores of new Muslim religious firms in the first decades of the twentieth century.[30] The most effective Hindu catalyst for these developments was the Arya Samaj and its *shuddhi* or 'purification' programme aimed at converting both Muslims and Christians 'back' to Hinduism.[31] Having itself emerged in response to Christian missionary critiques and conversions of Hindus, the Arya Samaj illustrates the generative character of religious competition, for when it was founded in 1875 the very notion of converting someone to Hinduism was a novelty in a religion that had previously emphasized membership only through birth.

Competing with the Arya Samaj were a huge variety of new Muslim religious firms, some of them propounding reformist ideas, some founded on the customary appeal of the Sufis. Among the most important of these Sufi religious entrepreneurs who responded to the perceived Christian and Hindu threat against India's Muslims was Khwaja Hasan Nizami (1873 1955). In Delhi, he made use of the city's by then well-developed Muslim print industry to publish vast numbers of Urdu posters, handbills and pamphlets aimed at furthering his own missionary enterprise. In works such as his *Da'i-ye Islam* ('Missionary of Islam'), Nizami encouraged every Muslim to become a missionary; indeed, the book's stated purpose was of 'making every Muslim a missionary of Islam'.[32] Published in Delhi in 1923, the book coincided exactly with the Muslim missionary activities in Aurangabad to which we turn below. In the same years, from Punjab another Sufi entrepreneur called Jama'at 'Ali Shah (d.1951) was using the colonial rail network to travel all around India including to Hyderabad to preach against the dangers of con-

version to Hinduism.[33] Responding to the appeal of Christian cultural habits, other Punjabi Sufis such as Sher Muhammad (d.1928) decried the corrupting influence of wearing English hats and shoes, or still more shockingly eating English food.[34] Sufis, then, were key players in the competition with Christians and Hindus for Indian followers, but clerical *'ulama* also joined the struggle both to defend and to promote Islam. In 1923, the Jama'at-e 'Ulama-e Hind (Association of Indian Clerics), a new religious firm founded in 1919 by reformist Muslim scholars, established a Department for the Propagation and Protection of Islam to oversee its own *tabligh* ('propagation') all over India.[35]

While Hyderabad state was an administrative entity distinct from British India, it was of course geographically surrounded by it. Like the other terrains we have examined in this book, the Nizam's state was distinctive but not isolated. With the opening of rail connections linking Hyderabad to the major cities of British India from 1879, religious entrepreneurs and firms from outside the state were more easily able to enter. Hyderabad's adoption of Urdu as its official language during the 1880s lent an advantage to residents of north India or Bombay who were already able to preach in this language. As ever, tools of communication were central to the process of religious exchange. In 1872 representatives of the Arya Samaj arrived in Hyderabad, and over the following decades their attempts to claim Hyderabadi Muslims for Hinduism instigated the foundation of Muslim missionary firms in response.[36] However, the Arya Samaj was not the only religious firm to arrive from British India, and Muslim religious entrepreneurs also travelled to the state in search of official support or new followers. One such figure was the aforementioned Punjabi Jama'at 'Ali Shah, who in his Urdu biography was himself reported to have converted Christians, Sikhs and Hindus to Islam in the 1910s and 20s, travelling as far as Bombay, Mysore and even Afghanistan as well as Hyderabad in pursuit of new followers.[37] Missionaries were also sent to Hyderabad on behalf of the entrepreneurial Punjabi messiah, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. We have already heard Henry Smith describe their presence in Aurangabad during the 1910s, but twenty years earlier their initial arrival had also forced the Hyderabadi Sufi Iftikhar 'Ali Shah Watan (d.1906) to reject Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's claim to be a new Muslim prophet by defending Muhammad's status as the final 'seal of the prophets' (*khatm al-anbiya*).[38] Such anti-Ahmadiyya polemics were widespread in Hyderabad. In 1893, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad printed his *Tuhfa-e*

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Baghdad ('Gift of Baghdad') in response to a letter from the Hyderabadi scholar Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzaq Qadiri which had attacked him as not the messiah but the *dajjal* or 'anti-christ'. Even among Muslims alone, there was heated competition for followers.

By the 1910s and 20s, the activities in Hyderabad state of these immigrant Muslim, Hindu and Christian missionary firms prompted local Muslims to develop their own new organizations. Some of the religious entrepreneurs behind these new firms sought support from the state. In the years after the death of the ruling Nizam, Mahbub 'Ali Khan, in 1911, advisers of his successor, 'Usman 'Ali Khan, urged him to promote Islam more actively through the patronage of new Muslim organizations. One outcome was the state itself becoming a participant in Hyderabad's religious economy through its Department of Religious Affairs (Nizamat-e 'Umur-e Mazhabi), which appointed religious teachers to tour villages and lecture on the 'correct' way to observe Islam. While in previous times state officials had offered individual support of particular religious figures, the involvement of an official government agency was a new development and one that set the religious economy of Hyderabad apart from that of British India. The lessons that the Department's representatives taught to Hyderabad's villagers included the basics of formal worship (*salat*) and fasting (*sawm*), as well as efforts to instil knowledge of the Quranic scripture. While these lessons may seem innocuous enough, in village-level religious economies in which Muslim and Hindu religious practices frequently overlapped to the point that it was difficult to tell them apart, the Department's lessons served the purpose of clearly distinguishing nominal Muslims from their Hindu neighbours. In a state in which census populations for different religious communities were hugely important, such clearer demarcations of Muslims from Hindus could present net gains for the state's overall Muslim population and its power. Although not officially 'missionaries', then, employees of the Department of Religious Affairs and similar state organizations were participants in what was by the 1910s and 20s a changing religious economy in Hyderabad.

Other new religious firms were established by entrepreneurs who operated at one step of official distance from the state. In 1926, for example, a young Hyderabadi notable called Bahadur Yar Jang (1905 44) established the Majlis-e Ittihad al-Muslimin ('Council for Muslim Unity') with the blessings of the Nizam, 'Usman 'Ali Khan.[39] A rousing orator, Bahadur Yar Jang travelled widely through the state to gain many

new members of his organization.[40] Alongside its promotion of a scripturalist approach to Islam, the Majlis also sought to reduce the state's massive Hindu majority through encouraging conversion to Islam. In doing so, its strategies reflected those of the Christian missionaries who were also active throughout Hyderabad. The Majlis engaged religious instructors or *mawlwis* to give regular lectures on Islam throughout the small towns of the state, while also promoting Islam among the lower caste and outcaste Hindus of the countryside.

What united these new Muslim religious firms was a novel outreach to the common man and woman, including the uneducated residents of the countryside. In previous centuries lower-class religious movements had of course existed and the occasional member of the elite had renounced the good life to attend to the underprivileged. But there had never been any wide-scale attempts by the middle and upper classes to preach to villagers and the urban poor. These were new developments and ones that emerged in large part in response to the Christian missionary outreach to these very sectors of Indian society, whom local religious firms now sought to claim for themselves. As we see below, this adapted outreach also became a feature of a new Sufi religious firm that entered Aurangabad's religious marketplace at the height of Henry Smith's attempts to win its Muslims for Christendom.

A Sufi Life in a Competitive Context

In 1916, there arrived in Aurangabad a middle-aged Muslim preacher from the city of Hyderabad called Mu'inullah Shah. A disciple of the Hyderabadi Sufi master Iftikhar 'Ali Shah Watan, whom we have already seen attacking the messianic claims of Ahmadiyya missionaries, Mu'inullah had been initiated into both the Chishti and Qadiri Sufi lineages. Together with the fame of his master   whose printed poetry was read widely throughout Hyderabad   Mu'inullah's initiation lent him the 'authority' (*khilafat*) to establish himself as a Sufi master in his own right, particularly since he had served as Watan's 'deputy' (*khalifa*).[41] But after Watan's death, the property of his school (and shrine) in the Chishti Chaman quarter of Hyderabad, and the congregation it brought with it, were inherited by his son Nurullah Husayni. Prevented in this way from claiming to be Watan's successor in Hyderabad, Mu'inullah left the city to travel to Aurangabad and establish himself as a Sufi master in his own

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right at the head of a religious firm of his own. This was, after all, a period when many new religious firms were entering or being founded in the princely state. In Hyderabad's highly stratified aristocratic society, religion was one of the few resources of social mobility open to men such as Mu'inullah. After all, until the founding of Osmania University in 1918, Hyderabad state had no modern institutions of higher education, leaving religion one of few avenues of empowerment for Hyderabad's citizens.

Travelling from Hyderabad with a follower called Ja'far 'Ali, Mu'inullah made his journey to Aurangabad at the end of a longer search for supporters; he had earlier resided in the town of Amrauti.[42] Here his movements reflected the peregrinations of other Sufi entrepreneurs of the period who used India's rail network to travel between often widely dispersed congregations. Like Henry Smith, Mu'inullah made use of Hyderabad's new railway network that by then connected Aurangabad to both the cities of Hyderabad and Bombay. Other Muslim religious entrepreneurs made similar use of rail. Mu'inullah's contemporary Shams al-Din Chishti (d.1928) another Hyderabadi who moved to Aurangabad and took over the abandoned Mughal-era shrine of Shah Nur Hammami (d.1692) regularly travelled round the state by train to build up a clientele between Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Hospet to the south.[43] With a firm emphasis on the Islamic foundations of his Sufi message and the importance of basic religious duties, Mu'inullah's peripatetic teaching reflected the wider programme we have seen in Hyderabad state at this time of sending professional preachers and teachers into the countryside, as he too preached in many villages around Aurangabad. Like such organizations as the Majlis-e Ittihad al-Muslimin, in addition to preaching in his own right Mu'inullah also organized small groups of his followers to travel into the towns and villages of the Bombay presidency and the Central Provinces of British India, as well as into the rural districts of Hyderabad state.

Responding to what we have seen of the *zanana* ('women's quarters') mission of Smith's female helpers, Mu'inullah's preaching groups included female sections devoted to the instruction of rural women. By this time, Aurangabad's Christian missionaries had been targeting Hindu and Muslim women for several decades, with a similar focus on rural and lower-class women.[44] In this way, Mu'inullah's activities did not so much draw on those of better-known Muslim entrepreneurs, such as the writer of the *Bihishti Zewar* Urdu women's guidebook, Ashraf 'Ali Thanawi

(d.1943), or the Delhi Sufi Hasan Nizami, who in the 1920s published several Urdu books of religious instruction for women.[45] Rather, in Aurangabad's more local terrains of exchange, they responded to the efforts of Christian missionaries competing for the allegiance of the same populations, particularly in the new religious markets opening among women and the lower classes.

The Indian Sufi as Sunday Preacher

Beginning in around 1916, every Sunday and Friday Mu'inullah began gathering his followers in Aurangabad for teaching sessions and the chanting of group *zikr*. These meetings took place in the property provided for his use by his disciple, the local landlord Tahir 'Ali. Known as *majalis-e yakshamba* or 'Sunday meetings', the gatherings revolved around a 'recitation of the masters' (*khatm-e khwajagan*) in which the names of the earlier masters of Mu'inullah's Sufi lineage were ritually repeated. While the practice was in itself a familiar part of Sufi practice, the choice of Sunday to hold the meetings was an innovative attempt to deflect the competition of the Christian missionaries' prayer, educational and social meetings that were taking place in Aurangabad at the same time. For even though the Reverend Henry Smith won few formal converts, there were far more locals who were willing to attend his Sunday services with their free food, clothes, booklets and lessons. It was during this period that Smith described the appearance of posters advertising such Muslim prayer sessions in Aurangabad whenever and wherever he tried to advertise his own prayer meetings. The competition was afoot.

On the more traditional Muslim holy day of Friday, Mu'inullah also organized regular meetings known as *majalis-e masnawi*, in which he selected lines (by then in Urdu translation) from the *Masnawi-ye Ma'nawi* of the medieval Sufi poet Jalal al-Din Rumi, along with Urdu verses from the *Diwan-e Watan* of his own master Iftikhar 'Ali Shah Watan.[46] Using what were by this period printed editions of these works Watan's poems had been published in Madras in 1888 Mu'inullah selected certain verses to instruct his followers in their inner meanings.[47] If Henry Smith was distributing Urdu Bible portions and preaching in his faltering Urdu on what their parables revealed, then Mu'inullah was able to provide Muslim texts that were likewise translated and printed in Urdu but which he could explain far better to his audience.

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In addition to these two weekly meetings, Mu'inullah also organized special gatherings at other points in the Muslim calendar. However, unlike the traditional practice of festively celebrating the saints' days or *'urs*, festivities which often attracted mixed crowds of Hindus and Muslims, Mu'inullah instead emphasized only holy days in the calendar of the Prophet's life. While echoing trends that were emerging in British India during his lifetime, in the local terrains of Aurangabad the practice set him apart from the city's older shrine firms to afford a crucial differentiation of his religious product. His was an Islam that he claimed was pure (*pak*) more educated and even respectable than the carnival festivities of shrines that brought Muslims into contact with lower-caste Hindus and false Muslim purveyors of superstition (*khurafat*).

Although Mu'inullah left no body of writings of his own, two important sources have survived that provide much insight into the contours of his message. The first of these is a large piece of calico cloth, inscribed in black and red ink, which he used to instruct listeners in the basic themes of his teachings.[48] As a testament to the shift in Muslim propaganda methods that responded to the missionary endeavours of the period, the cloth was later preserved in Mu'inullah's shrine in Aurangabad, where after his death it was hung on display beside his tomb. The second and less direct source on his teachings is the writings of his disciple, Hamid 'Ali, which make explicit reference to the sayings of the master Mu'inullah.

The calico preaching cloth seems to have been an adaptation of the similar cloths used by Christian missionaries in India. It is unclear whether Henry Smith personally made use of such props; there is no mention of such a tool in any of his letters and diaries. Mu'inullah also probably adapted local practices among the dervishes and storytellers who had long made use of illustrated cloths to transmit popular tales from epic cycles such as the *Adventures of Abu Hamza*. In these cases, though, such cloths were pictorial rather than textual. The fact that Mu'inullah's cloth was covered in densely handwritten Urdu admonitions reflected the educational character of his mission as it responded to the text-based teachings of the Protestant Church Missionary Society. The size of the writing suggests that it was not actually meant to be read by his audience so much as to serve as a visual signifier of the scriptural legitimacy of his message that would have been all the more powerful to an illiterate audience. In this way, it served as a visual prop for his oral expositions of doctrine. This points to a crucial difference in proselytizing technique

between Mu'inullah and his cloth and Henry Smith and his handbills, in that the cloth was an aid to Mu'inullah's effective oral sermonizing which allowed him to reach the illiterate masses of the countryside in a way that Smith's printed handbills and poor spoken Urdu could not.

It is worth dwelling a little longer on Mu'inullah's chosen medium of communication, since it reveals the ways in which he modelled his techniques on the cultural demands of his local audience. The 1910 and 20s were, after all, a period in which India's most famous new Muslim religious firms were investing massively in printing. The Deoband madrasa, for example, published vast numbers of books and pamphlets via Delhi's Matba' Mujtaba'i publishers, including the massive compendium of legal opinions known as *Fatawa-i Rashidiyya* in which Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1829 1905) urged Muslims to mark their community boundaries by avoiding any form of ritual or cultural 'resemblance' (*mushabbah*) to Christians and Hindus.[49] In competitive response, Deoband's competitor the Ahl-e Sunnat (or Barelwi) firm operated two publishing wings, the Hasani Press and the Matba' Ahl-e Sunnat wa Jama'at, which printed scores of propagatory works in print runs of around 1,000 copies each.[50] The Ahl-e Sunnat also operated a monthly journal, *Tuhfa-e Hanafiyya* ('Gift of the Hanafis'), and a newspaper, *Dabdaba-e Sikandari* ('Alexander's Majesty'). Mu'inullah, by contrast, printed nothing, devoting himself and his followers to a campaign of oral proselytizing that was far better suited to the illiterate religious demands of his rural and proletarian terrain. It is worth noting in this context that the last years of Mu'inullah's preaching tours in the 1920s saw some of India's religious (and political) entrepreneurs adopt the new technology of public address loudspeakers, which after the breakthroughs of the Magnavox company in the 1910s were more widely distributed in India by the British Marconi company from the early 1920s. While Mu'inullah himself does not seem to have adopted this technology, its adoption by other entrepreneurs from the 1920s did lead their *'ulama* competitors to issue *fatwas* concerning the legality of this *al-e mukabir al-sawt* ('tool for increasing the voice').[51] But in the villages around Aurangabad, Mu'inullah sought new followers with the more rustic tool of a calico cloth.

Fortunately for posterity, the preaching cloth that Mu'inullah carried with him on his countryside campaigns has survived as a record of his teachings.[52] Written in eye-catching coloured ink, the cloth is divided into three sections, the first of which comprised an Urdu poem covering

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the upper third part of the cloth's main field or *hawz*. Beneath this is a lengthier Urdu prose section that covered matters of proper behaviour. Surrounding the field in which these two sections were placed is a third section, written in contrasting red ink and running in diagonal lines around the cloth's margins. In this way, the cloth visually reflected the traditional Arabic manuscript, with a main body of the text surrounded by a marginal gloss or commentary. To the semi-educated (and even more to the illiterate) the cloth thus invoked the authority of Islamic learning by its very appearance.

Fig. 10: A religious tool for rural terrain: the preaching cloth of Mu'inullah Shah

While it is unclear whether the poem on the cloth was written by Mu'inullah or his Hyderabadi master Watan, its opening verses deliberately echoed the tradition of Urdu *na'at* poetry in praise of the Prophet Muhammad.[53] Given that the cloth was designed for easy transportation on Mu'inullah's preaching tours of the region's villages, it seems likely that its memorization and recitation formed an important part of his preaching technique. The poem began with praise to God and Muhammad, whose commands the listener was then instructed to obey. Since God had given the listener life, the poem asked Him to give the knowledge that would render the listener God's servant. Stressing the importance of understanding as opposed to the merely imitative performance of rituals, the poem then declared that it was obligatory to learn the foundational beliefs (*'aqa'id*) of Islam but they would not count as true beliefs unless they were properly remembered. Cautioning that the flames of hellfire flourish for this very reason, the poem then stressed again the importance of understanding, for without understanding, the rituals of worship would not be accepted by God. Urging the listener once again to remember their beliefs and not forget them, the poem went on to emphasize the importance of work (*kam*) as the distinguishing characteristic of humankind, claiming that work was intrinsically good and separated humans from both animals and the devil, who shared the same disinclination towards labour. It then made reference to the Sufi teacher or *khalifa*, before admonishing the listener to do his own spiritual work (*'amal*). Raising the theme of shame (*sharm*) before God that was the bastion of the Muslim moral order, the poem ended by expressing a hundred regrets that we use our resources in this life to do less than we should.

The poem served as a kind of creed, declaring the importance of religious understanding and self-awareness. Underwriting the missionary outreach of many religious firms in India during this period, these were far from unique ideas; indeed, they were adoptive ones. Far from revealing the mystical *asrar*, the 'secrets' long associated with the Sufis, the poem was concerned instead with promoting the basic beliefs and practices of Islam. It was an admonishment in verse, urging the listener to go beyond the mere act of religious affiliation and step into the realm of religious understanding, a realm into which Mu'inullah showed the way. Like so many documents connected with Muslim reformist firms from the period, the cloth's teachings made much reference to Muhammad and the core beliefs or *'aqa'id* of Islam. While there was no reference to

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any of the Sufi saints, the poem's message had much resonance with Sufi tradition, which had often stressed the importance of learning and self-examination (*muhasiba*). Yet it was nonetheless a message of salvation through personal effort through pious behaviour, prayer and maintaining the injunctions of Shari'a that bore little in common with the customary Islam with which the region's Sufi shrines had long been associated. Once again, we see how Mu'inullah differentiated his Islam from what was on offer elsewhere in the local marketplace. While, like Henry Smith, he had no time for the miracle-based religiosity of the shrine firms, unlike the missionary from Birmingham, Mu'inullah could appeal to the conservative character of the average religious consumer. He was offering a refined and improved version of a familiar religious product. By following Mu'inullah, it was possible to find a new path to salvation that freed one from the gift-giving obligations of the Aurangabad region's many Sufi shrines, while at the same time avoiding the social exclusion of conversion to Christianity. It was an appealing compromise between the rival offerings now available even in the religious economy of a provincial town.

The prose section of Mu'inullah's cloth expounded these teachings more fully. Written in a familiar and avuncular tone, its style echoed the personal character of his preaching that was one of his great assets. Reflecting the themes of the poem that preceded it, the prose section began with the statement that 'We have become ignorant of our Islam and neither test our Islam nor even understand what it means to be Muslim'. Instead, it claimed, people just 'play at being Muslim'. In an introduction of Sufi terminology, it went on to address the importance of finding a 'perfect Sufi master' (*murshid-e kamil*) and warned against copying the response of infidels (whether Hindu or Christian) who persistently laughed at such words of advice (*nasihat*). Mu'inullah returned to this theme of laughter and 'poking fun' (*maskhara karna*) several times, at one point with the warning that when a person laughs at such advice they acquire the status of an infidel and, by implication, are no longer destined for salvation. While there was certainly a schoolmasterly quality to his words, we can only surmise that his emphasis on mockery and laughter reflected the reception he encountered on some of his preaching tours. If Henry Smith found himself shooed and stoned when preaching at the shrines of Bombay, then it appears that Mu'inullah's similarly sober style also found its detractors amid what was increasingly competitive terrain.

And sober his preaching was, for the main message propounded in the cloth’s prose section concerned the doctrine of sin (*gunah*). He expounded this doctrine through dividing sin into the great sin (*gunah-e kabir*) and the small sin (*gunah-e saghir*), declaring that while everyone had heard of these sins few knew what they were or what was the difference between them. At this point, he claimed that there were in fact four sins in the world, whose presence was proven by the Quran. Moreover, the great sin and the small sin also comprised the intentional sin (*gunah-e ‘umda*) and the erroneous sin (*gunah-e sahwa*). Echoing the old theme of the Sufi’s spiritual quest, Mu‘inullah explained that the great sin consisted of refusing to make the search (*talash*) for God. The small sin, which was contained within the great sin, consisted of such iniquitous deeds as desire for the world, cheating, trickery and other types of fraud. He also explained the meaning of the two other kinds of sin which he had enumerated. Intentional sin consisted of ignorance (*jahalat*), wickedness (*shararat*), gossiping and otherwise taking away people’s dignity and honour (*‘izzat*), while erroneous sin was what happened out of forgetfulness rather than deliberate intent. He then added that while there were certainly hundreds and thousands of sins in the world, they all emerged from these four sins, which left hundreds of thousands (*lakhs*) of sins latent in the imagination (*khayal*).

Having introduced the theme of the imagination, Mu‘inullah went on to classify four types of imagination or ‘state of mind’, which he declared were always wandering in the human breast at night time.[54] These were the imagination of the infidel (*kafir*); the hypocrite (*munafiq*); the polytheist (*mushrik*); and the believer (*mu’min*). The first included complaining, denying God, and going back on what one has accepted (that is, one’s religious commitments). The second comprised such faults as lying, listening to lies and taking on dishonest work. Under the rubric of the ‘imagination of the polytheist’, Mu‘inullah advised his listeners to treat their employer (*sar-e kam*) and their work with respect, as well as to think everyone else superior to themselves. By extension, the fourth state of mind the ‘imagination of the believer’ was characterized by thinking everyone better than oneself; standing up for the dignity and honour of others; believing oneself to be imperfect; and looking for the good in everyone else. Mu‘inullah’s examples of behaviour appropriate to this state of mind echoed the environment of his preaching tours as he recommended the giving away of sugar, milk and pepper as kindnesses to

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one's neighbours. Given the number of droughts and famines that the Aurangabad region suffered during the years of his ministry, such acts of generosity no doubt carried special weight. He then added a reminder to his 'brother Muslims' that his advice on these sins had been accepted by the people and that those who laughed at it would be rejected by the 'true believers of the world'. The lesson on the cloth ended with the maxim that when human beings come to consciousness, they find good things within themselves.

On his preaching cloth, Mu'inullah showed himself more in the guise of moralist than mystic. He made no reference on his cloth to region, state, community or any other collective term other than '[Muslim] believers of the world (*mu'min-e dunya*)'. Whereas other religious entrepreneurs in the Aurangabad such as Banne Miyan (d. 1921) and the better known Sai Baba of Shirdi (d.1918) attracted both Hindu and Muslim followers, Mu'inullah was not interested in a non-Muslim following. Instead, what he offered his listeners was a return to the basic requirements of Islam and a greater understanding of what it meant to be a Muslim. Even so, his appeal still drew on the validity of his Sufi credentials. From the writings of his successor Hamid 'Ali, we learn that Mu'inullah presented his teachings as the true message of Rumi and of his more local master from Hyderabad, Watan. Hamid 'Ali's writings are important in suggesting that Mu'inullah offered more to his followers than the moralizing call to return to Islam that is recorded on his calico preaching cloth. As Hamid 'Ali's writing made clear, Mu'inullah also promoted the Sufi practice of 'picturing one's master' (*tasawwur-e shaykh*) which involved keeping as often as possible a picture in one's mind of the living Sufi master, in this case Mu'inullah himself.[55] From the late nineteenth century, it was a practice that was increasingly facilitated through the use of small photographic images of Sufis that could be carried around by their disciples.[56] Photography, then, followed print in being adopted into the publicizing methods of Muslim religious firms. While attracting censure from other Muslim authorities as being tantamount to idolatrous 'master worship' (*pir parasti*), the practice nonetheless spread widely in India.[57] For in competitive religious environments where Muslims had a variety of leaders to choose between, the practice of *tasawwur-e shaykh* formed a psychologically effective way of binding disciples to their masters' firms. Mu'inullah had not only entered Muslim villages with his preaching cloth, he had also entered Muslim minds with

his photograph. If the cloth helped him win followers, then his internalized image helped him keep them.

In the decades after Mu'inullah's death, Hamid 'Ali continued to promote the teachings of his master in the Friday and Sunday meetings he convened in the property handed over to the firm by the landlord Tahir 'Ali. Hamid 'Ali's teachings are preserved in two Urdu books, *Fahm wa 'Amal* ('Understanding and Action') and *Tasawwur-e Shaykh* ('Picturing the Master'), whose publication enabled Mu'inullah's teachings to be more widely distributed.[58] In places the two books made explicit reference to Mu'inullah's doctrines which Hamid 'Ali appears to have followed closely. We have already seen the emphasis that Mu'inullah placed on pious 'action' (*'amal*) in his preaching cloth, which he used in conjunction with proper understanding (*fahm*), themes which Hamid 'Ali made the centrepiece of the movement's doctrines.

Here both Mu'inullah and his successor Hamid 'Ali echoed the teachings of India's greatest Muslim missionary of the period, the founder of the Tablighi Jama'at, Muhammad Ilyas (1885–1944), who in his preaching likewise stressed the idea that knowledge (*'ilm*) was useless without action (*'amal*).[59] In his book *Fahm wa 'Amal*, Hamid 'Ali was careful to bolster the Islamic credentials of his master's teachings through constant resort to the Quran, which he quoted in Arabic and then paraphrased in Urdu. Given the emphasis on the basic elements of the Muslim faith on Mu'inullah's preaching cloth, we can assume that such strategic use of the Quran was also important in his own teachings. If Hamid 'Ali's writings in this way reflect the tenor of Mu'inullah's preaching, then we see how he adopted what was by the 1910s the increasing practice of citing Quran and Hadith in abundance. This not only shows his adaptation of the Christian missionary strategy of citing the Bible (not least in Urdu) to support every one of their claims. In a marketplace with many different competitors, it also shows how by justifying every doctrine or practice by reference to scripture Mu'inullah sought to avoid the accusation that his teachings were 'innovations' (*bid'a*) with no sanction in the Quran.[60] In such pre-emptive precautions against the detraction of rivals, he was only behaving like many other Sufi entrepreneurs of his day. For though far less common in earlier times, the very need to cite the chapters and verses of scripture was an outcome of the more competitive religious market that even Aurangabad had become by the 1920s through the arrival of Muslim and non-Muslim missions from afar.

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The Shrine of the Silk Mills

While we have seen how Mu'inullah's teachings worked in the marketplace, no less crucial to the flourishing of his enterprise were its economic underpinnings. For after he settled in Aurangabad, Mu'inullah began to acquire a number of committed disciples whose combination of devotion and capital assets enabled his teachings to find a permanent footing in the city through founding a *khanaqah* institution that would combine a mosque, school, meeting hall and mausoleum. The flow of revenues that made this possible came through Mu'inullah's cultivation of followers from among the older landowning and newer industrializing classes of Aurangabad. One of his early disciples in the city was an important local landowner called Tahir 'Ali, who owned a large amount of property in the old Anguri Bagh quarter of Aurangabad. Another of his early disciples, whom he quickly promoted to the rank of 'deputy' (*khalifa*), was a local civil servant called Ghiyas al-Din, who worked as an accountant for the Hyderabad government, which we have seen attempting to regulate the region's religious economy in this period through the support of new Muslim organizations. In this way, Mu'inullah ensured that he had supporters among both the local landowning and governing classes. However, the most important development in the institutionalization of his missionary firm came when Tahir 'Ali provided a property in Anguri Bagh for Mu'inullah to hold regular open-air meetings. Eventually, further key investments in his firm by a local industrialist called Hamid 'Ali Shah provided it with a more permanent physical presence in the city through the foundation of a *khanaqah* where his message could be permanently preached. The construction of this institution, which included a mosque, school and meeting hall, was a crucial stage in the success of Mu'inullah's mission, providing a physical base from which to operate in Aurangabad's religious market and ultimately endure after his own death in 1926.

Affording his firm the institutional stability to survive the death of its founder, the lodge continued to operate under Mu'inullah's successor, the industrialist Hamid 'Ali Shah. Along with his brother Majid 'Ali Shah, Hamid 'Ali Shah was the most influential of Mu'inullah's deputies. The brothers were both textile designers from Aurangabad who originally operated artisan handlooms in their family home in the city's Nawwabpura quarter, where their father and grandfather had woven the same styles of textile before them.[61] Aurangabad had been famous for its

textiles since the introduction of Mughal tastes to the city in the days of the Emperor Aurangzeb, and over time the city had developed two particular forms of finely embroidered cloth as its specialties. Known as *hamru* and *mashru*, these woven cotton and silk textiles were designed to have the 'same appearance' (*ham ru*) as the luxurious pure silks and cloth of gold woven in the city for the imperial court. During much of the nineteenth century, when the city fell into economic decline after the move of the Nizam's court to Hyderabad, textile production had slackened. However, by the late 1800s, the cottage industry of which Majid 'Ali and Hamid 'Ali were a part was bolstered by the economic reforms of Hyderabad's modernizing prime minister, Sir Salar Jung (1829 83). Aided by Aurangabad's relative proximity to Bombay, some two hundred miles to the west, the last decades of the nineteenth century saw the initial modernization of Aurangabad's industry. In 1889, Aurangabad's first cotton-spinning and weaving mill had opened and by the 1900s it had already come to employ some seven hundred workers. In 1900, shortly after the establishment of the first mills and factories in the city of Hyderabad, the opening of the Hyderabad Godawari railway aided further industrialization in the city as it passed near Aurangabad, allowing its famous fabrics to reach markets all over India.[62] Hamid 'Ali and Majid 'Ali made much of these new industrial opportunities, the profits of which they in turn used to invest further in Mu'inullah's firm.

According to the reminiscences of various descendants of Mu'inullah's followers, involvement in Aurangabad's textile cottage industry was fairly widespread among Majid 'Ali and Hamid 'Ali's co-disciples.[63] A considerable number of other handlooms were set up around the site of Mu'inullah's gatherings in the Anguri Bagh quarter, where land was first lent and then given by his early follower, Tahir 'Ali. However, the opening of the city's rail link to Bombay was the most decisive element in transforming the financial fortunes of Mu'inullah's firm when his deputy Hamid 'Ali entered a partnership with a Muslim businessman from Bombay called Muhammad Ya'qub. Through Ya'qub's investments and contacts in Bombay, in 1925 the brothers Majid 'Ali and Hamid 'Ali were able to purchase a power loom and a semi-automated Jacquard designing machine. They were among the earliest textile producers to introduce the new technology to Aurangabad, though for technical and legal reasons they were unable to set up the power loom in the same location as their old handlooms and Mu'inullah's *khanaqah* in Anguri Bagh. Instead, the

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machines were set up in new premises near to the city's railway station, what was then a half-hour journey from the old city by horse-drawn carriage. The economic and with it, the religious geography of Aurangabad was in transition. As the years went by, Hamid 'Ali's extended family set up other textile mills in what became a huge family compound near the rail tracks on the southern edge of Aurangabad. And part of the profits of these mills was sown back into cementing the institutional power of Mu'inullah's religious firm.

The arrival of such technology in Aurangabad, and the new wealth it created, caused a stir in a city long dominated by its landowning social and religious elite. This is seen in a story associated with Mu'inullah's contemporary, the drug-using dervish and former colonial soldier Banne Miyan.[64] The story referred to an owner of one of the new *hamru* and *mashru* mills in Aurangabad called Muhammad 'Abd al-Qadir. Written around 1920, Banne Miyan's Urdu hagiography relates how a grand wedding of five hundred guests was being held for the mill-owner's sister when suddenly the cooks realized they lacked the right cooking utensils. The entire public spectacle was heading for catastrophe until, through Banne Miyan's miraculous help, there inexplicably appeared a sudden supply of cauldrons (*degs*) to cook the food in.[65] If we can see in the story the rise of the mill-owners as a new Muslim elite in Aurangabad, then Banne Miyan's supernatural entry into their circle points to an important contrast with the circle of Mu'inullah and his mill-owning successor, Hamid 'Ali. For unlike Banne Miyan and the old religious firms whose followers the missionary Henry Smith had harangued in the shrine town of Khuldabad, Mu'inullah and Hamid 'Ali made their followers no promises of miracles. In this, the religiosity they offered was more like Henry Smith's; and yet, unlike his mission, their venture into the city's religious marketplace was a great success. To explain this, we shall see how a combination of factors allowed Hamid 'Ali to develop the legacy of the wandering preacher Mu'inullah into a respectable, wealthy and modern way to be Muslim in the provincial terrain of princely India.

Despite their lack of miraculous lucky breaks, the brothers Hamid 'Ali and Majid 'Ali found that the introduction of the power loom from Bombay transformed the fortunes of their textile business and with it the fortunes of Mu'inullah's religious firm. Whether in anticipation or gratitude for this support, Mu'inullah appointed Hamid 'Ali as his chief 'deputy' or *khalifa* and, in due course, as his 'successor' or *sajjada nashin*.

From the mid 1920s, the income from the textile factory that Hamid ʿAli and Majid ʿAli had founded near the rail station financed the construction of other buildings on the property that the pious landlord Tahir ʿAli had given over to Muʿinullah's firm. The new buildings included a capacious mosque and a modern hall to accommodate the disciples, who continued to attend the weekly meetings that Hamid ʿAli now took over on his master's death in 1926. Compared to the outposts of Aurangabad's other religious firms, with their old and by the 1920s much decayed buildings from the twilight of Mughal rule, the buildings that Hamid ʿAli constructed for Muʿinullah were clean, airy and new. In a city that only a decade earlier had been devastated by a plague epidemic that caused no fewer than 55,000 deaths in Hyderabad state, such cleanliness had considerable market appeal.[66] Writing reports on the plague, even the indomitable Henry Smith was at a loss as to how to respond to the widespread panic.[67] In the crowded provincial city of Aurangabad, Muʿinullah's newly-built *khanaqah* complex provided his firm with the means to expand its stake in the local religious economy. As so often, an institution was key to the production of social power as Muʿinullah began to increase his influence over the lifestyles of a growing number of people in and around Aurangabad.

When Muʿinullah Shah died, the religious firm he had founded was inherited by its chief investor, the mill-owner Hamid ʿAli. More than a shrewd industrialist, Hamid ʿAli proved himself to be an inspired leader of the religious firm he inherited. In the years after Muʿinullah's death, Hamid ʿAli and his own *khulafa* deputies continued Muʿinullah's mission by travelling to the countryside to preach to rural Muslims they considered lacking in a proper understanding of their faith. Just as Henry Smith's female assistant Mrs Woods had founded Aurangabad's first *zanana* mission, Hamid ʿAli also took with him a number of women followers who could preach to the women of the villages. Hamid ʿAli similarly continued the Sunday meetings at what was now Muʿinullah's shrine in Aurangabad's Anguri Bagh quarter. For with the revenues from his textile mill, Hamid ʿAli had also funded the construction of a mausoleum for Muʿinullah on the site of his early gatherings in Anguri Bagh. Even if it did not officially promote miracle requests, the mausoleum lent the organization a means to compete with the older Sufi pilgrimage sites that had dominated the region's religious economy for centuries.[68] Ensuring that other potential followers would recognize the complex as part of

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their familiar religious landscape, from the ceiling above Mu'inullah's tomb three ostrich eggs were hung in continuation of the old ways of the saints.[69] At the same time, the spirit of the industrial age was invoked with a frieze of pink and green Edwardian decorative floor tiles, carefully placed just beyond the shrine's threshold. Here perhaps was a visual symbolic marker of the firm's distinctness from the pre-industrial shrines of the surrounding city.

To celebrate the shrine's construction, Nizam al-Din Wahid, one of Mu'inullah's followers from Hingoli to the east of Aurangabad, wrote a Persian chronogram with the date of his master's death:

> This is the court of favours (*altaf*) and mercy (*mihr*),
> The grave of the Knower of Truth (*'arif-e-haqq*), Mu'inullah Shah.

Though hardly a rival to the earlier chronograms penned for the city's Mughal era saints by the great Azad Bilgrami (d.1786), the couplet was nonetheless written out in a fine *nast'aliq* script and hung on the mausoleum's interior wall. Beside it, pointing again to the industrial develop-

Fig. 11: An institution built on industry: the shrine of the silk mills, Aurangabad

ments in which the firm partook, there hung chromolithographic prints from Baghdad and Medina depicting the tombs of the great Sufi 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani and the Prophet Muhammad, suggesting that the man from Hyderabad buried beneath them was the latter-day continuer of their teachings. A photograph taken a few years later, in the early 1930s, showed a proud Hamid 'Ali standing with his brother Majid 'Ali outside the mausoleum they had built for their master; both men were decked out in the finest *hamru* shawls from their factory. The association of the religious firm with Hamid 'Ali's textile factory became so distinguishing a characteristic that the mausoleum in the Anguri Bagh quarter came to be known simply as *silk mills ki dargah*, the 'shrine of the silk mills'.

If the architectural style of the mausoleum that the brothers built deliberately reflected those of Aurangabad's earlier Sufi saints, then the teachings that were distributed from there bore more in common with the twentieth century than with the precepts of an earlier age. It was a shrewd act of positioning in what we have seen becoming a competitive religious marketplace in Aurangabad by the 1920s. While architecturally their firm appeared to continue (in a cleaner and healthier manner) the legacy and legitimacy of the old saintly Friends of God (*awliya allah*), doctrinally it offered a newer message of education, self-improvement and respectability. Expounded by the successful self-made businessman Hamid 'Ali, it was a message that had considerable appeal to the aspiring new class of factory workers emerging in Aurangabad at this time. After all, the preaching cloth which now hung above Mu'inullah's grave expounded the virtues of work and of treating one's employer with respect through admonishing references to the relationship between employer and employed. In the main section of the cloth, Mu'inullah had urged listeners to treat their employers with respect, while the importance of work itself was stressed several times over in the poetic creed. It is tempting to draw a connection between these elements, for in addition to Hamid 'Ali, many of Mu'inullah's other followers were also involved in the city's textile industry. A number of his early followers worked their own handlooms in the Anguri Bagh quarter, and some of these followers also appear to have been drawn into factory work as the industry changed under Hamid 'Ali's leadership. Without overstating the matter, it nonetheless appears that in consolidating his congregation Mu'inullah promoted a work ethic that drew the industrial workers and their employers among his followers into a closer collective relationship. While this was

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clearly anything but a trade union, it is not unlikely that the moral strictures of his message ('Think no one superior to yourself!') encouraged a degree of benevolence and even paternalism among employers like Hamid 'Ali. If this was so, then joining Mu'inullah's firm offered benefits to this new class of mill workers that the likes of the Church Missionary Society could not offer. For if nothing else, Mu'inullah's firm provided its members with a social network through which they could associate with not only fellow factory workers but also at times with their employers.

There were also of course benefits for the firm itself in the association between Mu'inullah and Hamid 'Ali. In the years when their joint religious enterprise was drawing support from the city's flourishing textile industry, Aurangabad's older shrine firms were still relying for their income on the irregular donations of pilgrims and the *jagir* lands granted in earlier centuries. In being founded and chiefly funded through industrial wealth rather than relying on petty pilgrim investments and aristocratic largesse, their enterprise was in a unique position in the city that afforded it a degree of independence from the reciprocal demands of pilgrim pledges and land grants. Funded as it was from the profits of the silk mills, Mu'inullah and Hamid 'Ali's firm had no need to promise miracles in return for pilgrim donations and agricultural land. Even if in other religious marketplaces, such as Bombay at the same time, industrialization was accompanied by the expansion of miracle cults, rates of exchange in Aurangabad produced different results. It was not, after all, the factory workers who themselves invested in the enterprise, uneducated labourers who might well have asked supernatural favours in return. But if miracles were not part of the services that Mu'inullah and Hamid 'Ali offered, with their emphasis on education, respectability and salvation, then there remained other religious firms who would supply such intangible commodities. Provincial as it was, Aurangabad's was nonetheless a pluralistic marketplace.

Hamid 'Ali continued to lead the missionary firm founded by Mu'inullah after the demise of Hyderabad state when in 1948 Nehru's new army invaded the greatest of the Muslim princely states. When many of the former state's Sufi shrines were divested of their traditional landholding income through the Jagirdari Abolition Act of 1949, and older shrine firms in the region effectively went bankrupt, the strong economic base that underlay the mission that Mu'inullah had founded in 1916 was able to survive.[70] The reason was the economic self-sufficiency

that, through its connection to the textile mill established by Hamid 'Ali and brother Majid 'Ali, made his *khanaqah* institution independent from the revenue of aristocratic land grants on which so many older Sufi institutions had relied. If many of Hyderabad's Sufi shrines spent the decades after the Jagirdari Abolition Act embroiled in litigation with the Indian government to recover their landholdings, Mu'inullah's religious firm was able to continue to propagate the teachings that lay at the heart of its mission.

Conclusions

Paying close attention to the terrain of exchange in which Mu'inullah founded his new religious firm has shown us the catalytic, dynamic and generative role played by Christian missionaries as both Mu'inullah's models and competitors. While it would be easy to construct a hermetically sealed Islamic genealogy for Mu'inullah's teachings, as most of the followers of such movements do, social scientists cannot ignore the surrounding religious economy in which his own mission took shape. Like such better known Indian Muslim entrepreneurs as Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817 98), who developed a new theology (*'ilm al-kalam*) through his encounter with such Christian critics as William Muir, the entrepreneurial Mu'inullah Shah rearranged elements of an older Sufi discursive tradition into a new theological assemblage.[71] Although this book's focus is on the external social and technological arenas of religion rather than its phenomenological and theological dimensions, Mu'inullah's activities do raise questions of epistemology that take us beyond the realm of communicative and organizational structures into the arena of the semantics of exchange. Whether in the case of Mu'inullah and Sayyid Ahmad in India, or Muhammad 'Abduh and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani in the Middle East, interaction with Christian religious competitors encouraged Muslim theologicial innovators to reshape the doctrinal and ideological dimensions of Islam, even if the negative value of innovation (*bid'a*) encouraged them to present their innovations as 'returns' to the 'pure' Islam of an earlier age. While these semantic exchanges were in this way often disguised by the strategic or even sincere deployment of the language of tradition, there is no doubt that the semantics no less than the structures of Muslim religiosity were transformed through exchange. In such exchanges, and the innovations they encouraged, we find the history of Islam as a religion in flux.

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Despite the apparently 'modern' profile of Mu'inullah's teachings the work ethic, the individualist emphasis on self-salvation, the abandonment of enchanted superstition his movement was not, *pace* Weber, the outcome of a universal shift to a disenchanted modernity that was affecting all Muslims in all places.[72] Rather, in local terrain where Mu'inullah's firm needed to be at once recognizably Islamic and distinguishable from its competitors, both its structural and semantic profile were the outcome of adaptations and rejections of the different religious resources available to him. As an innovative religious entrepreneur working within the provincial but widening horizons of Aurangabad in the early twentieth century, Mu'inullah made strategic decisions in his choice of Sufi doctrines and their scriptural defences no less than in his outreach to rural Muslims and his friendship with industrialists. Contrary to the monodirectional logic of Weberian sociology, here lies a lesson in the usefulness of the model of religious economy in explaining variable outcomes. For in this chapter we have seen how the interplay of local demand with the profile of competition led to the flourishing of a scripturalist, anti-charismatic and disenchanted religious firm in a provincial and rural setting at the same time that in the nearby great industrial city of Bombay the saintly purveyors of miracles continued to dominate the marketplace.[73] Echoing the importance of choice and decision-making in the model of religious economy, there was nothing inevitable about the profile of Mu'inullah's movement. It was, rather, an act of entrepreneurial *bricolage* through which he strategically sought to balance the religious resources of his environment with the demands of his clientele. Among those religious resources were what he could adapt from missionaries such as Henry Smith; what he could adapt from Sufis such as his master Iftikhar 'Ali Shah; and what he could adapt from Muslim entrepreneurs from British India who were also active in his local terrain.

Mu'inullah's mission, then, was a response to a provincial religious marketplace that had recently been penetrated by a well-organized foreign religious firm as well as by sundry other religious entrepreneurs from elsewhere in India. Notably, these included the Arya Samaj and the similar organizations that sprang up in its wake, Hindu religious firms whose own attempts to convert the region's Muslims help explain Mu'inullah's own boundary-marking emphasis on Shari'a. Though shaped by the specific rates of exchange in its local context, Mu'inullah's movement

remained a religious endeavour that sought to transcend its historical confines. Judging by the writings of Hamid 'Ali, at the heart of Mu'inullah's teachings was the mystical experience of the true eternal self. Like any mystical organization, that of Mu'inullah and Hamid 'Ali was at once a response to and an escape from history. Amid the religious competitions of a princely state in which religion was one of the few available resources for social mobility and collective welfare, Mu'inullah Shah inspired ordinary mill-hands to seek a direct experience of an unadulterated Muslim self. Like many Sufis before him, he was both an entrepreneur and a visionary.

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5

THE INVENTION OF A HINDU SUFISM

Vous délirez, monsieur Artaud. Vous êtes fou.
Je ne délire pas. Je ne suis pas fou...

Antonin Artaud, *Pour en finir avec le jugement de dieu* (1947)

Introduction

In the previous chapter, we followed a series of competitive encounters between Muslims, Hindus and Christians in the more intensely productive religious economy that had emerged in princely Hyderabad by the early twentieth century. By doing so, we saw several forces at work in India's religious marketplaces. These market forces included the catalytic effects of the critiques and propagation methods of Christian missionaries and the role of mass vernacular printing in increasing polemical attacks on competitors and scriptural justifications of entrepreneurs' own religious products. Whether in Hyderabad or British India, such intensified competition also contributed to the sharper marking of religious difference as new religious firms encouraged their followers to mark more visible boundaries between themselves and 'non-believers', which in the Muslim case might mean Hindus and Christians or followers of other Muslim religious firms. By the 1910s and 20s, Hyderabad's new religious firms included not only missionary organizations such as the

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Ahmadiyya Jama'at and Mu'inullah Shah's Aurangabad mission, but also religio-political firms such as the Muslim League and the Majlis-e Ittihad al-Muslimin, the forerunners of contemporary Islamist organizations that drew on the organizational systems of European political parties (whether democratic, communist or fascist). In organizational terms, then, a great deal of innovation had emerged through competition that began with the arrival of foreign missionary firms in India in the early nineteenth century.

As a protean discursive system and set of symbolic resources, the semantic content of Islam could also be reorganized and redeployed in a variety of ways. While there were multiple causes behind the growth in colonial India of what scholarship usually refers to as 'sectarianism' and 'communalism', the many new religious entrepreneurs and firms were key contributors to these developments. Here was the negative social outcome of the pluralization of India's religious economy. Arguably, this was the inevitable outcome of firms' inherent need to gain, maintain and thereby differentiate followers amid the wider potential marketplace of Indian society as many such sectarian entrepreneurs sought to produce social difference. The diversification of religious production through generative exchange was therefore often socially destabilizing as it brought about the emergence of increasing 'sectarian' and 'communalist' competition between different religious entrepreneurs and their collective organizations. These, then, were the anti-cosmopolitan outcomes of religious exchange.

Yet if religious entrepreneurs could in such ways generate and exacerbate social difference, then they could also attempt to diminish it. In order to follow this alternative outcome of exchange, this chapter turns to the Hindu impresario of anti-sectarian, cosmopolitan religious innovations. Echoing the point made in the Introduction that agency is more important than identity to the workings of religious economies, what this shows is that it is not necessary to identify or be identified as a Muslim in order to produce or reshape Islam. Islamic ideas and organizations can be produced by a whole range of social actors, for in the social operation of religion, agency is more important than identity. The most weighty examples are seen in the activities of non-Muslim states particularly the imperial Russian 'confessional state' in establishing Muslim institutions that shaped the lives of vast numbers of believers. By building on this insight and proceeding through a microhistorical focus on a particular act

and articulation of exchange, the following pages move between Hyderabad state and British India by following a Hindu pilgrim from Hyderabad on his train journey to meet a Muslim holy man in Nagpur.

In so doing, the chapter examines the impact of different communication technologies from those examined in earlier chapters, looking not solely at printing (though it will still play an important role), but also at the railway as a technology of religious exchange. From the 1860s and 70s, rail travel enabled a massive expansion of pilgrimage in India that generated not only far larger revenues for pilgrimage centres but also created new social relationships as more varied types of people from various corners of the subcontinent were brought into contact. Among the many new exchanges enabled by the spread of cheap, safe and comfortable rail travel, the following sections examine the unlikely relationship that emerged between an impoverished Muslim former soldier from British India and a wealthy Hindu minister from Hyderabad state.

In contrast to the earlier focus on the religious productions of entrepreneurs and firms, we look here at the reception and consumption side of India's religious economy and how this in turn fed into the generative process of exchange. Since the deranged former soldier was not a deliberate religious entrepreneur in the ordinary sense, we shall see how his influential Hindu devotee acted as both religious consumer and producer by availing himself of the soldier's miraculous services and then publicizing them in a printed account of his experiences. Pointing to the manipulable possibilities of religion as a socio-political tool, we shall see how a Hindu could act as both devotee and impresario for a Muslim miracle worker who formed the focus for an innovative 'Hindu Sufism'.

In line with what we have seen earlier of the strategic production of religion and the deliberate manipulation of religious resources, by reconstructing the encounter between the Hindu, Maharaja Kishan Parshad, and the Muslim, Taj al-Din Baba, we are able to see the operation of choice and strategy from the consumption side of the marketplace. Such strategic choices can be seen in Kishan's textual portrayal indeed, his construction of Taj al-Din as the Muslim who loved all Indians equally regardless of their communal identity. Moreover, there was strategy at work in Kishan's decision to 'go public' about his devotion to a Muslim holy man at a time when, all across British India, Hindu religious entrepreneurs were doing their best to draw communal boundaries around their 'own' potential followers in the marketplace. As we shall see,

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Kishan's unusual strategy was the outcome of his particular circumstances, of Hyderabadi terrains of exchange that in turn produced distinct rates of religious exchange. For as the most senior Hindu minister in the Muslim-ruled but largely Hindu-populated state of Hyderabad, Kishan had clear political motives for constructing his model of Hindu Muslim amity. After all, the story we shall see him publicizing, in which a miraculously powerful Muslim saved the life of a Hindu devotee, could easily be read as a parable for the beneficent protection by Hyderabad's politically powerful Muslims of their loyal Hindu subjects. As a case of religious innovation in the service of the state, this is exactly what Kishan's 'Hindu Sufism' articulated. Once again, religion was inseparable from the operation of social power.

As in any study of religious economy, to make such interpretations is not to deny the sincerity of Kishan's personal beliefs. Human convictions and motivations are interwoven from private and public concerns. But since the focus of this book is on the social rather than the personal life of religion, the following pages examine the collective implications of an encounter that was, after all, rendered public through print. In so doing, we shall not only trace the meeting of a Hindu maharaja and a Muslim holy man, but also see how the maharaja semantically reproduced that encounter for wider consumption in a printed book in Urdu, the official language of Hyderabad state in which both Muslims and Hindus were educated. Here we shall turn to the role of language in diminishing difference through disseminating a cosmopolitan vocabulary of religious exchange. Even as wider social and political developments in India favoured religious firms producing bounded communal identities for their followers, the multiple forms of interaction that India's pluralistic religious economy made possible also generated cosmopolitan forms of exchange. As we shall now see, the support of more than one aristocratic Hindu provided the cult that developed around a deranged Muslim soldier with the conceptual apparatus for its defence, the printed books for its promotion and the financial resources for its continuation.

'Cosmopolitan' Outcomes of Exchange

Since at least the early modern period, the shrines of India's Muslim saints have attracted the devotion of Hindus.[1] It is often assumed that as 'popular' that is, lower-class practices, such encounters have failed to

leave sufficient written records to reconstruct their conceptual dimensions. Yet literary accounts of such interactions do exist, not least those written by educated members of the Hindu castes who were most exposed to Persian by their service in the Mughal bureaucracy.[2] Retaining the focus of the previous chapter on the early twentieth century, here we look at one of the successors to these Mughal bureaucratic castes whose expertise in the 'Islamicate' languages of Persian and Urdu allowed him to rise in the bureaucracy of Hyderabad state, which in the early days of his career had made the transition from Persian to Urdu as its official language. In focusing on the Urdu book that Kishan Parshad wrote about his meeting with Taj al-Din, we shall see the role of language and books in generating cosmopolitan alternatives to the boundary-marking congregations created by other religious entrepreneurs. In a period that saw the great Urdu poet and religious innovator Muhammad Iqbal (1877 1938) turn towards the championing of a separate state for Muslims, ultimately realized in the creation of Pakistan, the writings of Kishan Parshad and his connection to the cosmopolitan ideology of Hyderabad reveal an alternative if largely abandoned vision of Muslim religious politics.

In this chapter the term 'cosmopolitanism' is used to refer to a conviction that all human beings belong to a single community and that, as such, their commonality should be fostered.[3] In this usage, cosmopolitanism appears as an intentional ideology produced by deliberate actions, whether socializing with 'different' people or writing sympathetic books about them. Its aim is to reproduce more of such social exchanges in turn, with the final goal of transforming society at large or, in this particular case, maintaining or justifying a pre-existing pattern of 'cosmopolitan' social relationships. This more restricted usage helps us prioritize individual intentionality over more or less passive participation in wider socio-historical processes. This is not to extrapolate individual cosmopolitans from their historical settings, but rather to trace how individual agents used the human, mechanical and semantic religious resources of their environments to produce consciously cosmopolitan alternatives to other religious ideologies in the marketplace. Such a definition of cosmopolitanism is helpful, since it allows us to contrast the activities of such figures as Kishan Parshad with those of such contemporaries as Mu'inullah Shah of the previous chapter, who sought to produce a quite different set of social relations based on the behavioural, moral and intellectual separation of

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Muslims from their Hindu neighbours. Kishan's model, then, was a spiritualized version of pre-existing, official political relationships between Hindus and Muslims in Hyderabad, and it was his greatest innovation to give religious shape to this political relationship between Hindu subjects and Muslim rulers. Here again we shall see the semantic dimensions of exchange by showing the actual content of Kishan Parshad's religious message as itself the product of exchange.

Rooted in the socio-political terrain of Hyderabad, the specific cosmopolitanism addressed here blossomed through interaction with the British India to which Hyderabad had been connected by the railway and vernacular printing. The two central players in this exchange came from opposite ends of India's social spectrum. One of them, Taj al-Din Baba, was a former Muslim soldier in the Indian Army, a 'sub-subaltern' dismissed from military service for mental illness but subsequently regarded as a miracle-working *faqir* and visited by many at his residence in Nagpur. The other was Maharaja Kishan Parshad, a senior civil servant and eventual prime minister (*diwan*) of Hyderabad state, whose long-standing affection for the Sufis of his own environment encouraged him to travel to meet Taj al-Din in Nagpur. In 1914, he published from Meerut in British India an Urdu account of his pilgrimage which we shall use not only to reconstruct his encounter with Taj al-Din but also to see how Kishan himself reconstructed it for distribution in the religious market of print.[4]

Through the interplay of the stresses of military service on individual soldiers and the concentrated religious demand of regiments for religious patrons, the military cantonments of colonial India acted as enclosed religious economies in their own right which produced cults of active soldiers who venerated former colleagues as miracle-working *majzubs* or 'holy fools'.[5] One of these former soldiers destabilized by military service but then venerated by his former colleagues was Taj al-Din of Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces of British India.[6] Taj al-Din was born into a family with a long tradition of military service to the colonial state. His father had served in the Madras Platoon and moved while in service from his native Madras to the garrison town of Kamptee, where Taj al-Din was born in 1861. Founded by the East India Company as an army cantonment in 1821, Kamptee was located some ten miles from what was then the Gond princely capital of Nagpur. In 1853, after the last Gond prince died without issue, Nagpur was taken over by the Company

under the rule of lapse; with the Company's own dissolution in 1858, Nagpur became a territory of the Raj.[7] Taj al-Din was born in Nagpur just a few years after it fell into British hands; he was orphaned in his youth and brought up by an uncle, who worked in the expanding colonial Forestry Department. When the uncle's house was destroyed in a flood, in 1881 when he was aged twenty, Taj al-Din followed his dead father into military service by joining the 13th Nagpur Regiment. He served with them for around three years before experiencing some kind of mental breakdown or transformation. For after meeting a Muslim holy man called Da'ud Shah in 1884, the young soldier is said to have entered a state of religious distraction that was interpreted by his officers as insanity. In varying degrees of intensity, these bouts whether of religious ecstasy or insanity lasted for the rest of his life. But what the colonial authorities regarded as plain madness was seen by a burgeoning group of followers as a sign of religious authority: the former soldier was absorbed in communion with God. In an inversion of the career path of the servant of empire in which there is surely much room for pathos, the alienation bred by colonial service was read as a manifestation of cultural authenticity: the sickened subaltern was celebrated as the miraculous *faqir*.[8]

While some of Taj al-Din's surviving relatives tried to look after him in the years in which his affliction was first apparent, he was eventually abandoned to the life of a vagabond among the slums and ruins around Kamptee. There this casualty of empire eventually attracted the attention of locals, who spread reports of his miraculous deeds and predictions. According to the later Urdu accounts of his life, Taj al-Din became so tired of the attentions of Kamptee's citizens that he decided to act in such a way as to force the British to lock him away in peace. And so, one day he walked naked into the grounds of the Nagpur Club, where he came face-to-face with a group of memsahibs innocently at play on a tennis court. As a result, on 26 August 1892, the District Magistrate of Kamptee Cantonment had Taj al-Din placed in the colonial asylum at Nagpur.[9]

Over the next sixteen years, rumours spread widely about Taj al-Din's powers, not least through the networks of the colonial army itself, whose circulating soldiers distributed tales of their incarcerated colleague far and wide. As a result, he began to receive more and more visitors while still at the asylum. One of them was an indirect heir to the deposed Hindu rulers of Nagpur.[10] As he became a devotee of this Muslim son of his family's former soil, Raja Ragho Bhonsle (b.1872) of Nagpur

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invited Taj al-Din to live in the grounds of his Lal Kothi palace after his formal release from the asylum in 1908. As a result, Raja Ragho Bhonsle became Taj al-Din's first Hindu impresario, providing him with a building of his own where he could receive pilgrims for whom his state of abstraction played a central role in his veneration as a *majzub* or 'holy fool'. The palace and garden at Sakkardara on the outskirts of Nagpur was Raja Ragho Bhonsle's favourite residence, which he beautified with a palace of his own and an adjoining bungalow that he built as a residence for Taj al-Din.[11] With its earlier role as a parade ground and the presence there of a gun foundry, Sakkardara formed an appropriate place of retirement for the former sepoy, but it was also a place where he could receive pilgrims, ferried in by the railway from far and wide.[12] Taj al-Din's lack of any specific teachings allowed these pilgrims to give meaning to his madness in ways that suited their own religious preferences. He received large numbers of Hindu and Muslim visitors, who expressed devotion according to their own ritual customs. Here was the madman as *tabula rasa*, a wax tablet able to reproduce for an instant the various meanings that pilgrims impressed on him. Taj al-Din remained for the rest of his life in his bungalow beside Lal Kothi, the maharaja's palace in the Sakkardara Bagh gardens, dying there in 1925. Afterwards, a shrine was constructed around his grave, the final fruit of the investments of the Bhonsle maharaja.

One of the many visitors whom Taj al-Din received during his years in the Sakkardara gardens was the aforementioned Maharaja Kishan Parshad of Hyderabad. At the height of his prominence in the 1910s and 20s, Kishan Parshad was a popular prime minister, even if his appointment was often regarded as a political concession to Muslim-ruled Hyderabad's overwhelming Hindu majority. Like the Hindu Kayasth caste, whose long bureaucratic service to the Mughals saw them cultivate a cosmopolitan culture of their own, in 1864 Kishan was born to a family with a long tradition of service to Hyderabad's Muslim Nizams.[13] While he was a Khatri rather than a Kayasth, Kishan was raised on a syllabus of Arabic, Persian and Urdu.[14] His ancestors had served the Mughals before moving south in the train of Nizam al-Mulk (r.1720 48), the founder and first Nizam of Hyderabad state. He was the heir, then, to a family that had built its prominence on interactions with ruling Muslims.

Kishan's great-great-grandfather was the Hyderabadi statesman and poet Chandu La'l (d.1749); his grandfather Narindar Parshad was a noted scholar of Arabic and Persian, as well as a bookkeeper to the

Nizams.[15] While Kishan's political career is well known, his parallel literary career has never been explored.[16] As his youth coincided with the expansion of printing in Hyderabad, his many publications ranged from *ghazal* and *qasida* poems in Persian and Arabic to polished letters, travelogues and ventures into the newly adapted genres of the Urdu short story and novel. By the time he was first appointed as Hyderabad's prime minster, Kishan had published no fewer than sixteen books.[17] His Urdu poems for which he adopted the pen name of Shad ('Happy') were written in the Islamicate genre of the *ghazal*. Echoing the poems of Indian Sufis, they combined the familiar themes of the lover's yearning, restlessness and separation with a mystical sense for the divine love of which all other affections were mere metaphor and reflection.[18] In many respects, Kishan's poems reflected the Urdu *ghazals* of his Hyderabadi contemporary Iftikhar 'Ali Shah Watan (d.1906), which developed the theme of the mirror (*ayina*) and its reflections (*aks*) to a new level of refinement.[19] Since we have already encountered Watan as the Sufi master of Aurangabad's Mu'inullah Shah, it is clear that Kishan developed his religious ideas amid a wider set of exchanges between Hyderabad's Muslim entrepreneurs.

Growing up in a Hyderabadi religious economy in which ruling Muslim investors and their entrepreneurial protégés remained major players, it is little surprise that Kishan became an admirer of the Sufi shrines and holy men that loomed so large in the region's religious landscape. In addition to his Sufi-inflected poetry, Kishan published an Urdu hagiography of the medieval Sufis of Khuldabad, the most important Muslim pilgrimage site in Hyderabad state among whose shrines were buried the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb and the first Nizam, Nizam al-Mulk Asif Jah.[20] It was against this political/literary background of being promoted through the Hyderabadi bureaucracy while publishing cosmopolitan celebrations of the region's Islamicate traditions that Kishan wrote the account of his pilgrimage to see Taj al-Din.[21] Kishan died in 1940. But long before then, in 1913, he boarded a train to visit the former Muslim soldier in Sakkardara Bagh gardens of Nagpur. From there, he would import the story of a Hindu-loving Muslim back to Hyderabad state, where he would embellish it into a larger innovative vision of a hybrid Hindu Sufism that other Hyderabadi elites were also busy producing.

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Seeking the Man of Insight

Entitled *Ankh-Wala Ankh-Wale ki Talash Men* ('The Man of Sight Seeking the Man of Insight'), in its published format Kishan's pilgrimage diary was both a highly personal and a highly contrived narrative: it was a deliberate intervention in the printed market of religions. The book opens with an account of the fever of Kishan's third son, which none of Hyderabad's modern doctors could cure. By 1913, this included such Western-trained doctors as Dr Arastu Yar Jang 'Abd al-Husayn, the surgeon of the Fazl Ganj hospital, as well as experts in more traditional Galenic medicine (*yunani tibb*) who had been promoted by the Nizam, Mahbub 'Ali Khan, in an indigenizing state intervention in the medical marketplace.[22] At the same time as worrying about his son's health, Kishan was frantically busy with arrangements for the wedding of his third daughter to the Maharaja of Kashmir, entertaining family members and grandees visiting from other princely states. As a result, he was granted a two-week holiday by his employer, the last Nizam, 'Usman 'Ali Khan (r.1911 48). Leaving his sprawling palatial household of dependants and hangers-on, he took with him only his wife and children. Their destination was the hill station of Viqarabad, which lay two hours from Hyderabad by train. But in spite of expectations, after two days the weather became hot even up in the hills, reaching a highpoint of 99 degrees. Even after Kishan's son was shifted to the garden house, his fever grew worse. The same famous Galenic doctor was called from Hyderabad, as was a Western-trained doctor of the Nizam's Railway Department.[23] Although not mentioned by name at this point in the text, this seems to have been Dr E. H. Hunt (1874 1952), who was in any case mentioned later in Kishan's *Ankh-Wala*.[24] But even with all the medical knowledge of the Raj, the English physician was unable to reduce the boy's fever. Moreover, despite his growing worries, Kishan was also still expected to oversee arrangements for the forthcoming wedding. Here he interrupted his prose narrative with a poem expressing the depth of his grief and misery; pointing to the integration of Muslim elements in his religious system, the poem invoked the Prophet Muhammad and 'Ali, the first Shi'a *imam*.[25]

During the night after Dr Hunt had visited, Kishan's son's temperature rose to over 104 degrees, leaving the boy suffering more than ever. And so, in spite of the approaching wedding, Kishan decided to depart surreptitiously in the dead of night with his companions, Mirza Ahmad Beg and Ramchandar Parshad, and a few servants. Having informed the

rest of the household that they were merely taking a few days' break to relax with a change of scene, the maharaja and his retainers were in fact leaving for Nagpur.[26] There, the prime minister of reputedly the richest monarch in the world hoped to visit the deranged former sepoy Taj al-Din, by now freed from the colonial asylum and living in the palace gardens of the deposed maharajas of Nagpur. Before it described him even reaching Nagpur, Kishan's printed pilgrimage diary was making subtle interventions in the religious market. For in symbolic support of his agenda for Hindu–Muslim coexistence, Kishan had chosen as his travel companions Mirza Ahmad Beg and Ramchandar Parshad, one Muslim and one Hindu, both loyal subjects of the Nizam.

Kishan recorded his progress across central India in charming period detail. When his private rail carriage (or *salun*) stopped at Manmad Junction, the main intersection between Hyderabad's Nizam's State Railway and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway of British India, a crowd gathered that buzzed with rumours as to whose *salun* it was.[27] Stepping outside to stretch his legs with an amble along the platform, he recorded how he heard the train guards gossiping with the bystanders and soon the entire crowd knew that the Nizam's prime minister was aboard. Out of love for the lately deceased ruler of Hyderabad, Mahbub 'Ali Khan, the onlookers assembled to welcome Kishan and pay their respects.[28] Back on the tracks, as his train departed Kishan sat back and listened to his travel companion Ramchandar Parshad recite the verses (*shlok*) of Guru Nanak and Kabir Das, thus adding further to the cosmopolitan contents of Kishan's book. Then the companions fell into earnest conversation about the meaning of *tawhid*, the Muslim doctrine that God is unitary and unique. This was one of several scenes in the book with the flavour of a set piece, with Kishan's prose polishing and embellishing the facts of the journey in the service of his agenda of showing the commonality between Hindu and Muslim beliefs. The choice of Guru Nanak and Kabir Das—holy men whose poems it was hard to categorize as Hindu or Muslim—was certainly a strategic one. Whether or not Ramchandar Parshad really recited their verses on the train, their inclusion in the printed diary saw Kishan attempt to produce a genealogy for his cosmopolitan message. Echoing the many Yogis and Sufis in this period who resorted to authoritative ancient texts to defend their positions in the polemical printed marketplace, here was Kishan's own attempt to conjure similarly ancient authorities to support him.[29] In a competitive

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religious economy, the written legacy of earlier times provided religious resources that could be deployed to defend oneself or defame one's rivals.

By five o'clock on the Saturday, Kishan's party had arrived in Nagpur, where they learned that Taj al-Din was living in the house of Raja Ragho Bhonsle. Mirza Ahmad was dispatched to convey Kishan's salaams to the former soldier, who sent back a few reassuring words. But while Kishan was keen to arrange his audience with Taj al-Din as soon as possible, a whole series of delays began to occur as the holy man's impresario Raja Bhonsle sought to manage the prime minister's visit for maximum effect. As a result, Kishan spent his first night in Nagpur in his private rail carriage without being any the more certain of when or indeed whether he would meet Taj al-Din.[30] In the meantime, Kishan was invited to stay in Nagpur with another British physician, Dr Godrey, though in view of the complications that were arising with Raja Bhonsle, he declined the invitation.[31] Though Kishan was hardly an anti-colonial activist, he was a proud scion of the Hyderabadi aristocracy. In his declining the Englishman's offer and his stalemate with the deposed raja of Nagpur, we can sense his pride as he sat out the next day in the private luxury of his own rail carriage.

From another Urdu source from the period, we hear how during the late Nizam's final sickness a year earlier Kishan had sent his private rail carriage to bring a famous Sufi called Sarwar Biyabani to the royal deathbed.[32] Fortunately, Sarwar Biyabani's ancestral shrine lay just a few minutes' walk from the Kazipeth train station to the north of Hyderabad, with the tracks passing right behind the shrine itself. In such ways, the new technology of rail travel could be used to bring entrepreneurs to their followers, as in the case of Sarwar Biyabani's train journey, or bring followers to the outposts of religious firms, as with the many pilgrims that the trains carried to shrines that were fortunate enough to be located near a railway station. No Sufi pilgrimage centre in colonial India was more fortunate in this respect than the medieval shrine of Mu'in al-Din Chishti (d.1236) at Ajmer, whose fame was sufficient to attract large numbers of Hindu pilgrims as well as Muslims. Print helped to bolster the impact of rail travel through the publishing of such pilgrim guides as *Sayr-e Ajmer* ('The Journey to Ajmer'). An 1892 Urdu guidebook to the shrine of Mu'in al-Din Chishti and its surroundings, *Sayr-e Ajmer*, was written by the Kayasth Hindu author Munshi Sivanath, and gave explicit instructions on how to walk to the shrine from Ajmer's train station.[33]

Showing how the economics of pilgrimage was linked to the economics of business and sightseeing, Sivanath's guidebook also gave directions to the city's markets and grand new public buildings, such as Mayo College and Government College.[34] Since many of its readers would have been Hindus like its author, *Sayr-e Ajmer* also contained a description of the nearby Hindu holy town of Pushkar and a short history of Ajmer's Kayasth Hindus.[35] In such works as this popular cheap-print guidebook, we can see the practical operation of the religious exchanges between Hindus and Muslims that in his own book Kishan Parshad was using to promote a wider manifesto of communal harmony. *Sayr-e Ajmer* further shows how Kishan's journey reflected wider exchanges between Muslim holy men and Hindu pilgrims that were increased by rail travel at the same time as they were attacked by the sectarian deployment of print. New communications, then, served to heighten socially destabilizing religious competition.

Returning to Kishan's journey: early the next morning in Nagpur he heard by telegraph that his son's state had worsened to the point that he could no longer even drink milk. Now that the need for an audience with Taj al-Din had intensified, the reasons for the delay began to unfold more visibly. Although Kishan had come to Nagpur in a private capacity and with the sole purpose of visiting Taj al-Din, the deposed Raja Bhonsle had expressed a wish to meet with the influential prime minister of Hyderabad. Since the former soldier lived in Raja Bhonsle's palace, complex questions of etiquette arose about whom Kishan should visit first. The situation was soon aggravated by Raja Bhonsle's intransigent standing on ceremony and what Kishan regarded as his exaggerated sense of importance. In his printed diary Kishan was far from sparing of the young Raja Bhonsle and voiced his anger and frustration at the diplomatic impasse. It is a scene that not only echoed the rivalries of princely politics but also reflected the older ceremonial contests between the Sufi and the sultan over the precedence of their respective 'courts' or *dargahs*.[36] For his part, Kishan had very clear ideas about the rules of precedence and hospitality, explaining that so long as any holy man, any *faqir* or *mahatma*, lived in a raja's house, then that place must be considered a public court (*darbar-e'am*). As such, the setting of special conditions for meeting such a *faqir* as Taj al-Din might be some people's custom but it was certainly not the proper way of Hyderabad! Indeed, as Kishan went on to explain, whenever a *faqir* or *mahatma* elected to stay at his own palace in Hyderabad,

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hundreds of people, great and small, landowners and noblemen, came to meet the holy man and none was expected to see Kishan first. Here was more than a mere squabble between aristocratic mannerists. It was an argument about the rules that should guide the religious impresario who, according to Kishan, should not expect to benefit personally by making connections with the great and good who came to visit the holy man in his charge. But if Kishan's was a paternalist vision of the impresario's duties, then less privileged individuals such as the deposed Raja Bhonsle had always reaped benefits from their investments in the holy. Such again were the social uses of religion.

Incensed with Raja Bhonsle's poor sense of etiquette, Kishan sent a note to him explaining that he had only come to Nagpur to meet with Taj al-Din. But still the procedure dragged on and Kishan had to send his travel companions to explain to Bhonsle that no carriage and outriders should be sent for him. Snubbing Kishan's emissaries, Bhonsle refused to see them anyway, sending a servant to say he was busy with his worship (*puja*). Eventually, managing as best as he could the resource that was the deranged former soldier, he sent a verbal message that Kishan might see Taj al-Din between six and seven o'clock that evening.[37] Angry and insulted (not to say naïve) about this further attempt to manage his meeting with the holy man, Kishan spent the intervening hours painting a watercolour of the delightful view, which he described in his diary as being opposite Platt Farm outside Nagpur. People passed by; someone praised him and his ancestor Chandu Lal; he was petitioned for a job, and later had a religious discussion with two Afghans who were passing by (note again the emphasis on harmonious religious exchange).[38]

His afternoon of random encounters over, Kishan returned to his carriage for a change of clothes and at four o'clock set off for Raja Bhonsle's Sakkardara garden where Taj al-Din lived. A car had been requisitioned earlier in the day by his companion Ramchandar and, in his choice of motor car no less than his rail carriage, Kishan seems to have been better equipped than the British administration in Nagpur. Even a decade later, a local resident described how at Government House in Nagpur 'the official motor cars could only be persuaded to go by two hefty men of the blacksmith caste, who struck the vehicles with spanners, and tied up any broken parts with sock suspenders'.[39] From his own more efficient vehicle, Kishan noted how pleasant the drive was from Nagpur to the palace and how impressed he was by the good roads of

British India and the tall trees that lined them, lending shade to all classes of traveller.[40] After this scenic tour, Kishan finally reached the garden at Sakkadara where Taj al-Din lived in the bungalow that Raja Bhonsle had built for him.

Since the deranged old soldier was wont to go off wandering, sometimes for days at a time, it was with some relief that the visitors learned that he was at home. When Kishan's eyes finally met those of Taj al-Din, he wrote that the Muslim's 'look' or *nazar* summoned in him such a state sublime, such *kayfiyyat*, that he could not express it in words. Frozen in the *faqir*'s gaze that 'had the power of lightning', the Hindu pilgrim was unable to divert his eyes and a full ten minutes passed in their rapturous staring. For all its intensity, Kishan described as delectable the 'taste' (*maza*) of his 'eye flirting' (*did-bazi*) with the mad old soldier. We must imagine the stopping of time as they stared into one another's eyes until, suddenly, Taj al-Din brusquely commanded Kishan to go home, bringing their long look of love to an abrupt end.

Kishan had of course planned to request the *faqir* to help his son, but in the event found himself unable to speak. The 'brilliant connection' (*zabardast nisbat*) he was now sure that Taj al-Din possessed was enough to reassure him and he made his salaams and stepped away to leave.[41] Just then a gardener standing beside the *faqir* gave Kishan a glass bangle and reiterated the *faqir*'s rough Urdu command: 'Take it and now leave!' Kishan accepted the gift and again began to step back in departure, now with a lighter heart. A few seconds later, another pilgrim lit himself a cigarette; looking at Kishan, Taj al-Din ordered the pilgrim to give the cigarette to Kishan, since he clearly needed it. He accepted it gratefully.

It is hard to unravel the symbolism here: the short scene of the meeting at the centre of Kishan's diary was as charged with meaning as the *faqir*'s gaze itself. As the highpoint of the pilgrimage, the meeting with Taj al-Din carried many echoes of Victor Turner's classic account of the pilgrimage process. For like the gardener's gift of the bangle, the act of sharing a cigarette ('drinking it', in the Urdu idiom) communicated to Indian readers a radical vision of social equality, of '*communitas*' in Turner's terms, that threw aside the barriers of caste that would usually separate a *khatri* such as Kishan from the gardener, who as the text clarified belonged to the low-status *mali* caste. In its context of caste prejudice and fears of ritual pollution, Taj al-Din's role as a kind of Indian Woodbine Willy was far more subversive than in the trenches of the

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Fig. 12: A cure for communalism: devotional photograph of Taj al-Din Baba

Western Front. For the exchange of the cigarette contained a clear symbolic message: everyone is equal in the gaze of the *faqir*, for whom there are no differences of caste or creed. Whether or not this was Taj al-Din's intention is impossible to know and is in any case not the point. Rather, in recounting in public print how at the *faqir*'s command he smoked a cigarette that had come straight from the mouth of an outcaste *mali*, Kishan used the narrative as a rhetorically powerful vehicle for his own cosmopolitan agenda.[42] Here in his cheap-print religious *Ankh-Wala* no less than in his political activities as prime minister, Kishan articulated an innovative religious ideology that he cultivated in the same terrain of Hyderabad in which the organizations of so-called *mulki* nationalists were

promoting this same vision of Hindu Muslim unity in more plainly political terms.[43]

Whatever the accuracy of Kishan's journey to Nagpur as an event, its recreation as a printed book translated the devotional into the political, the personal into the social. In this way, Kishan's decision to publish his journal rendered the private as public and brought the personal emotion of his son's sickness into coherence with the religious policies that he promoted as a loyal servant of the Nizams. As in the previous chapter, we again see here the role played by the state in Hyderabad's religious economy, a policy that was quite distinct from the official *laissez-faire* religious stance of the surrounding colonial state. Kishan's story of his meeting with Taj al-Din and his outcaste Hindu gardener articulated an alternative vision of Indian social relations from those promoted by the Hindu nationalist and Muslim reformist organizations that were gaining influence at this time in both Hyderabad and British India. In the company of his travel companions, Muslim and Hindu, the meeting of eyes between the dishonourably discharged sepoy and the prime minister of the greatest of India's princely states represented what Kishan hoped would become a more collective moment of discovery, an *ex stasis*, a 'going out from the self', in which the Hindu and Muslim could truly recognize each other. In Kishan's long-forgotten diary, the shared gaze of the maharaja and the madman served as a metaphor for a politics of Hindu Muslim unity at a time of increasing communal violence.

But the narrative was not over yet. Having smoked the cigarette, Kishan again attempted to make his polite departure; then the magic of the tale was broken. For the manner of Taj al-Din's farewell in response reminds us that this was the same sickened sepoy who had only recently spent a decade in the asylum. Kishan's rhetorical artifice was momentarily ruptured as the reality of the scene slipped into the artificial folds of his narrative: the mad sepoy grabbed a handful of dirt and cast it meaninglessly towards a flock of pigeons. Coming back to his senses, Taj al-Din saw the departing maharaja salaaming before him and the sight seems to have summoned in his memory his former years of drill as a soldier. And so, Kishan wrote, 'in the manner of an army sepoy (*jaise fawjī sipahi*)', the old soldier made a sharp salute as Kishan made his departure. Recollecting some words of broken English he had learned in the barracks, he bade Kishan farewell by declaring, 'All right and good morning!' The magic of their meeting was over and the salute signalled a return to

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the mundane social hierarchies of rank and file. Yet for Kishan, scrambling to regain control of the symbolism of his printed tale, these words in English held a subtler meaning. Translating Taj al-Din's utterance into Urdu, Kishan explained that the *faqir*'s words meant 'Everything is better, God grant thee this morning (*sab kuch behtar hai, subhatak allah*)'. As such, they formed the *faqir*'s benediction for his sick son at home.

Published to promote a positive model for Hindu Muslim relations, it perhaps scarcely needs mentioning that the story had a happy ending. Whatever the possibilities in life for Kishan's sickened son, when the events were transformed into writing, their auspicious resolution acquired a narrative inevitability. The book was after all a celebration of the Muslim *faqir*'s powers and perhaps also of the Indian revival that, like his own son's cure, would accompany the harmony of its Hindus and Muslims. Still, the *dénouement* of *Ankh-Wala* lacks none of the charm of the earlier elements of the story as Kishan led the reader on his journey home and shared along the way his alternately mundane and lofty concerns. It was not until he reached Hyderabad's borders at Manmad Junction that he, and his readers with him, learned the fate of his son. Waiting in the station buildings while his train changed tracks Hyderabad's independence from British India was symbolized in the limited connectivity of different track gauges Kishan was handed a telegram from the English doctor, E. H. Hunt. The boy's fever had suddenly cleared overnight; he was safe; and the reader of Kishan's *Ankh-Wala* was left to share with its author the remedy that the colonial medicine man knew not.

Publicizing a Cosmopolitan Religious Politics

In turning to the sources from which Kishan constructed his cosmopolitan politics, we can now move once again beyond the social and technological arenas of religion towards the question of the semantics of exchange. In the previous chapter, we have seen how through competitive and adaptive exchange with Christian missionaries Kishan's contemporary Mu'inullah Shah constructed a more closed and communitarian brand of Islam that encouraged members of his firm to mark more closely the social boundaries with their non-Muslim neighbours. In Kishan Parshad's case, we see the innovative agency of the religious entrepreneur taking religious doctrine in quite the opposite direction by consciously and strategically borrowing from both Hindu and Muslim

discursive traditions. Moreover, as we shall see in a later section, Kishan was doing this at a time when such innovative cosmopolitan religious productions were becoming increasingly common among the Hyderabadi intelligentsia, so marking off Hyderabad with its unique socio-political order as a distinctive terrain of exchange.

The underlying concept through which Kishan presented his pilgrimage to Nagpur was through the notion of 'seeing' and 'connecting' with the saint, using terms which he borrowed from both Hindu and Muslim thought. The meeting of eyes that we have seen at the centre of the drama reflected the text's wider preoccupation with sight and connection. Like other outcomes of exchange, Kishan's was a hybrid text that drew together words and concepts from Hindu and Muslim sources. As well as using the Persian/Urdu term *nazar* ('sight'), Kishan also drew on that most central of Hindu ritual concepts, *darshan* ('sight [of the god or holy man]').[44] As a means of communicating his vision of social relations through a simple and apparently authentic religious idiom, Kishan's deployment of the term *nazar* was a highly effective, not to say innovative, strategy. With their wide semantic reference, the terms *nazar* and *darshan* would have evoked a variety of associations according to the religious background of the reader, with the aim of making his message fully intelligible to both Muslims and Hindus in the print marketplace. Here, then, was a deliberately strategic use of lanaguage to mark out and defend what Kishan identified as a ritualized common ground that could be shared by all Indians. The interchangeability of such terms as *nazar* and *darshan* in his diary has echoes of Tony Stewart's model of the search for linguistic 'equivalence' as a deliberate means by which religious agents deflect and dissolve the cognitive structures of religious difference between different communities of readers.[45] Kishan made use of this linguistic strategy frequently in his text, for example in the equivalence of the terms *faqir* and *mahatma*, which he presented as co-equivalent.[46] As equal deliverers of the beneficent power of the same God, such *faqirs* and *mahatmas* channelled their blessings through their mystical means of 'connection', of *nisbat*, between the human and divine realms. Here was the theological language of exchange.

Kishan's position that such holy men were representatives of the same 'one God' (a question we have seen him debate with his Muslim and Hindu companions on the journey to Nagpur) was reiterated in a later portion of the diary. Once again, this occurred during a train journey

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(this time back to Hyderabad) which formed the backdrop to metaphysical reverie. Going through his mail in the rail carriage, he read a letter that directed his thoughts towards politics and religious universality.[47] This prompted him to declare his innovative religious manifesto in his *Ankh-Wala*:

Since my youth, I have been a soldier of free thinking (*azad manish sipahi admi*). My sect (*mashrab*) is that of complete peace to all (*sulh-e kul*) and will be, God-willing (*insha' allah*), as long as I breathe. My religion (*din*) is that of the divine unity (*tawhid*) of the creative essence (*zat-e bari*). From my heart I am the slave of the unitarians (*muwahidun*). I am a servant of the Sufis, a helper of the Gnostics, an admirer of the Knowers of Truth. With every breath God kills me and makes me live and I pray that God sustains me as a unitarian with peace to all.[48]

Here, in his strategic choice of words, Kishan drew support from a much older strand of Indian cosmopolitanism. Amidst the easy narrative of his diary, this brief statement of a personal theology forged a terminological search for equivalence to express the common underlying Reality that he claimed was recognized by both the Vedantins and Sufis of old; that is, by both Hindu and Muslim 'unitarians'. As the key term in Kishan's rhetorical arsenal, 'unitarian' (*muwahid*) had an illustrious genealogy that lent authority and support to his claims in the troubled communalist context of late colonial India. Most famously, it had been used by the Mughal prince Dara Shikuh (d.1659) in his attempt to integrate Sufi and Vedantic metaphysics in his Persian *Majma' al-Bahrayn* ('Meeting of the Two Oceans').[49] By the nineteenth century, as Hindu and Muslim exchanges were supplemented by new interactions with the British missionaries of Bengal, the term was central to the ecumenical efforts of the Hindu religious entrepreneur Ram Mohan Roy (1774 1833). Before founding his own hybrid religious firm, the Brahmo Sabha, around this key doctrine, Ram Mohan had written his Persian *Tuhfat al-Muwahidun* ('Gift of the Unitarians') to deploy similar doctrines of philosophical cosmopolitanism to connect Hindus and Muslims. By the early 1900s, as a Khatri Hindu from a long family tradition of Perso-Arabic learning, Kishan was similarly able to draw on and redeploy this semantically powerful concept of the 'unitarian' as a higher-order label for any Hindu or Muslim who had recognized the higher truth of the unity of all. As the erstwhile prime minister of Hyderabad, he was in this way promoting the notion that the different subjects of the Nizam were joined together through a shared higher religiosity of the 'unitarians' (*muwahidun*). As

deployed by Kishan, this served as a unifying 'brand' that could unite the increasingly fissiparous brands promoted by antagonistic Muslim and Hindu religious firms in the region. Once again pointing to the dynamics of exchange in generating new semantic no less than organizational dimensions of religion, here was an innovative response to both the Muslim and Hindu nationalists of the period for whom the 'separate' religions of Hinduism and Islam formed the basis of a demand for separate nations. As a politician turned religious entrepreneur, for Kishan the essential unity of Hindu and Muslim doctrines provided the basis for the claims of social unity made by the rulers of Hyderabad.

In some respects, the continued political and administrative role of Persian, and subsequently of Urdu, in Hyderabad had laid older cultural foundations for Kishan's cosmopolitanism. In a period of nativizing politics the same years saw the London-educated Gandhi reinvent himself as the *mahatma* these were local foundations which Kishan strategically opted to build on local terrain rather than importing a secular or even Theosophist cosmopolitanism from Europe. Though it would be a facile reduction of the personal to the political to regard his pilgrimage as no more than an excuse for the craven mystification of the Nizam's rule over Hindus, its transformation, publication and dissemination as a printed book rendered it into a spiritualization of politics that was indubitably a loyalist expression of Hyderabadi nationalism. In constructing his *Ankh-Wala* from a simple Urdu idiom laced with religious terms from Hindu and Muslim popular traditions on the one hand and from learned philosophical writings on the other, Kishan made effective strategic use of the power of language, not to say of print. He was both the consumer of the religious services of Taj al-Din and his impresario Raja Bhonsle and the producer of a new religious system which he sought to publicize in print through the appealingly simple story of his encounter with a holy man.

In drawing on so wide a range of sources to construct his *Ankh-Wala*, Kishan Parshad became one of several innovative cosmopolitan entrepreneurs in India's religious marketplace. While his Hyderabadi education encouraged him to draw on older Persian literary works such as the seventeenth century *Majma' al-Bahrayn*, exposure to English literature through the educational institutions of British India enabled other religious entrepreneurs to draw different literary materials into their religious systems. Here we find many examples of the semantic dimensions of exchange. One example from this period is the revolutionary-turned-

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mystic Aurobindo Ghose (1872 1950), who with his Oxford rather than Indian education frequently cited English Romantic poetry in his books on Yoga.[50] The point is that literature could also serve as a resource to be deployed for the making of new religious products that in turn sought to create new social ties of affection and solidarity. Pointing again to the social power gained through communication technologies, a readership which is to say a public is a form of community whose bonds are strengthened by every text that is shared. Constructed in the hybrid Urdu idiom of his writing and disseminated as a printed book, Kishan's *Ankh-wala* sought to persuade Muslims and Hindus to follow not the sectarians and communalists of the period but instead to embrace his and his Nizam's vision of social relations in which Hindus and Muslims were brothers beneath the beneficence of a Muslim possessor of miraculous or political power.

While Kishan also sought to intervene in the religious economy of colonial India by having his book published in Meerut at the heart of British India's 'Urdu Belt', his cosmopolitan system was nonetheless a product indeed, an export from Hyderabad's distinct terrains of exchange. In the opening decades of the twentieth century, Hyderabad state thus not only received the sectarian religious firms we saw arriving from British India in the previous chapter: it also generated its own religious products and in some cases exported them in response to these impresarios of the anti-cosmopolitan. While the reign of the last Nizam, 'Usman 'Ali Khan (1911 48), saw the rise of many Muslim and Hindu entrepreneurs devoted to the building of religious boundaries, Hyderabad's distinctive terrain also produced counter-movements that sought to produce cosmopolitan alternatives to the sectarian social organization of religion. Hyderabad's educational and bureaucratic systems were particularly important in this process, for they trained Hindus to learn Persian and Urdu and trained Muslims to consider themselves the protectors of Hindus. Moreover, its employment of Kayasth and Khatri Hindus educated in Persian and even Arabic nurtured men like Kishan Parshad at a time when the bureaucratic and linguistic reforms of British India had swept away the old Mughal class of culturally Persianate Hindus.[51] And so, despite the infiltration into Hyderabad's own religious economy of sectarian firms such as the Arya Samaj, among the educated classes at least, the *mulki* or 'Hyderabadi nationalist' trend of Hyderabadi politics generated a range of cosmopolitan religious entrepreneurs and products of which Kishan Parshad and his *Ankh-Wala* are only one example.[52]

Yet for all their autochthonous flavour, presenting themselves as organic offshoots of local terrain, what distinguished these projects from the pre-colonial cosmopolitanisms of the likes of Dara Shikuh was that they were generated through exchange with ideas from Europe as well as India. While in Chapter Four we saw the arrival of the Birmingham missionary Henry Smith causing a stir in the provincial town of Aurangabad, the state's capital of Hyderabad city became an even more cross-fertilized terrain of exchange that was visited by many Europeans and Middle Easterners at the same time as Hyderabad's own notables were returning home with ideas from Europe and even, as we shall see in Chapter Seven, from Japan. Such exchanges involved the negotiation and appropriation of ideas, institutions, words and even languages which circulated through the quickened communications of steam and print. Once again, the wider process of adaptation was at work, which in earlier chapters we have seen in operation in the technological exchanges of printing or the adapting of missionary organizational methods. But the actual outcomes of this process were determined by the particular terrain of Hyderabad and its own rates of exchange which, as we shall now see, generated other cosmopolitan religious products.

As in the case of the variable outcomes of interaction with Christian missionaries in different regions, these Hyderabadi products were generated through local interactions with trans-local institutions. As elsewhere in India, one of the most important of these imported religious institutions was the Freemasons' lodge. Like many members of the Hyderabad and other Indian elites of the time, Kishan Parshad was himself reportedly a Freemason.[53] The supra-religious and supra-racial doctrines of Freemasonry reflected and fed into Kishan's own construction of a Hindu Muslim cosmopolitanism in which it was possible for Kishan to claim to be both a Hindu and a Sufi. As well as importing Freemasonic cosmopolitanism, Hyderabad also exported its own hybrid cosmopolitan Sufism through the Indian Muslim missionary to the West, 'Inayat Khan (1882 1927), who in 1910 had departed from Hyderabad for his first visit to Europe and America.[54] As in other Muslim regions of the world at this time, Freemasonry provided a set of prestigious religious resources semantic, ritual, institutional with which to create new forms of Sufi organization and doctrine.[55] Nor was Freemasonry the only cosmopolitan religious import into Hyderabad, for the late nineteenth century also saw the arrival of the Theosophical Society, that most

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famous of the period's European and Indian religious hybrids to emerge from the Victorian occult subculture. Like the Freemasons' lodges, franchises of the Theosophical Society were also established in Hyderabad, the first of which was established by Ramaswami Iyer in the city's Chaderghat quarter in 1882. Many other new religious and other voluntary associations were founded in Hyderabad at this time, with at least thirty-seven established between 1879 and 1920.[56] Like the Theosophical Society Hall, all of these were located in Chaderghat and other modern neighbourhoods of the city. As the Theosophical Society gained more and more followers among the Hyderabadi bureaucracy, a new Society Hall was opened in Chaderghat in 1906 by no less a luminary than Annie Besant.[57] Like Hyderabad's Masonic lodges, the Theosophical Society Hall attracted members of the city's elite. Despite its orientation towards favouring what it saw as the 'timeless' teachings of Hinduism, the Theosophical Society also attracted Hyderabadi Muslims and the new Hall hosted meetings of an affiliated Islamic Association. Here, where the teachings of Madame Blavatsky met the doctrines of Muhammad, was another new terrain of exchange.

In 1931, almost twenty years after Kishan Parshad's pilgrimage to Nagpur, his contemporary and fellow Hyderabadi civil servant, Ahmad Hussain Amin Jang (1863 1950), delivered a pair of lectures in the Theosophical Society Hall. Ensuring the wider distribution of his innovative doctrines, the scripts of Amin Jang's lectures were reproduced in print and to maximize their impact were published as a parallel (though not identical) Urdu/English text. The book was given the English title of *The Philosophy of the Faqirs: Notes of Talks on Vedantism alias Sufi-ism*.[58] Here, as a counterpart to the Hindu Kishan Parshad's *Ankh-Wala*, was an innovative Muslim attempt to equate Islam with the doctrines of Hindu Vedanta.[59] Amin Jang likewise sought to popularize the philosophical cosmopolitanism of older technical writings in Sanskrit and Arabic for the vernacular print marketplace in which we have seen so many sectarian books appearing. The populist crux of Amin Jang's argument was that despite the 'awful verbiage of technicalities and metaphors' in the technical writings of Sufis and Vedantins, in their orientation towards a single divine being Muslim Sufis and Hindu Vedantins were in essence the same. While like Kishan Parshad Amin Jang drew support from the older cosmopolitanism of the Mughal prince Dara Shikuh ('the greatest Sufi of his time'), he also drew legitimizing support from contemporary European philosophy and

the findings of modern science.[60] Thus, while the teachings of Vedanta echoed the Sufi claim that 'He is All' (*hu al-kul*) the same Arabic phrase that Kishan used as an epigraph for an anthology of his poetry Amin Jang also claimed that this older doctrine pre-empted the discoveries of European science. In this way, Vedanta and Sufi doctrines had now been confirmed by the 'emergent evolution' propounded by the Anglo-American psychologist C. Lloyd Morgan (1852 1936); by Einstein's discoveries of the dimensions of space-time; and by the psychological theories of Freud, Jung and Adler.[61] In this way, the entrepreneurial Amin Jang constructed a new religious hybrid from the various books that his multilingual colonial education made available to him, books which in providing both conceptual raw materials and legitimizing authorities served as resources in the making of his own 'Sufi Vedanta'. Amin Jang produced this religious hybrid in response to the riots and murder that spread across Hyderabad state in the 1920s through the ascendance in its religious economy of sectarian firms such as the Majlis-e Ittihad al-Muslimin and the Arya Samaj. In a cosmopolitan contradiction of their claims to religious authority, Amin Jang declared instead that the Vedantin and Sufi spokesmen of true Hinduism and Islam were 'exceedingly tolerant of all religions in the world'.[62] Amid the religious violence of the period, religious innovations such as those promoted in Amin Jang's *Talks on Vedantism alias Sufi-ism* carried great social consequence.

Amin Jang was not alone in formulating such cosmopolitan alternatives to the sectarian religious firms that spread widely in the 1920s and 30s. He was joined by other members of the Hyderabadi bureaucracy whose educations in Persian, Urdu and English likewise enabled them to fuse European and Asian cultural resources in their varied innovations. Another such bureaucrat turned religious entrepreneur was the Hindu civil servant V. M. Datar who, in his own interventions in the religious market, published under the pen name of Swami Govinda Tirtha. Having earlier served as personal assistant to Sir George Casson Walker in Hyderabad, Datar spent the latter part of his professional career in the Nizam's Finance Department before (like many an Indian civil servant before and since) adopting the life of the ascetic on retirement. While still in the Finance Department he made a Marathi translation of the Persian *ruba'iyat* of 'Umar Khayyam, allowing the Marathas (who were at this point some of the keenest investors in Hindu sectarian firms) a taste of the most appealing tidbits of Islam. Under his religious title of Swami

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Govinda Tirtha, Datar later published *The Nectar of Grace*, in which he combined a codicological study of Khayyam's poetry with a spiritualized interpretation of the poems' 'universal' and 'Sufi' message.[63] The foreword to *The Nectar of Grace* was written by one of Hyderabad's most celebrated civil servants and men of letters, Sir Akbar Hydari (1869 1942). As official a spokesman for Hyderabad's cosmopolitan *mulki* nationalism as might be imagined, Hydari presented the book's rationale as being a counterweight to the English 'misinterpretation' of Khayyam as the proponent of 'the superficial philosophy of a simple hedonist or an ideology no better than that of "eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die"'.[64] Instead, he claimed, there were important religious lessons in the verses of the Muslim Khayyam that could benefit Hindus no less than Muslims. Here, then, the verses of Islam's most amicable poet were deployed by Datar to convince his fellow Hindus of the humanity of their Muslim neighbours who also, in Hyderabad, happened to be their rulers.

Conclusions

While the loyal civil servants of Hyderabad state were some of the most innovative producers of such cosmopolitan religious fusions, they were not alone in doing so. Even though Hyderabad's distinctive administration and political culture generated a high ratio of such new religious productions, there were also Hindu entrepreneurs in British India who wrote in defence of Islam. In any terrain, to a greater or lesser degree the communicational structures of religious exchange will have an effect on the semantic outcomes that such exchanges generate. Up to a point, then, the medium will always impact the message, doctrines will always be borrowed, even if the semantic trails of such hybridizing exchanges have often been carefully covered over by rhetorical resort to the vocabulary of tradition. One such cosmopolitan religious entrepreneur from British India in this period was the Sindhi teacher 'Sadhu' T. L. Vaswani (1879 1966), who taught at Metropolitan College in Calcutta and in 1921 published *The Spirit and Struggle of Islam*. As Vaswani, like many other nationalists of the period, subsumed religious difference to the higher unity of national identity, we again see the point that agency was more important than identity. In an Indian nationalist counterpart to Kishan's Hyderabadi nationalist *Ankh-Wala* of a few years earlier, Vaswani coopted Islam as 'the stage of illumination and ecstasy' along the evolution-

ary way to the greater 'New Temple' that was the sacred cause of Indian nationalism.[65] As in so many other terrains, the social power of religion was coopted for other political projects.

Just as Kishan in his *Ankh-Wala* promoted a unifying cosmopolitanism symbolized by a Hindu-loving Muslim *faqir*, other Indian religious innovators redeployed the older terms of discursive tradition to promote other utopian ideologies and sacred nationalisms. Like the Phoenix Settlement that Gandhi established in Natal in 1904, where the teachings of Tolstoy and Ruskin were interwoven with selections from Hindu tradition, the religious fusions of Kishan Parshad created a new model of social relations in response to the impresarios of sectarian separatism.[66] For opposing the British Empire, the similarly innovative and hybrid *satyagraha* that Gandhi created from the religious experiments at the Phoenix Settlement would become world-famous. For his part, Kishan's religious vision would never see him enter the annals of history. But his *Ankh-Wala* was a product of the same processes of innovation and strategizing by which religious resources were deployed by many political actors of the period. In opposing other Indians instead of Englishmen, Kishan's *Ankh-Wala* was the product of the religious economy of a Hyderabad whose rulers the British Raj had long celebrated as 'Our Most Faithful Ally'. Yet for all its political loyalism, the last two chapters have shown that Hyderabad became a competitive terrain of religious exchange whose Hindu and Muslim bureaucrats were some of the most innovative religious entrepreneurs of the age.

What, finally, can be said of the links to Kishan's cosmopolitanism of the madness of Taj al-Din? In its positioning of the madman as a unifying meeting point in the great garden of India, Kishan's *Ankh-Wala* tapped into a pool of cultural energy that gathered around the discourse of madness between the 1860s and 1930s, the decades when the institutionalization of 'insanity' saw asylums expand through India and Africa no less than Europe.[67] The kind of systematic derangement of the senses that Arthur Rimbaud could publicly celebrate in the France of the 1870s saw his fellow writer and absurdist Antonin Artaud (1896 1948) placed in an asylum outside Paris half a century later. In India, the same fate was shared by Taj al-Din and many other 'holy fools' who found themselves locked in the colonial asylum.[68] As a counterweight to this locking up of those classified by colonial medicine as 'insane', we have seen how the impresario Raja Bhonsle built a bungalow for the old soldier Taj al-Din

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as a stage for his transition from madman to miracle-worker. There were other attempts to redefine perhaps stage-manage the mad as holders of secret wisdom. In another such venture, the Indo-Iranian religious entrepreneur Meher Baba founded a 'mad ashram' near Ahmadnagar in 1936 with the aim of bringing the 'insane' back to normal consciousness so as to teach ordinary Indians the wisdom of their ecstasy.[69] Through their common encounter with the new institutions of 'insanity', the madness of such contemporaries as Taj al-Din and Antonin Artaud was certainly comparable. But like the inmates of Meher Baba's 'mad ashram' (and unlike Antonin Artaud) the madness of Taj al-Din was also a religious resource which, when properly stage-managed, could be deployed for a variety of purposes. Some of these purposes were the miracles and blessings that ordinary pilgrims sought from him, ordinary pilgrims of the kind that Kishan claimed to be in his *Ankh-Wala*. But the encounter between Kishan and Taj al-Din was not merely an event in the world. Through its transformation into writing and its dissemination in print, it was an intervention in the religious marketplace into which the old soldier's madness was absorbed and deployed. Sympathetic as it was, the meeting of the former sepoy and the maharaja was no exchange among equals and it was Kishan who had the power to mould the facts of their meeting to his own purposes. But through the little literary utopia that his *Ankh-Wala* created from the *faqir*'s garden near Nagpur, what emerged was a powerful manifesto of communal harmony symbolized by the devotion of a Hindu minister to a Muslim madman.

EXPORTERS

PIOUS PASSENGERS, ISLAMIC MPRESARIOS

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6

MAKING ISLAM IN THE MOTOR CITY

Highland Park is to be the center of Mohammadanism in the western world...

Detroit Free Press (1921)

Introduction

In the summer of 1921, a few minutes walk from Henry Ford's factory in Highland Park, Michigan, there opened what was probably the first purpose-built mosque in the United States. Constructed at a cost of $55,000, it was funded by the Lebanese American real estate developer Muhammad Karroub, though its congregation drew from the multiethnic Muslim melting pot of the expanding motor city.[1] Leading the prayers at the mosque was a recent immigrant from India named Mufti Muhammad Sadiq. Making full use of the city's media, he declared in the *Detroit News* that 'this is the first Moslem mosque built in this land and I am proud to have the first prayer in it'.[2] To Muhammad Sadiq, who had only disembarked in Philadelphia the previous year, the use of newspapers to claim leadership over America's growing Muslim community was part of a deliberate strategy that defined his three-year stay in the United States. As his subsequent Urdu biography-cum-autobiography summarized his achievements, in America he 'opened two mosques and converted around a thousand Christians'.[3] For as the self-declared 'first

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Muslim missionary to America', he imported to the religious marketplace of the urban Midwest the proselytizing techniques that in the previous half-century had been perfected in the 'burned-over district' of India's Punjab.[4] While Muhammad Sadiq has long been recognized as one of the foundational figures of American Islam, not least through winning the conversion of many of the first African American Muslims, what has not been recognized is the degree to which his success relied on the transfer to America of proselytizing techniques from the competitive religious economy of colonial India. It is this Indian input into American religious history that this chapter reveals.

Previous scholarship has tended to fix Muhammad Sadiq into his erstwhile American setting by linking him to narratives of the development of African American Islam that have their rightful place in the longer story of African American emancipation movements.[5] Rather than emphasizing the American contexts of Muhammad Sadiq's mission, by drawing on his Urdu 'auto-hagiography' the following pages focus on its transnational dimensions by arguing that his activities and indeed success

Fig. 13: Lurer of Muslim labour: the Ford factory seen from the mosque site

in the United States were the result of treating American society in exactly the same way that Indian Muslim missionaries treated the other environments in which they were operating worldwide by the 1920s.[6] Rather than being part of a uniquely American story, the converts won by Muhammad Sadiq appear instead as players in a larger global process of Muslim expansion, particularly through the 'Anglosphere', in which Indian religious firms were particularly effective.[7] It is a process that reveals how America's immigration history opened the American religious economy to entrepreneurs of distant Asian and Islamic provenance. Moreover, by drawing on a previously unused Urdu memoir of his life, we are able to see how America was perceived in Islamic terms: as part of an undifferentiated world of Muslim activity. This Muslim vision of an America that was fundamentally equivalent to the other religious marketplaces of missionary activity in turn helps explain why Muhammad Sadiq's mission succeeded. For the fact that religious 'marketing' techniques developed in colonial India could find success in Detroit, Chicago and New York suggests that by the early twentieth century formerly distinct religious marketplaces and the public spheres that fed them had reached a point of global contiguity. This implies not merely that America was being increasingly shaped by the world, but that America could be conceived and successfully treated as part of a *Muslim world*. Through the entrepreneurial Muhammad Sadiq, Chicago and Detroit were becoming new Muslim terrains of exchange.

Transnational Contexts of American Islam

While Muhammad Sadiq was one of the earliest great impresarios of Islam in America, he was by no means the first Muslim to migrate there. Although uncertain numbers of enslaved Africans were able to maintain their Muslim faith in America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the larger presence of Muslims in the United States emerged as a result of the great transatlantic migrations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[8] Part of the larger story of American immigration history, the diversity of America's early Muslim migrants reflects the religious globalization of American society before restrictive immigration acts, such as the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1917, the Johnson Act of 1921 and the Johnson Reed Act of 1924. Settling mainly around New York, Detroit, Chicago, and to a lesser extent San Francisco and Seattle, these

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Muslim immigrants came from regions as distinctive as southeastern Europe and West Africa. Connected via the Mediterranean's own steamship networks to the routes of steamship liners across the Atlantic, the largest numbers came from the erstwhile territories of the Ottoman Empire (such as Syria, Lebanon, Anatolia, Albania and Bosnia).[9] However, easy access to the great port of Hamburg also allowed Poland's little-known Lipka Tatar Muslims to make the journey to New York, where in 1928 they went on to found their own mosque in Brooklyn.[10] Another source of migrants was the sailing industry itself, which brought (often stranded) Indian and Yemeni so-called *lascar* sailors to ports such as New York and Baltimore. Smaller numbers of Muslims travelled from such regions as Iran, often independent travellers such as the merchant Ibrahim Sahhafbashi who travelled across America in the mid 1890s.[11]

Since many of these migrants did not necessarily identify themselves as Muslims in wider society and more often labelled and grouped themselves by ethnic, regional or linguistic markers, the arrival of Muslims in American society did not necessarily coincide with the establishment of Islam as a social reality by way of religious associations and visible institutions. After all, most of these migrants were motivated by economic rather than religious concerns, hoping to make a better life in the new world like the poor Christians and Jews who left Europe on the same ships. However, building on the diffusion of steamship and printing technologies in the previous decades, the early twentieth century saw the emergence of a new type of globetrotting Muslim activist aiming to spread, institutionalize and connect Islam on a worldwide level.[12] One of the earliest such figures in America was Satti Majid (1883 1963), a Sudanese Muslim scholar who between 1904 and 1929 founded a number of Muslim organizations in the eastern United States.[13] While a small community of Indian Muslims was already developing around New York in the early 1900s, Mufti Muhammad Sadiq nonetheless belongs to this category of individual activist traveller-returnees.[14] Both his itineraries and agendas reflected those of the Egyptian religious entrepreneur Dusé Mohamed Ali (1866 1945), who likewise used the travel networks of the British Empire to spend time in England before crossing the Atlantic to spread an Islamic vision of universalism.[15] Indeed, less than two years after Muhammad Sadiq left America, in 1925 Dusé Mohamed Ali was in Detroit establishing his own religious firm, the Universal Islamic Society.[16]

It is important to distinguish this specifically religious engagement with American society from the many different engagements that individual Muslim migrants had with American life. As we have already noted, for most 'Muslim' migrants to the United States, Islam was neither a motivation for their journeys nor a means of engagement with American life. Indeed, it was quite the opposite: these economic migrants were relatively slow to develop formal Muslim institutions or otherwise use their religion as a medium of engagement with society. America's transnational Muslim entrepreneurs such as Satti Majid, Muhammad Sadiq and Dusé Mohamed Ali similarly need to be distinguished from Muslim migrants who participated in various nationalist causes, such as the California-based Ghadar movement that united Hindus and Muslims in the cause of Indian independence or the Iranian nation-builders who visited New York in the 1920s.[17] For while the latter's homeland-orientation saw them attempt to transform India (or wherever else), in the case of Muhammad Sadiq and company the aim was to transform America itself. For what Muhammad Sadiq aimed to create from his bases in New York, Chicago and Detroit was not a distinctive American or African American Islam, but an Islamic America. As his Urdu autobiography shows, the United States was understood as indistinguishable from the other Muslim terrains in which Muhammad Sadiq operated.

It is here that we need to recognize the novelty of Islam as a proselytizing missionary religion in the modern sense, which operated through organized missionary 'firms' dispatching representatives to preach, print and persuade their way around the planet. One of the great transformations of modern history, as we have seen this new deployment of Islam as a missionary religion emerged from the confluence of globalization and colonialism. As a result, nowhere did these new Muslim missionary organizations develop more abundantly than in colonial India, whose vast Muslim communities had been exposed to Christian missionary activity from the early 1800s and by the century's end had learned to adopt the Christians' techniques towards their own religious ends.[18] So self-conscious was this borrowing of proselytizing methods that Indian Muslims adopted the English loan-words *mishan* ('mission') and *mishanri* ('missionary') into Urdu to describe their own ventures into the religious marketplace. While the Middle East is often lazily seen as the perpetual epicentre of Muslim history, it was members of the massive Muslim population of colonial India who led the most important early Muslim transnational

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organizations of modern times. Even Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838 97), the putative founder of the ideology of Pan-Islamism, had experienced his religious awakening in India, among whose polemical public sphere he had printed his first works.[19] To mention just a few of these religious firms, as we have seen in earlier chapters, there was the Indian-led transnational Khilafat movement to save the Ottoman caliphate; the many Indian Sufi brotherhoods that expanded into Iran, Africa, South East Asia, Europe and the United States in the decades either side of 1900; the Deobandi *madrasa* network that by the 1930s had reached both Africa and Afghanistan; the worldwide Tablighi Jama'at ('Preaching Society') founded in Delhi in 1926; and (to use its official title) the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam of which Muhammad Sadiq was the first propagator in America.[20] And nowhere in India was competition between these competing new religious firms more aggressive than Muhammad Sadiq's and the Ahmadiyya Movement's home province of Punjab.

The Ahmadiyya Movement and its Mission to America

As one of the earliest places where Christian (in fact, American) missionaries established themselves in colonial India, in the course of the nineteenth century Punjab developed into a fiercely contested religious marketplace where new religious movements of various kinds competed both with one another and with older established religious firms for souls and tithes. As in Bombay, where the arrival of Christian missionary firms acted as a catalyst for the establishment of new local religious movements which adapted the techniques of the Christian missionaries, in Punjab the opening of the American Presbyterian Mission in Ludhiana in 1834 launched a cycle of polemic, comparison and competition that fed the establishment of non-Christian religious firms. Among the most famous was the Hindu missionary movement known as the Arya Samaj, which though launched in the Bombay Presidency in 1875 made Punjab its key battleground.[21] Muslims were no less active in the region's increasingly polemical religious marketplace. Sufi leaders, for example, attempted to maintain their former prominence through founding such new religious firms as the Anjuman-e Khuddam al-Sufiyya ('Association for Sufi Servants'), established in Lahore in 1904 by Jama'at 'Ali Shah (1841?-1951), who used the missionaries' techniques of organization, publication and disputation to win his own share of the market.[22] It was here, in

India's own 'burned-over district', that in 1889 an obscure Muslim preacher called Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (*c*.1835 1908) launched his own new religious firm, the Ahmadiyya Jama'at (now known officially as the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam).[23]

What set the religious firm he founded apart from its rivals was its messianic profile. For in Punjab's fiercely competitive marketplace, the extraordinarily daring innovator Mirza Ghulam Ahmad attempted to outdo his multi-religious rivals by claiming at once to be a Prophet (*nabi*) in the lineage of Muhammad and a Messiah (*masih*) in the lineage of Jesus, whom he claimed was in any case buried in India. While these claims certainly distinguished him from his competitors, in other ways the firm he established adopted exactly the same techniques as the Christian, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh religious firms operating in the region by way of the new technology of vernacular publishing and the old technique of the public disputations (*munazara*) rendered modern mass rallies by the advent of the railway. Since rail and print were by no means confined to Punjab, like his most effective local rivals Mirza Ghulam Ahmad encouraged his movement to expand beyond the region. Just as Jama'at 'Ali Shah expanded his following by making preaching tours as far as Bombay, Hyderabad and Afghanistan and the Arya Samaj exchanged trains for steamships to seek followers among the Indian diaspora in South Africa and Burma, so in turn were members of the Ahmadiyya Movement dispatched on preaching tours of their own, from South Africa to south London.[24] Within around a decade of the death of its founder in 1908, the Ahmadiyya Movement had dispatched missionaries to Britain, Germany, Singapore, China and West Africa.[25]

Mufti Muhammad Sadiq was one of these missionaries. Born in the Punjabi town of Bhera in 1872 to a family lineage of local Muslim judges (*muftis*), after a local education he first worked as a schoolteacher in Jammu (where he became a follower of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad) and then Lahore.[26] Like other educated Indian Muslims, his education combined English with Arabic and Urdu, while his exposure to Christian missionary teachings in Punjab also fed an interest in the study of Hebrew. Desiring to be closer to the 'messiah', in 1901 he moved to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's home town of Qadian where, in 1905, he entered the Ahmadiyya Movement's publicity machine by taking up the editorship of its newspaper, *Badr*. When the newspaper closed in 1915, he was sent to carry out 'missionary work' (*tablighi kam*) around India, using the subcontinent's

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extensive rail network to preach and dispute in such cities as Calcutta, Ahmadabad, Simla and Benares. Pursuing the Ahmadiyya's widening world horizons, in 1917 Muhammad Sadiq was sent to London, to which another Punjabi emissary of the Ahmadiyya, Kamal al-Din (1870 1932), had preceded him in 1912. After three years of printing and preaching in the imperial capital, Muhammad Sadiq received the order from Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's successor to launch the 'first Islamic mission' (*pehla islami mishan*) to the United States.[27] The claim was not entirely correct. As we have already seen, there were already thousands of Muslims living in America and several other individual Muslims had expressly attempted to spread Islam in the United States, such as the aforementioned Sudanese shaykh, Satti Majid, who arrived in America in 1904, and the Indian Sufi, 'Inayat Khan (1882 1927), who had sailed to America in 1910.[28] Even so, Muhammad Sadiq was more than merely the first Ahmadiyya missionary to the United States, for unlike such lone religious entrepreneurs as Satti Majid and 'Inayat Khan he was supported by a substantial transnational missionary organization. He was also, moreover, a trained expert in the techniques of publicity, touring and disputation in which the Ahmadiyya Movement excelled. In short, he was about to transfer to America's own religious marketplace the hard-won skills which the Ahmadiyya had learned through thirty years of competing in India's own 'burned-over district'.

Punjabi Strategies in the American Midwest

The fact that Muhammad Sadiq was able to win so many converts to Islam within a period of only three years in America is in itself evidence of the transferability of the skill set he exported.[29] After all, his relatively short residence in America was hardly sufficient for him to acculturate himself fully to his new environment, a terrain which we shall see below he regarded as in any case contiguous with the India and England he had travelled from. At the heart of his marketing strategy for Islam was the use of the American public sphere at a time when the cultural economy of local newspapers and public lectures was at its peak. But this culture was by no means unique to the United States: it was a characteristically modern public sphere that had also developed in colonial India.[30] The public sphere of magazines and books, associations and debates, was used very effectively by Muslim religious firms competing for new followers

in colonial India.[31] Thus, from the moment he arrived in the United States and took up residence in New York City in April 1920, Muhammad Sadiq deployed precisely the same techniques that the Ahmadiyya Movement had learned in India and had already begun exporting to Britain and other missionary markets. Within a year of his arrival he had published some thirty articles on Islam in various American magazines and newspapers and delivered no fewer than fifty public lectures in different cities.[32] He did not so much adapt to America as expect America to accede to the same techniques he had already deployed in his preaching tours of India and England.

Muhammad Sadiq reached the United States aboard the steamship *Haverford*, which docked at Philadelphia in February 1920.[33] Arriving in the wake of the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1917, he was initially interned for seven weeks, a bitter experience that he recounted several times, including in a sarcastic imaginary dialogue of how Jesus Christ would be treated by immigration officials had he dared to travel to America.[34] As we shall see below, Muhammad Sadiq gave several contradictory accounts of his arrival in America, according to one of them he was 'ordered to return on the same steamer on which I had come because I was a missionary of the Moslem Faith'.[35] Clearly, like many other Asian immigrants, he was not welcomed to the New World. At first, he settled into rented accommodation on Madison Avenue in New York City. But according to his own Urdu memoir, the sight of him performing the Muslim prayer caused local residents to complain to his landlady that he was an Indian magician (*jadugar*) and he was forced to leave.[36] By October 1920 he had moved to Chicago, a city whose rapid industrialization had already attracted a sizeable community of Bosnian and Palestinian Muslims.[37]

By the following summer he had moved again, this time to Highland Park on the outskirts of Detroit where in 1909 Henry Ford had opened his Highland Park Ford Plant. There, in the mosque we have seen being built by Muhammad Karroub, the Lebanese American property developer, Muhammad Sadiq launched his magazine, *The Moslem Sunrise*, in July 1921. Each issue of *The Moslem Sunrise* combined lessons on Islamic history and doctrines with quotations from the works of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, reports of Muhammad Sadiq's activities and responses to critical newspaper reports by himself and new converts. By the summer of 1922 he had moved his headquarters back to Chicago, where he transformed a

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terraced house at 4448 South Wabash Avenue into a mosque.[38] Here was an adaptation of the classic initial venture of the American religious entrepreneur by way of the 'shopfront church'. While Muhammad Sadiq's move between three cities suggests a certain instability to his ventures, it was nonetheless of a piece with the peripatetic character of his mission. For throughout his time in America, he travelled to give lectures or take part in public disputations. Called back to India by the head of the Ahmadiyya Movement, he finally left the United States to return to India in September 1923. He had spent a little over three and a half years spreading Islam in the new world.

Throughout this time, Muhammad Sadiq relied entirely on techniques he had brought with him from India, namely publishing and distributing propaganda, delivering public lectures, issuing 'challenges', founding institutions and reaching out to the urban lower classes. It is worth looking at each of these techniques in turn. Turning first to publishing, when he founded *The Moslem Sunrise*, he was redeploying the skills he had learned in India as the editor of the earlier Ahmadiyya newspaper, *Badr*. Importing Indian strategies into America, the establishment of *The Moslem Sunrise* replicated the missionary strategy in England of his fellow Indian Ahmadiyya missionary Kamal al-Din, who in 1913 had established the *Islamic Review* in London.[39] Muhammad Sadiq's ability to edit as well as write most of the content of each issue of *The Moslem Sunrise* was the result of his colonial education; it was another adaptation in the marketplace. As language skills proved as crucial to religious transactions in America in the 1930s as in the Russian Caucasus of the 1830s, we see Muhammad Sadiq moving from one end of the Anglosphere to another, using his Indian English language skills to elevate himself in America. His mastery of the language would prove a crucial asset in the American religious marketplace in which he operated. Communication, as ever, was crucial to the process of exchange.

His magazine, *The Moslem Sunrise*, was funded by donations and subscriptions from converts and sympathizers, both in the United States and India, though it also later included advertisements.[40] Other funds were brought in through the requirement that converts donate to Muhammad Sadiq 'at least one cent every month'.[41] Once again, these efforts in the American religious market reflected Ahmadiyya strategies elsewhere. In London at the same time the missionary Kamal al-Din made similar appeals, even calling on Indians to fund his ventures in Britain through articles in his

Urdu journal, *Isha'at-e Islam* ('Publicizing Islam').[42] In addition to distributing copies of *The Moslem Sunrise*, Muhammad Sadiq also mailed hundreds of books and personal letters extolling the benefits of Islam.[43] As early as the summer of 1921, he was writing that 'the correspondence work is growing very heavy', noting that in the previous three months he had mailed 2800 letters (including copies of *The Moslem Sunrise*) and some 300 books and leaflets.[44] Of course, he was anything but unique in making use of the opportunities of print and post to publicize his message. The outreach and advertising afforded by cheap print and mail was used by a huge number of America's religious entrepreneurs in this period, not least the inventors or importers of exotic 'oriental' and 'occult' religions.[45] In many respects, Muhammad Sadiq reflected such American contemporaries as the 'mail order messiah', Frank B. Robinson.[46] Indeed, Muhammad Sadiq ensured that conversion to Islam could itself be carried out by mail, through completing and returning a signed 'new convert agreement' that he printed in *The Moslem Sunrise*.[47] This was entrepreneurship indeed.

Even before his arrival, as early as 1893 the American convert and former US consul to the Philippines, Mohammed Alexander Russell Webb (1846 1916), had deployed New York's publishing infrastructure to launch his proselytizing journal, *Moslem World*.[48] While he was obviously not an American convert like Webb, unlike many other Muslim migrants to America Muhammad Sadiq did still belong to the Anglosphere; indeed, he had corresponded with Webb before travelling to the United States.[49] These English language skills lent him comparative advantages in the American religious marketplace. As an educated Indian, he had an excellent command of the English language, another transferable asset in the proselytizing arsenal he had acquired in colonial India. This was, after all, a period when English was gaining ground as a global language of Islamic outreach and exchange, a development predicated on the linguistic reach of the British Empire.[50] By the same token, the other most successful Muslim activist to migrate to the United States during this period was the aforementioned Dusé Mohamed Ali, an Egyptian educated in England amid the expansion of British control over his home country.[51] It is therefore no coincidence that among the many thousands of Muslims to migrate to the United States in the decades either side of 1900, arguably the three most successful figures in publically promoting Islam Dusé Mohamed Ali, Satti Majid and Muhammad Sadiq were all from Muslim regions under direct or indirect British

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rule. Once again, imperial history slides into global history and religious history. As we shall see, these three entrepreneurs were also each associated with the origins of African American Islam.

In addition to making use of print and post, Muhammad Sadiq made great use of the American rail network to make lecture tours in cities as far apart as New York City, Sioux Falls, South Dakota and Crookston, Minnesota. Here too, he continued the practice that he had learned in India, whose own rail network as we have seen allowed many similar representatives of new religious 'firms' to disseminate their message around India. And as in the case of print and post, he was applying techniques of distribution of which America's domestic religious entrepreneurs were also making good use. The titles of his lectures ranged from 'Universal Spirit of Islam' and 'El-Quran, the Holy Book' to 'Real Mission of Jesus Christ' and 'Jesus Christ's Tomb in India'.[52] The lectures were not, then, narrowly Islamic. Instead, they drew on the experience he had gained from competing with Christian missionaries in India so as to absorb the truth claims of Christianity into the Islamic message of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, whom we have already seen claiming to be the messiah promised by Christ. For Indians such as Muhammad Sadiq, raised in Punjab's 'burned-over district' where locals had spent almost a century defending Islam from the truth claims of Christian missionaries, the confrontation with Christianity was nothing new. Indeed, Ahmadiyya Muslims in particular were skilful at turning faith in Christianity into faith in the Ahmadiyya Movement's Islam, which absorbed and redirected many Christian doctrines towards the approbation of their Prophet, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Once again, we see how effective and transferable the skills of the Indian religious marketplace were.

Much of this refutation and redirecting of Christian truth claims came through public disputations. Known in Urdu as *munazara*, in colonial India these Muslim debates with Christian or Hindu opponents had been raised to the level of mass spectator sports. Once again, India's pugnacious religious marketplaces proved effective training grounds for missionaries seeking to face Christian competitors in new terrains elsewhere. As a result, alongside his strategy of public lectures, Muhammad Sadiq also specialized in issuing 'challenges' to the Christian pastors of America to engage him in public debate. Indeed, judging by his Urdu memoir *Lata'if-e Sadeq*, the English word 'challenge', already absorbed into Urdu usage in India, was one of the most favoured terms in Muhammad

Sadiq's lexicon. In the most colourful account of such a challenge in the *Lata'if-e Sadeq*, he 'issued a "challenge" to all of the respected padres of Detroit that if they had any morals, civility, patience or courage, then they would allow him to come and pray in his Islamic manner in one of their churches on a Friday'.[53] According to a contemporary report in the *Detroit Free Press*, he issued this 'challenge' (the same word was used) 'before an audience of 1,200 persons' in the city's Autoworkers Hall.[54] The background to the challenge was a story he had told of the Prophet Muhammad allowing the Christians of Najran to perform Christian prayers in his mosque in Medina. But, as Muhammad Sadiq recounted it, the outcome was a newspaper campaign against both him and Islam in which one Detroit pastor apparently declared that 'Letting a Muslim into one's church was like letting a German into one's fortress.' Even Muhammad Sadiq, it seems, would admit that issuing 'challenges' was a high-risk strategy, but it was one in which the Ahmadiyya Movement had specialized from the beginning. Moreover, for a recent and little-known immigrant, it was a highly effective means of generating publicity. And according to his own version of the story at least, Muhammad Sadiq came out the better from the dispute when he won the respect of Detroit's pastors by admonishing them with Matthew chapter 5, verse 44 ('Love your enemies').[55]

Another of the techniques that he exported not only from India but from the Ahmadiyya Jama'at's wider global outreach was the founding of new religious institutions and/or the claiming of existing ones. As we have seen, soon after his arrival in Detroit he connected himself with the wealthy Lebanese American Muhammad Karroub, whose financial investments in the mosque project were already underway when the Indian first appeared in Highland Park.[56] Indeed, in his Urdu memoir he later claimed to have founded the mosque himself, making no mention of Karroub.[57] While the Ahmadiyya Movement would certainly found many of its own mosques, this claiming of existing mosques founded by others was already a familiar stratagem. Not only had followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad taken up *imam* positions in mosques in India, but just a few years before Muhammad Sadiq arrived in Highland Park, the Ahmadiyya missionary to England, Kamal al-Din, had gained control over the pre-existing Shah Jahan mosque in Woking, widely considered Britain's first purpose-built mosque.[58] This was, of course, an effective strategy and one which, *mutatis mutandis*, was also used by American

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Fig. 14: Competitive terrain: one of the many churches on Woodward Avenue

Christian preachers for whom taking over an existing church (and congregation) was easier and more effective than establishing a new one.

That said, the two decades leading up to the foundation of the Highland Park mosque between 1900 and 1920 saw a flurry of religious construction in greater Detroit whose industrializing terrains were tilled every day by the arrival of new labour migrants to form a booming religious marketplace.[59] Old and new Christian firms competed to outdo one another by building more and more impressive churches and chapels, as Detroit's marketplace played host to every Christian firm or denomination in America. Many were grouped along the Woodward Avenue thoroughfare which led up to the Ford factory in Highland Park and

adjacent to which the mosque was located on Victor Avenue. One of the most impressive examples was the Catholic cathedral (completed in 1915) with its two soaring towers and Notre Dame-style rose window designed by the architect Henry A. Walsh.[60] Smaller firms than the transnational Catholic church also competed for a visible presence along Woodward Avenue, such as the First Baptist Church of Detroit (completed in 1910) in rough sandstone Gothic Revival, and the Presbyterian church (completed in 1911) in an affordable English Gothic version of brownstone with limestone trim.[61] Nor were Christian denominations the only religious firms entering the Detroit marketplace as several Jewish synagogues opened, including the grand neo-classical Temple Beth El (completed in 1903), also on Woodward Avenue.[62] When the Highland Park mosque opened just off Woodward Avenue and a mere 550 feet from the Ford motor factory, it was an act of architectural competition with the built franchises of these other religious firms for the allegiance of the several thousand factory workers.

Once again, in Muhammad Sadiq's takeover of the Highland Park mosque, we see how the strategies of the Indian marketplace were adaptable to the United States, not least as a result of the religious diversity of American society which more closely reflected India than the more monopolistic religious economies of many European nations at this time. Even so, when he moved on to Chicago (possibly as a result of doctrinal disagreements with the Karroub family) Muhammad Sadiq was happy to establish an entirely new mosque at 4448 Wabash Avenue, albeit not in this case a purpose-built mosque like the one in Highland Park. He encouraged his followers to construct further built franchises for his Ahmadiyya firm: 'Build a mosque in every town to worship one God, however small it be, but there must be one.'[63] In this emphasis on founding Muslim institutions, he acted in America in the same way that other Ahmadiyya missionaries were doing in other parts of the world. A few months after he founded his Chicago mosque, in Berlin another Indian, Sadr al-Din, established the first mosque in Germany.[64] The Ahmadiyya firm that emerged in Punjab's fiercely competitive terrain of exchange was in such ways a pioneer in opening many new terrains for Islam.

The final important technique that Muhammad Sadiq brought with him from India to the United States was his outreach to the urban industrial lower classes. In India, this was originally a strategy pioneered by Christian missionaries, who as we have seen transferred their experience

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among British working classes to begin preaching among the new industrial working communities of cities such as Bombay.[65] Responding to the outreach by these Christianizing catalysts, new kinds of Indian religious entrepreneur began to create their own missions to urban proletarians.[66] At first, these religious entrepreneurs took on their Christian competitors in Indian cities such as Bombay; then, they followed them across the Indian Ocean to compete for the following of indentured Indian labour diasporas in regions such as South Africa; and finally, they began to reach out beyond British imperial geographies and Indian constituencies to preach to lower-class communities in other regions of the world.[67] It is important to recognize how new and relatively under-served a religious congregation of industrial workers were around the turn of the twentieth century. In Victorian Britain, for example, the fear of proletarian irreligion had fed effective campaigns by the Anglican and Catholic churches to initiate 'domestic missions' to industrial cities such as Manchester and Birmingham, whose rapid urban expansion had created populations without churches. Indeed, it was precisely through this kind of work in Birmingham that Chapter Four's missionary to Aurangabad, Henry Smith, had learned his craft before moving to Bombay.

While these fears of proletarian irreligion and the responses to them were paralleled in the United States, the Great Migration of African Americans into such cities as Chicago and Detroit had created other large communities of religiously 'under-serviced' workers. We have already seen the rapid expansion of church-building Christian firms into the Detroit marketplace after 1900, and it was in these same urban terrains that Muhammad Sadiq noticed an opportunity to spread his message. African Americans by no means made up his sole constituency, and he also preached to the many Arab Muslims who had been settling in the Detroit area since 1900.[68] Like Ahmadiyya missionaries in Europe, he also competed with the Christian firms directly by seeking to convert members of the Christian middle classes.[69] While he began converting African Americans during his early residence in New York in 1921, it was only after he moved to Highland Park and Chicago that he seems to have fully realized the potential appeal of Islam to the large community of uprooted African American labour migrants who had recently settled in the Midwest. By the summer of 1923, articles on African Americans increasingly began to appear in *The Moslem Sunrise*.[70] As Richard Brent Turner has rightly pointed out, Muhammad Sadiq made considerable 'efforts to unify

black and non-black Muslims'.[71] In an open letter to the 'American Negro', African Americans were called to 'join Islam, the real faith of Universal Brotherhood'.[72] A letter from a Muslim convert criticized the 'white only' churches of the southern states and declared that 'true religion should always be free from the question of race or color'.[73] Yet *The Moslem Sunrise* placed an emphasis not only on the universalism of Islam, but also on the Africanness of Islam. Some articles in *The Moslem Sunrise* were reprinted from Garveyite journals, such as the item on the number of Muslims in Africa reprinted from *The Negro World*.[74] In the words of another open letter to the 'American Negro', 'The Christian profiteers brought you out of your native lands of Africa and in Christianizing you made you forget the religion and language of your forefathers which were Islam and Arabic.'[75] Proselytizing in an urban marketplace where not only Christianity had its appeal to African Americans but in which Garveyite ideas were also spreading rapidly, it was strategically sensible to co-opt some of the language of Pan-Africanism. But the compromise was twoway and, for its part, Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association in turn made public gestures of sympathy with the growing number of African American converts to Islam.[76]

Even so, there was more to Muhammad Sadiq's strategy of appealing to the black working classes of Detroit and Chicago than either the languages of Universalism or Pan-Africanism. For the Ahmadiyya Jama'at was also competing with another new arrival in the religious marketplace of the American Midwest: Moorish Science. Founded by the African American religious entrepreneur Noble Drew Ali (1886 1929), Moorish Science combined the languages of Islam, Pan-Africanism and the occult into an appealing synthesis that won many African American converts in the 1920s. Moreover, the headquarters of the Moorish Holy Temple of Science (as it was then called) moved to Chicago in 1923, the same year that articles and open letters deliberately addressed to African Americans began to appear in *The Moslem Sunrise*.[77] With its claims that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was none other than the Christian messiah, the Ahmadiyya Jama'at reflected certain aspects of the alternative or occult Christianities that were spreading in the United States in this period, particularly those which were successfully attracting African Americans at this time. When Noble Drew Ali compiled his *Holy Koran of the Moorish Science Temple of America* in 1927, he drew extensively on Levi Dowling's 1908 'occult gospel', *The Aquarian Gospel of Jesus the Christ*.[78] Judging by their

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titles, many of Muhammad Sadiq's public lectures, as well as various articles in his magazine, made much of the Ahmadiyya's alternative history of Christ that also reflected Christian occultist claims (such as Jesus's years in India) and the claim of its founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to have located Christ's tomb in Kashmir. Competing with the popularity of such alternative religious firms as Moorish Science, Muhammad Sadiq sought to advertise his own connections to the occult currents in the American religious marketplace of the 1920s. For example, he published the diploma for a correspondence course he had completed through the Missouri-based College of Divine Metaphysics, which was closely related to the New Thought movement, along with that from another course which lent him the ambiguous qualification of 'Mental Scientist'.[79] His magazine, *The Moslem Sunrise*, also included announcements for an 'Occult Circle' that met in Tampa, Florida, so connecting Islam to the growing alternative religions of the time.[80] There is also good reason to suspect that Muhammad Sadiq's appeal to African Americans influenced the conversion of the Nation of Islam founder, Elijah Muhammad (1897 1975), who moved to Detroit in 1923, the same year as *The Moslem Sunrise*'s outreach to the 'American Negro'.[81]

Yet in spite of what was clearly an important and deliberate attempt by Muhammad Sadiq to draw African Americans into his firm, not least through replicating Indian missionary strategies of appealing to urban labour communities, nowhere in his Urdu 'auto-hagiography' *Lata'if-e Sadeq* was there any mention of his association with African Americans. Given the evidence we have seen of his links to African Americans, both in the contexts of his activities and in the actual contents of his magazine, it is a striking absence. But it is one which can be explained. Indian Muslims were no freer of prejudice than their co-religionists in other regions, including Africa itself. In India, by the colonial period the so-called '*habshi*' Muslim descendants of former African slaves had sunk to the lowest stratum of society, while early-twentieth-century Urdu travel books wrote about Africans in highly disparaging terms.[82] Taking into consideration the conventions of the Urdu biographical genre to which the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* belonged, according to which pious personalities were invariably presented as associating themselves with the 'respectable' higher classes, the absence of Africans is more intelligible. This seems to be confirmed by the fact that in the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* Muhammad Sadiq claimed he had 'founded the mosque in Detroit for America's Arabs', an

ethnic group held in far higher status in the Indian Muslim social order than Africans.[83] While this intelligibility makes the matter no less unfortunate, it does point us towards a divergence between the Indian Muslim representation of the American society in which Muhammad Sadiq moved and the ways in which his activities have been hitherto viewed in the historiography, which has absorbed Muhammad Sadiq's Indian vision in an American aetiology. By turning now more fully to the *Lata'if-e Sadeq*, we can recover the alternative perspective of how his activities and their American setting were seen through Indian Muslim lenses.

The American Marketplace in Muslim Eyes

While so far we have seen the multilingual Muhammad Sadiq as he presented himself to his American audience in English through his *Moslem Sunrise*, by looking at his Urdu memoir we are able to see how he presented both America and his activities there to his Indian readership. The *Lata'if-e Sadeq* was compiled in 1946 from Muhammad Sadiq's own recollections by his fellow Punjabi and Ahmadiyya Muslim, Muhammad Isma'il Panipati, during the missionary's later life in India.[84] Like other Urdu biographies that drew on older Persian models, in structural terms the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* was composed of a non-linear sequence of edifying anecdotes, the *lata'if* that lent the book its title. One set of these anecdotes was explicitly designated as Muhammad Sadiq's 'autobiography' (*ap-biti*), with the remainder comprising memories he recounted to Muhammad Isma'il Panipati, who then wrote them down. Given the hybrid nature of the text, it is perhaps best termed as a hybrid auto/biography, or even an 'auto-hagiography', rather than either a biography, hagiography or autobiography as such. However, in thematic terms the text has a central focus: the deeds of Muhammad Sadiq as a missionary of Islam. Since the various anecdotes relate to his missionary activities in India and England as well as the United States, the book forms an effective source by which to compare the missionary's own conception of each of these three global terrains in which he operated.

What is striking about the way he presented his activities was the contiguity of these three missionary fields on three different continents. The move from India to England, and then from England to the United States, was not presented through a narrative of 'culture shock', even though Urdu travelogues had long specialized in exoticizing tales of the

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'weird and wonderful' (*'ajib u gharib*). On the contrary, as Muhammad Sadiq recounted his experiences, Britain and more importantly the United States formed a continuum with an India in which his same actions led to the same results. This is not to say that the America of the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* bore no resemblance to a real place, for the cities where Muhammad Sadiq lived were described in quotidian detail. One anecdote, for example, was placed in this concrete *mise en scène*:

> Detroit is famous in America for its car factories and the biggest of them all is owned by Henry Ford. Some 50,000 people work in his factory. In size, the city is eighty square miles and is population is one million. There is one university in this town and six colleges, two hundred high schools, three hundred churches, four railway stations ... eight daily newspapers and three thousand factories.[85]

Despite such scene-setting, in the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* there was a flattening, even an outright elision, of what historians would regard as social and cultural context. For as Muhammad Sadiq presented the world through which he had travelled, there was no plurality of cultural domains, no chequered planet of empires and nation states, but only a single world comprised of two groups: Muslims and non-Muslims. In response to this culturally and politically flattened planet, the pious Muslim should act in a uniform set of ways. Appropriate to every setting, the right action was the right action, as directed by the teachings of the messiah, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

As a missionary memoir, it is perhaps of little surprise to find that chief among these right actions was *tabligh*, the 'proselytizing' of Islam. Since door-to-door campaigns of conversational persuasion make for soporific narrative, in the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* Muhammad Sadiq focused on tales of a more riveting means of spreading Islam: the 'challenge'.[86] The very presence of this English loan word in the Urdu text points to its origins as a strategy adapted from Christian missionaries in India who had pioneered the public religious debate. While narratives of competition were a long-familiar feature of the Indian religious marketplace, as we have seen earlier, as the offspring of Punjab's 'burned-over district' the Ahmadiyya Jama'at had from its beginnings specialized in issuing challenges to rival preachers and firms.[87] Typically, Muhammad Sadiq issued these challenges to Christian pastors. We have already seen him challenging the pastors of Detroit to allow him to worship in one of their churches, though his memoir contained several other such anecdotes. In one case, for example, he challenged

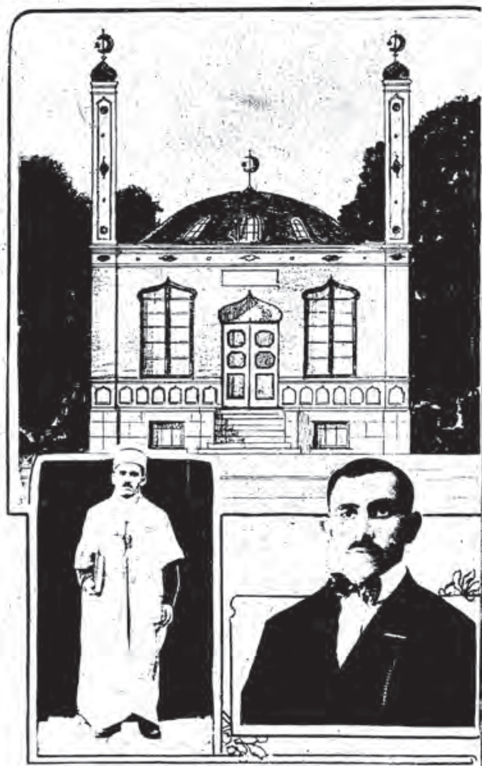

Fig. 15: Institutionalizing an American Islam: the Detroit mosque and its impresarios

two American pastors to a debate as to whether Jesus had truly died on the cross (since Muslims believe otherwise); he defeated them by showing even greater mastery in citing proof from the New Testament than they were able to themselves.[88] In London, similarly, he marched into a Christian bookshop and successfully challenged its owners to a debate on the false doctrine of the Holy Trinity.[89]

Replicating in narrative the grand audiences that often attended religious disputations (*munazarat*) in India of the kind we saw the German Karl Gottlieb Pfander initiating in Chapter Three, several of Muhammad Sadiq's tales of America and England placed him before large public audiences. On one occasion in upstate New York, he recounted that he

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had lectured at an agricultural college to some three or four hundred students, giving such a persuasive performance as to win over the college's principal in front of all of his students.[90] This ability to win over 'important' people (so characteristic a feature of traditional Indian competition narratives) was also echoed in an extraordinary anecdote set in his time in London: Muhammad Sadiq persuaded doorkeepers to allow him into a great hall where Winston Churchill was about to speak, after which he found a seat on the dais and upstaged the British Empire's Minister of War by shouting a follow-up to his speech.[91] Whatever the accuracy of this specific story, there was more than narrative illusion to his tales of public challenges: we know from the many American newspaper reports reprinted in *The Moslem Sunrise* that in America Muhammad Sadiq had spoken at such venues and did often attract large audiences. That this was the case points us all the more securely to the fact that he was, in his intentions and actions as well as recollections, able to deploy the same missionary methods to the American as to the Indian religious market. As Muhammad Sadiq saw matters, whether in America or in India, the Muslim had to confront unbelievers and the obstacles they presented with exactly the same techniques.

Yet it would be unfair to present his methods as solely belligerent. For the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* also records a series of anecdotes about dreams, which in turn point to more gentle methods of persuasion.[92] One story placed Muhammad Sadiq walking down a street in Chicago when a boy ran after him and called him to his mother. Sitting indoors beside her window, she explained how several years back she had had a dream in which she begged God to point her to the true religion, after which an angel appeared who told her that her prayer was being answered and pointed to an 'eastern person' (*mashriqi shakhs*) whom she saw through her window walking along the street. Since that day, she had looked every day for this man and now she had finally recognized him in Muhammad Sadiq, who promptly converted her to Islam.[93] Another story described how, when he first arrived in America, he had received a letter from a woman in St Louis who had similarly dreamt repeatedly of a man coming from India. Each time she awoke, she asked who he was, until one day she read a newspaper report about the arrival of Muhammad Sadiq. She wrote him a letter describing the mysterious person, to which the missionary replied by sending three photographs: of himself, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and the current head of the Ahmadiyya Jama'at. Recognizing him from her

dream, she too promptly converted to Islam.[94] Several other dream narratives also appear in the *Lata'if-e Sadeq*, usually presenting Muhammad Sadiq in a manner familiar from other Urdu biographies of holy men in areas that they would win for Islam.[95]

There was more at work here than the stereotyping effects of genre, for once again these textual anecdotes built on lived experience shared between Muhammad Sadiq and some of his converts. This is evidenced by the appearance of similar stories in *The Moslem Sunrise*, while the fact that Muhammad Sadiq gave lectures in America on 'dream interpretation' suggests that he deliberately presented himself as an expert in this domain.[96] Given the context in which Muhammad Sadiq was operating, it is noteworthy that dream portents were a popular and influential feature of African American cultural and religious life at this time, where popular printed 'dream books' were even drawn on in the hope of predicting lottery wins.[97] It seems possible, then, that his tales of converting unnamed 'Christians' through dream portents referred to the genuine conversion experiences of African Americans or were at least recounted with the aim of reaching this constituency. Yet as he recounted the dream tales for the Indian readers of his Urdu memoir, there was no reference to the converts as being African American. What there was, though, was a clear recognition in the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* of the marketplace of competing religions in which Muhammad Sadiq had to operate. For a perpetual theme of both the dream and the 'challenge' stories was of Islam as the 'true religion' (*sachcha mazhab*) among many false competing alternatives. In this way, both the dream and the 'challenge' anecdotes drew from   and operated in   the same social field of religious competition. That these stories were not only told to Indian readers but were also part of his outreach to Americans is proven by their appearance in the pages of *The Moslem Sunrise* as well.[98]

The *Lata'if-e Sadeq* also contained other miraculous anecdotes, particularly in connection with Muhammad Sadiq's long sea journey to England and thence America. One such story described his ship crossing the Mediterranean in 1917 and becoming surrounded by German ships. Alarmed, the captain drilled the passengers in evacuation procedures, but Muhammad Sadiq had a dream in which an angel reassured him that his ship would arrive safely. Even though other ships sailing near his were sunk that night, his own ship passed unharmed.[99] Contradicting his other account of harassment on his arrival at the border, he also recoun-

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ted how a similar divine blessing allowed him to pass the health inspection at US immigration even though a few days earlier he was suffering from an illness whose carriers were banned entry into America.[100] These and other such anecdotes set during his sea journey to the United States echoed similar stories related to other Indian Muslim missionaries crossing the oceans to preach Islam in this period, linking the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean as tales from an older maritime terrain of exchange flowed into a new one.[101]

A point of comparison is the Urdu *Riyaz-e Sufi* from 1912, which described the Indian Sufi missionary Ghulam Muhammad Sufi Sahib (d.1911) miraculously curing passengers of cholera on his voyage to preach to indentured labourers in South Africa in the 1890s.[102] Like Muhammad Sadiq, Sufi Sahib also faced down foreign foes and obstacles on his arrival in the new land where he had come to gain followers for his Muslim firm. Once again, we see how the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* presented the United States as a counterpart to the other terrains in which entrepreneurial Indian missionaries were operating by this period. In presenting even US health officials as subject to the religious powers granted to Muhammad Sadiq, the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* symbolically conquered the United States in the name of Islam. In so doing, the text drew on the familiar tropes of the Urdu hagiography, in which such symbolic conquests had previously been described taking place in India, Africa and other converted regions of the world. But there was more to the matter than generic exaggeration, for as we have seen, the techniques that Muhammad Sadiq brought from India into the American religious marketplace were highly effective in fact as well as narrative. The account of Muhammad Sadiq's ventures presented in the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* was not, then, a mere pious fiction. Rather, it was an explanation of a successful mission and of the America in which it took place in Muslim terms. Captured in its triumphant Urdu prose is a peculiar moment when America could be claimed for Islam by the actions of a globally mobile religious entrepreneur.

Conclusions

If in the fall of 1923 Mufti Muhammad Sadiq was able to sail home with stories of spiritual conquest, the social profile of that conquest was changed in its transmission back to India. As we have seen, he was preaching in the birthplaces of African American Islam, not only in the

Chicagoan cradle of Moorish Science but in the Detroit where Elijah Muhammad would found his Nation of Islam in 1930. Previous scholarship has quite correctly made this connection between Muhammad Sadiq and the beginnings of African American Islam.[103] But in the process, it has absorbed the Indian missionary into a narrative of American cultural genesis. By drawing on the *Lata'if-e Sadeq* in which Muhammad Sadiq's own perspective is recorded, it has been possible to switch the historical viewpoint and not only see America through Indian eyes but see how a mes-

Fig. 16: Propagating in the print marketplace: Muhammad Sadiq's *The Moslem Sunrise*

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sianic Indian religious firm could effectively adapt itself to the American religious marketplace. Here we see the process of religious competition, emulation and adaptation come full circle as proselytizing techniques that Muslim entrepreneurs had adapted from Christian missionaries in India during the latter nineteenth century could by the 1920s be re-exported to new terrains with the aim of converting Christians to Islam.

One outcome of this exercise has been to recognize the *Lata'if-e Sadeq*'s elision of the African American dimension to his mission, most likely an attempt to dissociate him from what Indian readers might regard as equivalents to India's low-status African-descended '*habshis*'. But this unsavoury 'whitewashing' of his mission was only one aspect of the wider Muslim vision of America seen in Muhammad Sadiq's memoirs. Flattened of social distinctions, it was an America that was ripe for conversion through the miracles and 'challenges' of a Muslim hero in the service of a Muslim messiah. Yet there were more forces in play than the triumphant rhetoric of the *Lata'if-e Sadeq*, and the aim of this chapter has not been the historiographical legerdemain of replacing one source's perspectives with another's. For as we have seen, there were also substantive social forces behind the text's Indian Muslim viewpoint, forces comprising Indian religious marketing techniques that were sufficiently persuasive to make many Americans change religious identities. Muhammad Sadiq not only *recounted* America as though it was a contiguous terrain of religious competition with his Indian homeland. Through the missionary techniques he employed in Chicago and Detroit, he also *behaved* as though it was.

From the perspective of global history, these findings complicate our picture of America in the world (and the world in America) in the early twentieth century by showing how religious exports from colonial India could effectively compete on the boisterous terrain of America's own religious economy. Not only does this expand our knowledge of the scope of transnational input into American religiosity, it also helps us explain why this *Indian* Muslim input was so successful. For as we have seen, Muhammad Sadiq was able to transfer proselytizing techniques that had developed in the parallel religious economy of colonial India with its similarly developed public sphere of printed and oratorical exchanges. The success of his mission, both as action and as text, drew on the increasing intersection of different global terrains at the tail end of America's most intense period of immigration. As a global historical

process, we have seen the interaction of religious firms between what were once discrete but were by the early twentieth century connected religious markets. If the first American missionary firms had arrived in India in 1813, then through adapting the Christians' techniques for the propagation of Islam, with Mufti Muhammad Sadiq a century later the Muslim firms of India had learned to challenge their Christian competitors on their own home terrain.

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7

FOUNDING THE FIRST MOSQUE IN JAPAN

'Is this a little like Hamburg?' I asked.
'Ja. Oder London. Oder Liverpool.'
'Or Saigon. Or Trebizond. Or Samarkand,' I said.

Malcolm Lowry, *Ultramarine* (1933)

Introduction

The United States was not the only new Muslim terrain to be developed in the early twentieth century; on the far side of the planet during the same decades Muslims also arrived for the first time in Japan. It was a remarkable world historical development, for prior to the 'opening' of Japan in the 1860s there was not a single Muslim resident there.[1] Then, as first Indian and then Tatar Muslims began to settle in the ports and then the capital of Japan, along with sprinklings of Iranians and Arabs, between around 1880 and 1930 there emerged sufficiently large communities to establish three purpose-built mosques. The first of these opened in the port city of Kobe in 1935; the second in Nagoya in 1936; and the third in Tokyo in 1938. Reflecting the sequence of exchanges we have seen in the previous chapter surrounding the building of the first mosque in America, this chapter uncovers the no less remarkable exchanges that enabled the founding of the first mosque in Japan.

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The opening of the Kobe mosque was the culmination of a longer sequence of interactions between Indian Muslims and British merchants, Tatar refugees, Afghan and Egyptian nationalists and Japanese industrialists that for a short period made Kobe one of Islam's most remarkable terrains of exchange. Like the developments seen earlier in this book, through migration, publishing and institution-building the introduction of Islam to Japan was an outcome of multilateral exchange. When the mosque survived as the only significant edifice to withstand the American bombing of Kobe during World War II a haunting photograph from 1945 shows it looming over a completely levelled cityscape it stood not only as a testament to the arrival of Islam in Japan, but also as a monument to an era of long-nineteenth-century globalization that saw such Japanese ports as Kobe and Yokohama house more foreigners than at any time before or since. It was an era when the economic and political 'opening' of Japan was matched by the pluralization of its religious economy as Christian and Muslim religious firms found new footholds and followers in Japan. Since the Detroit mosque has long since disappeared and the Tokyo mosque been entirely rebuilt, the Kobe mosque is a rare material relic of the moment when Islam for the first time became a truly global faith.

While bringing to Japan skills acquired through interactions with Christians in Europe and India, Japan's Muslim entrepreneurs were participants in a larger transformation by which the religious economy of Japan was pluralized by non-Buddhists for the first time since the early seventeenth century. During the Portuguese-led period of early modern globalization in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Japan had experienced an unsettling encounter with Catholic missionaries whose novel doctrines, practices and organizations attracted as many as two hundred thousand converts, among whom were a good number of powerful *daimyo* feudal lords. When Japan was unified under Toyotomi Hideyoshi (r.1587 98) and Tokugawa Ieyasu (r.1600 16), together these rulers of the new shogunate and the Shinto Buddhist priesthood began to regard foreign and Japanese Christians as a threat to social and political stability. From 1612, a series of edicts effectively banned Christianity in Japan. As early as 1597, twenty-six Christians (comprising six Europeans and twenty Japanese) were crucified in the southern port of Nagasaki and in the following decades other group executions followed, including a further fifty-five Christians in Nagasaki in 1632.[2] In 1633, fears of Christian

influence led the third shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (r.1623 51) to proclaim a policy known as *Sakoku* ('closed country') that prevented foreigners from either entering or leaving Japan. Although this 'closure' was never airtight embassies were still regularly exchanged with Korea and China while Japanese *rangakusha* or 'Dutch scholars' absorbed an impressive amount of European learning through the handful of Dutch merchants allowed onto the island of Deshima this tightly controlled engagement with the outside world presented a massive contrast with the multidirectional exchanges that began around 1860.[3] After the gunboat diplomacy of Commodore Matthew Perry, who sailed into Yokohama on a flotilla of armed steamers forever remembered in Japan as the *kurofune* or 'black ships', Japan was forced into unequal treaties that opened the then small ports of Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki to trade with the United States and European nations. Quick to see an opportunity, Indian merchants who had already established themselves in such British outposts as Singapore and Hong Kong followed suit and from the 1870s began establishing their own operations in the port cities of Japan.

If by no means the single cause of change, the arrival of the foreigners catalyzed domestic actors into overthrowing the almost four-century-old shogunate system in 1868 and 'restoring' the emperor to power at the apex of a new political system that was codified in the Meiji constitution of 1889. The Meiji period of 1868 1912 witnessed Japan's rapid modernization, seen most vividly in the transformation of the ports of first Yokohama and then Kobe from fishing villages into industrial ports that connected Japan to the wider world. In 1872, Japan's first railway connected Yokohama with Tokyo, where the new brick-built district of Ginza emerged around the Shimbashi railway station that had been designed by the American architect R. P. Bridgens (1819 91).[4] Such stations and brick-built neighbourhoods were the physical fabric of the deeper transformations that, with the annexation of Korea in 1910, by the end of the Meiji period in 1912 had transformed Japan into an industrialized imperial power in its own right.

Among the many changes of the Meiji era, one which has attracted little attention was the transformation of Japan's religious economy from the tightly controlled Buddhist Shinto monopoly of the preceding Tokugawa centuries to the more pluralistic religious landscape that culminated in the building of Japan's first mosques. In part, this transformation involved Japanese themselves; in part, it involved the various

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religious entrepreneurs who settled in Japan from the 1860s onwards. One of the provisions of the unequal treaties signed with foreign governments was for the freedom for foreign citizens to practise their own religions in the new foreign settlements of the port cities. Until 1873 Japanese were officially forbidden to convert to Christianity, but in the years that followed, overseas missionaries reached out from their port enclaves to find many new Japanese followers. In 1889 the right to religious choice was enshrined in the Meiji constitution, Article XXVIII of which declared that 'Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.'

It would be incorrect to read this declaration too literally: the Japanese state did in fact remain a player in the religious life of its citizens, particularly in the subsequent Taisho (1912–26) and pre-war Showa (1926–45) periods when an increasingly imperialist state promoted a reformed nationalist Shinto. Moreover, the state did not grant Islam the status of a recognized religion alongside Shinto, Buddhism and Christianity until after World War Two, leaving Islam's earlier impresarios at a disadvantage to the many Christian missionaries who entered Japan in the wake of the Meiji Restoration and were able to avoid payment of land-taxes on their churches and other properties. Despite these minor disadvantages, the decades between around 1890 and 1930 witnessed a rapid pluralization of the Japanese religious economy. In part, this involved Japanese religious entrepreneurs who founded new religious movements that blended older Japanese traditions with new ones borrowed from the foreigners, such as Deguchi Nao (1836–1918) who founded the new religion of Oomoto in 1892.[5] But it also involved foreign religious entrepreneurs and firms of many kinds who established outposts in Japan. By placing religion into its diplomatic and transnational contexts, Jason Ananda Josephson has argued that Meiji Japan's interactions with the outside world completely reshaped – indeed, 'invented' – religion in Japan as Shinto and other local practices were reformed through adaptive comparison with imported religious ideas and organizations.[6] As we shall see below, this transformation included both Christian and Muslim firms who exported to Japan the techniques and technologies they had already employed and adapted elsewhere.

In focusing on the site of Japan's first mosque in Kobe, the following pages examine one of Islam's most important new terrains of exchange.

While the focus is on Kobe, the city was by no means unique and was a Japanese example of a more widespread religious marketplace that developed in this period: the globalizing port city. For the decades either side of 1900 also saw mosques in some cases likewise the first mosques in their regions founded in such ports as Hong Kong, Rangoon, Singapore, Mombasa, Bombay, Liverpool and even New York, where there were several makeshift mosques in pre-existing buildings before the opening of the first purpose-built mosque in Detroit. In this respect, Kobe reflected the development of a more pluralized religious economy in such colonial cities as Bombay and Singapore.[7] But as we have seen in the case of Detroit, migration to industrializing inland cities also developed new terrains of exchange away from the coasts. This happened in the Manchurian city of Harbin, which after its transformation into East Asia's railway hub by the Polish engineer Adam Szydłowski in 1898 attracted many Ashkenazi Jews and Tatar Muslims from across the Russian Empire, who founded synagogues, mosques, schools and newspapers there. After the October Revolution of 1917, other Tatar Muslims fled the collapsing Tsarist Empire to seek refuge in Japan, where they gathered funds to build a mosque in Tokyo a few years after the opening of the Kobe mosque. Fascinated by the rise of Japan after its defeat of Russia in 1905, other Muslims travelled to Japan from far and wide to try to learn the secret of its sudden success. Some of these Muslim migrants tried to promote their own religion there. As in the previous chapter, the migration of both communities of religious consumers and individual religious entrepreneurs were important for the opening of new religious marketplaces. As external Muslim actors interacted with Japanese industrialists, imperialists and converts to build new Muslim institutions in a region where as late as 1900 there were none, this broader process connects Japan to the other terrains of exchange we have examined.

In tracing the patterns of competition, cooperation, interaction and adaptation that culminated in the Kobe mosque, the following pages turn first to the Muslim engagement with Japan in general before then focusing on Kobe. Drawing on local newspapers and the records of the Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee, we shall see how Kobe's immigrant Indian Muslims adapted the networks and skills of their merchant businesses to establish a new religious firm that within a few short years gathered sufficient funds to build the first mosque in Japan. A case study of the wealthy Indian community of Kobe in this way offers a contrast to the

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Fig. 17: A Tatar religious entrepreneur: ʻAbd al-Rashid Ibrahim in Japan

founding of the Detroit mosque among a community of Ottoman and African American factory workers, while pointing to the role of Indian religious entrepreneurs in both terrains. But if the messianic Ahmadiyya Movement that sponsored Mufti Muhammad Sadiq's mission to Detroit was one kind of transnational Muslim religious firm, then the reformist, merchant-run Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee was a quite distinct enterprise that shows the variety of religious firms emerging from the earlier competition with Christian missionaries.

The Muslim Engagement with Japan

It was not only Europeans and Americans who engaged with Japan between the Meiji and Showa periods, for Muslims from all across Asia

took great interest in its sudden rise.[8] Between the 1880s and 1930s, travelogues and studies of Japan were written by Indian, Ottoman, Egyptian, Iranian, Central Asian and Malay Muslims.[9] Several Indians crop up in the Iranian Mehdi Quli Hedayat's 1904 Persian account of his travels in Japan. In Tokyo, for example, Hedayat's party was visited by a group of twelve Indian students, who presented the Iranians with a copy of the Calcutta-printed Persian newspaper, *Habl al-Matin*.[10] The Indians could all speak Persian and begged the influential Iranian travellers for help in India's struggle against the British. In distant Kabul a decade later, a Persian translation of a Turkish account of the Russo-Japanese War became one of the first books ever published in Afghanistan.[11] Around the same time, the first works of Urdu Japanology emerged from Japanese exchanges with Indian Muslims, books which sought to master the secrets of Japan's rapid development and adapt and export them to Muslim lands.[12]

During the 1920s, the most significant such book was the lengthy study written by Sayyid Ross Mas'ud (1889 1937), who travelled to Tokyo in 1922 in his capacity as Director of Public Instruction for the princely state of Hyderabad, where a few years earlier he had helped found the Urdu-medium Osmania University.[13] Keen to learn how a modern, technical education could be successfully taught in an Asian language, Mas'ud committed himself to a thoroughgoing inspection of Japan's schools, universities and polytechnics. Though originally published in 1923 in English, his book was translated into Urdu by Muhammad 'Inayatullah as *Japan aur uska Ta'limi Nazm u Nasq* ('Japan and its Educational Order and Administration').[14] At almost five hundred pages, the Urdu version was issued in 1925 by the Anjuman-e Taraqqi-e Urdu, the 'Society for the Progress of Urdu' that was India's most important Muslim publishing firm of the period. While Mas'ud was in principle concerned with educational development, his book also comprised a survey of the entirety of Japan's history and socio-political development, with education not appearing until page 262 of the Urdu edition. This focus on history was echoed in early-twentieth-century Arabic and Malay accounts of Japan, such as Mustafa Kamil's *al-Shams al-Mushriqa* ('Rising Sun') and 'Abdullah 'Abd al-Rahman's *Matahari Memancar* ('Radiant Sun').[15] As the study of history afforded developmental comparisons between the independent Japanese and the colonially stunted Muslims, travel and publishing served to export the comparative and

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adaptive lessons of exchange. Once again, communications travel, printing and translation were central to this process.

Urdu accounts of Japan thus emerged as part of a series of Arabic, Turkish, Persian and even Malay works that responded to the Japanese defeat of Russia in 1905.[16] Indeed, by way of Muhammad Fazl Husayn's *Mukammil Mukharabat-e Rus u Japan* ('Complete Intelligence on Russia and Japan') and Muhammad Ibrahim's *Jang-e Rus u Japan* ('The War of Russia and Japan'), two detailed Urdu accounts of the Russo-Japanese war were printed in 1904 while the war was still in progress.[17] By the 1900s, the printing technology that we have seen being transferred from Christian to Muslim hands in earlier chapters was enabling a new cycle of exchange on the far side of the world. What was probably the earliest direct Urdu account of Japan had appeared as early as 1896. This was *Mu'sir-e Hamidi*, which depicted the Japanese travels of the modernizing ruler of the princely state of Rampur, Nawwab Hamid 'Ali Khan (1875 1930).[18] For as a practical and instrumental text, the *safarnama* ('travelogue') was an ideal genre for reformists affiliated with either Muslim states or religious firms, allowing readers to compare the innovations and traditions of the Japanese with those of their own societies. The logic of emulation and adaptation were as much at work among Muslims in Japan as in the other terrains of exchange we have examined.

Pluralizing Port City Terrain

In order to trace the exchanges that enabled a Muslim religious firm to establish the first mosque in Japan successfully, this section charts the wider context of interaction by examining the development of Kobe and its sister-city of Yokohama between the Meiji and Showa periods. For Japan's most important terrains of exchange were these two port cities. The two ports were at the forefront of Japan's tangible modernization, whether by way of its first railways and steamships or its first factories, newspapers and gaslights. Enabling these exchanges were overseas merchants, educators and technicians who settled in the two ports, at first in their official Foreign Settlements and then, after the repeal of the unequal treaties in the 1890s, in such cosmopolitan quarters as Yamate in Yokohama and Kitano in Kobe. Among these foreigners were religious entrepreneurs who established Japan's first churches, synagogues, Theosophical societies, Baha'i circles and mosques. In the decades after

Japan's 'opening' to the wider world, the Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee was therefore by no means the only foreign religious firm that was active there.

Kobe was one of several ports opened to foreign trade by the treaties signed with the United States and various European powers in the 1850s and 60s. After the port's official opening to foreign trade in 1867, the first overseas merchants arrived in Kobe in October 1868 and immediately began to establish themselves in the Foreign Settlement allotted to them by the Japanese government. The first ship to reach Kobe from Europe was the German brigantine *Irís*, which arrived from Hamburg in October 1868; later the same month, the British barque *Brave* made the first crossing from Kobe to New York.[19] However, steamships soon became the mainstay of passenger transportation and within a month of the port's opening in 1868 the Pacific Mail Company added Kobe to its steamer service between Shanghai and Yokohama and from there across the Pacific to San Francisco, from where travellers to Europe could cross the United States via the Transcontinental Railroad (itself fortuitously inaugurated in 1869) to embark on another steamer at New York. From 1876, the British Peninsular & Oriental shipping company linked Kobe to its own vast network linking Japan to China, Malaya, India, Egypt and (with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869) France and Britain. By the 1880s, newly-formed Japanese shipping lines and long-established European companies expanded Kobe's steam network further.[20] In telegraphic terms, the port was connected to Osaka by telegraph in 1870 and two years later to Yokohama and Nagasaki, where the Great Northern Telegraph Company's submarine cable had already linked Japan and Kobe with it to the outside world.[21] Railways, and with them a modern postal service, soon followed, with the Kobe Osaka line opening in 1874 and the Kobe Yokohama Tokyo line in 1889. In Japan as in the United States, the arrival of Muslim religious entrepreneurs was inseparable from the coming of industrial communications.

From its very inception, Kobe's Foreign Settlement was a cosmopolitan neighbourhood. Known locally as *hongs*, the first buildings to be erected were warehouses for the German firms Gutschnow & Co., Schultze, Reiss & Co. and L. Kniffler & Co. By the spring of 1870, these warehouses were joined by others built for the British and American firms Aspinall, Cornes & Co. and Walsh & Co. and by another belonging to the Netherlands Trading Company.[22] Through the unequal treaties, the foreign traders

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gained the right to establish a Municipal Council in Kobe, the first elections to which took place in October 1868. Its first elected officers were a Briton, K. R. Mackenzie; an American, J. S. Blydenburgh; and a German, P. Heinemann.[23] Holding its proceedings in English, in the following years the Council either oversaw or lobbied for infrastructural development. Certainly, conditions in the city were basic to begin with. An 1869 report from the *Hiogo & Osaka Herald* (itself launched in Kobe a year earlier) compared the travails of pedestrians walking down Kobe's dark muddy main street to 'Christian's dilemma in the Slough of Despond'.[24] After setting up street lighting and opening an International Hospital in 1871, conditions rapidly improved.

Many other developments, particularly by way of the establishment of hotels and newspapers, were the result of private enterprise. Kobe's first foreign-run guest house, the Hiogo Hotel, was opened in 1869, though it quickly found itself in competition with the nearby Globe Hotel.[25] In subsequent years other hoteliers followed in the footsteps of the Hiogo Hotel's owner H. Nethersole, opening the British-run Oriental Hotel and the Swiss-run Tor Hotel, famously incongruous for its cylindrical turrets and red tiled roof.[26] The city's first newspaper, the *Hiogo & Osaka Herald*, was founded as early as 1868 by A. T. Watkins, who also owned Yokohama's influential *Japan Herald*; in 1888, the *Kobe Herald* was established when A. W. Quinton arrived from Hong Kong and in 1891 the competition broadened with the launch of the *Kobe Chronicle*, the first to subscribe to the Reuters news telegram.[27] Catering to the entire foreign population, the newspapers often carried advertisements in German and even Italian and announcements that related to the growing Indian community.

After the revision of the unequal treaties in the 1890s, the foreign Municipal Council was dissolved and a new Japanese Municipal Council began to oversee further urban improvements, including a more reliable water supply and an electric tram service that began in 1897.[28] Nonetheless, even as the Foreign Settlement's administration passed into Japanese hands, the city retained its international character, not least through the transformation of the former village of traditional wooden structures into a city built of brick, iron and stone. The design of the Foreign Settlement had originally been overseen by the British civil engineer J. W. Hart and in the following years the adjacent downtown quarters of Motomachi and Sannomiya acquired their own brick shops and warehouses, along with elegant consular and clubhouses, attractive hotels and

a variety of religious buildings. As in other Japanese cities in the Meiji period, the employment of overseas architects by Japanese and expatriate landowners meant that the style of Kobe's new buildings was influenced by the fashionable writings of John Ruskin and the international Arts and Crafts movement.[29] Less a townscape of paper screens, wooden houses and minimalist Zen temples, Kobe became one of red brick walls, Gothic turrets and florid ornamentation.

As such, Kobe came to resemble many other global ports of the period, not least the Bombay home of its expatriate Muslims where Ruskinian Gothic was also flourishing. Many such buildings were patronized as domestic housing for the merchants who resided in the Kitano quarter. As early as 1869, the *Híogo & Osaka Herald* reported that 'some very pretty suburban villas' were being built in Kitano with such rapidity that 'by and by we may expect to see a large foreign suburb'.[30] Known locally as *ijinkan*, the foreigners' residences along Kitano's winding lanes imported a variety of styles from Germany, the United States, Britain and the Netherlands. Many were designed by expatriate architects such as the German G. D. Lalande (1872 1914) and the British A. N. Hansel, their interiors filled with imported novelties that ranged from flushing lavatories to gramophones. One of the houses built by Lalande was the so-called 'Weathercock House', commissioned by the German merchant G. Thomas (1872 1914). Built in elegant red brick and fronted by a two-storey classical colonnade, it deployed a style that Lalande had already put to use in designing Kobe's Oriental Hotel.

Between their investments in business, infrastructure and housing lay the foreigners' efforts to establish social institutions by way of the clubhouses that became the dominant apparatus of social as well as business transactions. The earliest to be established was the Race Club, which held its first meeting on Christmas Day 1868.[31] Racing clubs were such a prominent feature of life in the treaty ports of East Asia that when the Iranian traveller Mehdi Quli Hedayat visited China and Japan in 1904, in his Persian diary he described the race days at Tiensin in some detail.[32] In 1870, the Kobe Racing Club was followed by the foundation of a Regatta and Athletic Club, with the high-minded Victorian aim of 'promoting a healthy love of recreation'.[33] However, it was the German Club established in 1869 and admitting Dutch, Norwegian and Swedish as well as German members that set the pattern for the social organization of business life in the port. In such competitive terrain, its launch

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was immediately followed by the establishment of the International Club that allowed British, American, French and Italian members but from which Germans were excluded.[34] These first clubs were supplemented by the introduction of Masonic associations to Kobe with the opening in 1870 of the Lodge Hiogo and Osaka, housed in a grand Masonic Hall surrounded by Corinthian columns.[35] Other Masonic lodges followed, often along national lines, such as Lodge Albion, inaugurated in 1914. As Darren Swanson has noted in his study of Kobe's expatriate culture, such voluntary societies were spaces that afforded 'an alliance of mutual benefit forged between representatives of landowners and the heads of trading and financial institutions'.[36] Since 'the most populous group of foreigners within this group were British, the clubs and consequently the nature of the foreign community in Kobe remained decidedly anglophile in outlook'.[37]

From the 1900s, the increasing number of other foreigners in Kobe saw the expansion of these initial club options with the opening of exclusive American, Canadian, Portuguese, Scottish, Russian and Jewish clubs. In 1904, Kobe's growing Indian population followed suit by opening the Oriental Club, which in 1913 changed its name to the Indian Club. As more Indians arrived, a few years later it was complemented by the foundation of the Indian Social Society; the Indian Sports Club; the Indian Ladies' Club; the Parsi Club; and the Indian National Congress Committee. As both a social and a financial institution, the India Club and the British model of the club that inspired it proved a crucial organizational tool for the founding of Kobe's mosque. The Indians were not the only Asian merchants to reside in Kobe and the port was also home to an important Nankinmachi ('Chinatown'). Its traders handled much of Japan's textile trade with Shanghai and Hong Kong.[38]

Whether in their clubs or houses, the presence of these varied settlers and sojourners generated new cultural hybrids. One was the adaptation of jazz by Japanese musicians that first took place in Kobe and Yokohama during the 1920s; others involved fusions of food culture that spread widely from the Foreign Settlement. One of these has since become world famous: the Kobe beef that originated from the European demand to slaughter the local Tajima cattle, previously used only as work animals. As in other port cities of the period, the influx of foreign demand generated other gastronomic innovations. As early as 1868, shops were being opened to cater to foreign demand, including the Jewish-owned

Alexander Marks & Co. and the appealingly-named Sweetmeat Castle on the Foreign Settlement's Main Street owned by Gandaubert & Co. and promising not only European foods but also 'wines of first quality only'.[39] Other demands were for bread, at that time a novelty in Japan; although a Boulangerie Française was opened by a Monsieur Modeste in 1868, the presence of so many Germans and Dutch meant there was demand for heavier German-style breads, which Kobe became known for till this day. Chinese and Indian settlers also made their culinary impact and in the 1880s curry powder made its entry to Japan through Kobe and Yokohama. Like bunny-chow (the mutton curry in a hollowed-out English loaf created by the migration of Indians to colonial Durban in South Africa), Japanese curry was a similarly Anglo-Indian hybrid based on the generic 'currys' served in the British-run hotels and clubhouses of the ports.[40] *Karē raisu* ('curry rice'), the Japanese name for their standard curry dish, is itself a linguistic relic of that hybrid history. By the Taisho period (1912 26), curry had become so popular that the Japanese Army assuaged public concerns over conscription by advertising that it regularly served *karē raisu* to even its lowliest recruits. Though first introduced by British diners and Indian traders, Japanese companies began to distribute the spices themselves when in 1926 the Osaka-based Urakami Shoten company began selling curry powder that it had acquired from Indian importers in neighbouring Kobe.

Curry and cows were by no means the only items to be exchanged and hybridized during Japan's most intense period of globalization between the 1870s and 1930s. While scholars have focused mainly on the commercial and political dimensions of Japan's engagement with the outside world during its decades of empowerment before the imperial hubris of World War Two, for all their neglect, religious exchanges were a central feature of the Japanese encounter with the world that opened to them in the wake of Commodore Perry's gunboats. In its ideologies and organizations, its printed matter and personnel, religion formed one of the crucial mechanisms by which outsiders engaged with Japan and the Japanese engaged with the outside world.

'Opening' Japan between Christianity and Islam

It has long been recognized that, as in China during the same period, many Japanese 'modernists' who travelled to Europe and America were

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influenced by different branches of Christianity. But the degree to which foreign religious firms shaped the Japanese interaction with the outside world through their everyday encounters with ordinary low-status Japanese has been far less recognized.[41] In many ways the attempts of the Japanese state to reassert its control over the loyalties of its people through the nationalist promotion of Shinto and the discriminatory laws that discouraged conversion were a response to the perceived success and appeal of the foreign religious firms whose spiritual wares ranged from Catholicism, Methodism and Islam to Theosophy and Baha'ism.[42] To grasp the wider process of exchange in which Kobe's Muslim entrepreneurs participated, this section presents an overview of the Japanese missions of both non-Muslim and Muslim entrepreneurs who entered Japan after the 'opening' of its religious markets and the promise of free religious exchange in the Meiji Constitution.

Accompanying the influx of American and European commercial firms in the 1860s were the first Christian religious firms to operate in Japan since the sixteenth-century heyday of the Jesuits.[43] Echoing the variety of world Christianities, these firms possessed a variety of doctrinal and organizational forms. One of the earliest to establish itself in Meiji Japan was the French Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris. Despite having been originally founded between 1658 and 1663, the Société had been disbanded during the French Revolution only to be reformed in 1815 during the period surveyed in Chapters One and Two, when rival Protestant evangelical firms were being established in Britain and the German states. Already a major transnational enterprise by the time the 'black ships' sailed into Yokohama, in 1863 the Société dispatched missionaries to found a church in Nagasaki where so many Catholics had been martyred two and a half centuries earlier. Constructed in wood in 1864, and rebuilt fifteen years later in brick and stucco, after the destruction of the earlier Japanese Christian institutions in the 1600s the Ōura church at Nagasaki would be Japan's first today its oldest church.

In the next decades, various British and American religious firms also established franchises in Japan, followed in turn by other Catholic missions. The Protestant organizations in Japan included some of the religious firms discussed in earlier chapters, such as the Bible Society, which established itself in Japan in 1875, and the Church Missionary Society, which opened outposts in Tokyo, Hakodate and Osaka, around twenty miles from Kobe.[44] The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was

also active in Japan, establishing itself in Kobe in 1873.[45] Among the other players to enter the new marketplace were Methodists and Baptists, whose American and British organizations established a series of separate missions to Japan between 1860 and 1880, which continued into the next century. The earliest was the American Baptist Free Mission Society, which as early as 1860 sent as their representative Jonathan Goble, who had been one of the sailors aboard Commodore Perry's 'black ships' a few years earlier.[46] The cross had truly followed the flag, albeit of trade as much as empire. In 1873, the American Baptist Missionary Union similarly began its operations in Japan, opening the country's first Baptist church in Yokohama. By 1901, it was the Mormons' turn as the Church of Latter Day Saints, that great organizational engine of global conversion, launched its first mission to Japan.[47]

With so rich a new terrain opened to religious entrepreneurs worldwide, the new occult religious organizations of the *fin-de-siècle* also sought to establish themselves in Japan. In 1889, the Theosophical Society was introduced there by its co-founder, Henry Steel Olcott (1832 1907), who spent three and a half months giving public lectures in Yokohama and the other cities by then connected to the port by rail. His lectures were attended by large numbers of Japanese Buddhists who subsequently translated many Theosophical works into Japanese, adapting the ideas of Theosophy to create new hybrid Buddhisms.[48] Once again, we see the generative dynamics of religious exchange. In 1919, another American Theosophist, James H. Cousins, helped Japanese enthusiasts establish the Tokyo International Lodge. It was soon joined by D. T. Suzuki (1870 1966), the celebrated impresario of Buddhism whose adaptation of Theosophical ideas enabled him to export a hybridized Zen through his many preaching missions and canny use of printing in the United States and Britain.[49] Echoing what we have seen in earlier chapters through Christian and Muslim exchange, the importing to Japan of foreign religious ideas was followed by the adaptation of those ideas by local entrepreneurs who, like the Indian missionary to America Muhammad Sadiq, re-exported their stronger hybrid alloys to the United States and Europe. As part of the social and material world, religion did not operate in a transcendent realm but was instead subject to the same forces that shaped cultural, scientific and commercial exchange. This is religious economy.

Theosophy was not the only new religion to be introduced to Japan, for during the 1910s and 20s the messianic Iranian religious firm of

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Baha'i also made its entry to the country.[50] Enabled by Yokohama and Kobe's links to the ports of Honolulu and Oakland, several American Baha'i converts, such as Agnes Alexander (1875 1971) and George Augur (1853 1927), set out to preach the new religion in Japan. Given the Baha'i emphasis on achieving universal peace through a common global language, their strategy was to link themselves to the success of the Esperanto movement in Japan by using its meetings, members, language and publications to spread word of the new religion among the Japanese intelligentsia.[51] Once again, innovations in communication were key to the periods's religious exchanges, with the innovative Baha'is adopting the new global language of Esperanto in which it was easier for Baha'i missionaries to operate than in Japanese. After holding the first Baha'i meeting in Tokyo in 1914, the following years saw conversions by Japanese and foreign residents; all were reached through the medium Esperanto.[52]

Like other religious firms seeking to expand into Japan, the Baha'i missions formed a deliberate policy of outreach that was initiated by the leader of the Baha'i religious firm, 'Abd al-Baha (1844 1921). After first encouraging his followers to preach in Japan as early as 1903, 'Abd al-Baha dispatched nineteen revelatory 'Tablets' to the Japanese people between 1916 and 1921.[53] Not only print but now also post was becoming a technology of the religious entrepreneur. 'Abd al-Baha's successor, Shoghi Effendi (1897 1957), was even more assiduous, posting many personal letters to his missionaries in Japan. Seeking to shift the scale of operations from individual converts to collective organization, in one such letter he urged his missionaries to 'make a special effort to organize the believers there into a local Baha'i Spiritual Assembly as a nucleus around which will gather and flourish the future Baha'i community in Japan.'[54] In 1932, his ambitions were fulfilled with the formation of Japan's first Baha'i Assembly.[55] Here was another new religious firm that was established at the same time as the Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee.

The opening of Japan also afforded Muslim entrepreneurs opportunities to gather resources, cooperators and models for their own agendas and organizations. At the height of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, for example, the Indian Muslim preacher 'Azmi Dihlavi (1867 1934) tried to travel to Japan with the purpose of converting its people (he later became famous as a writer of Urdu children's novels).[56] At the same time, delusory rumours spread of the Japanese emperor's imminent conversion to Islam among Arab, Indian and Malay Muslims. As the end of

Europe's empires seemed within reach by the 1920s and early 30s, other Muslim Japanophiles hoped to empower Muslim states which, through adapting the lessons of Japan, would rise anew from the ashes of empire. Hyderabad, Riau, Afghanistan and several other Muslim states dispatched representatives there.[57] At the same time, various individual Muslim entrepreneurs set out for Japan, some of whom sought Japanese partners for their anti-colonial projects by becoming involved with such Japanese Pan-Asianist organizations as the Ajia Gikai (Asian Reawakening Society).[58] These impresarios were as varied as the anti-Russian Tatar 'Abd al-Rashid Ibrahim (1857 1944), who first resided in Tokyo from 1909 to 1910, and the anti-British Indian Muslim Muhammad Barakatullah (1854 1927), who from 1909 to 1913 also resided in Tokyo, from where he edited, printed and distributed his English-language journal, *Islamic Fraternity*.[59]

Printed matter was never far away from the business of religious propagation. In 1906, exporters of the new reformist Islam taking shape in Cairo had founded the journal *al-Imam* in Singapore to gain influential followers for the new creed in the merchant capital of South East Asia; in Barakatullah's case, his publishing ventures used Islam as a unifying idiom to join Asians together in a pan-Islamist struggle against the British Empire.[60] While Barakatullah was expelled from Japan in 1913, his travels between Japan, the United States, Britain, India, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union show the role of such roving impresarios in connecting many new Muslim terrains of exchange. The efforts of such men as Barakatullah and 'Abd al-Rashid did see some concrete results: both attracted influential Japanese sympathizers for their causes and even a few converts. Increasing Muslim interactions with Japan had already led to the first conversions to Islam in the 1890s, including such notable figures as 'Abd al-Halim Shotaro Noda (1868 1904) and Nur Muhammad Ippei Tanaka (1882 1934), who through their writings and speeches acted in turn as publicists for Islam in the Japanese language.[61] Another early convert was the merchant Bunpachiro Ariga (1868 1946), who initially learned of the religion through his contacts with Indian traders; after formally converting, he went by the name Ahmad Ariga.[62] These converts became important middlemen with Islamic Asia, not least because the regions which imperial Japan invaded in subsequent decades Manchuria, the Dutch East Indies, Malaya and Burma contained large Muslim communities. Cooperation, then, conjoined differ-

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ent sets of interests, and more than one convert served as a spy for the Japanese Empire.[63]

Through the efforts of these earlier impresarios and converts, by the 1930s the Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee was not the only religious firm promoting Islam in Japan. Moreover, the far larger Tatar Muslim community was just as religiously active, if nowhere near as wealthy, as the Indians. Since the early twentieth century, individual merchants, missionaries and language workers had formed one current of Muslim settlement in Japan. Of around 10,000 Tatars from the Kazan and Bashkir regions of the former Tsarist Empire who fled Soviet suppression to various parts of East Asia, during the 1920s and 30s over a thousand settled in Japan.[64] The main religious entrepreneur among them was Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy Qurban 'Ali (1892 1972), who had been a commander of a Bashkir militia and led various military engagements, before leading his followers across the length of Eurasia in their flight from the Bolsheviks.[65] In the 1920s, he founded a makeshift mosque in a wooden house in Tokyo, then a school for Tatar children and a printing office to issue Tatar books on religious and educational subjects. Devoting himself to the cause of Islam and his community, he was forced to cooperate with the Japanese government and secret service. The reward for his help with Japanese imperial expansion into Manchuria was support from both the state and the great business corporations (*zaibatsu*) for a new mosque in Tokyo, which would be completed in 1938 as the third mosque in Japan. As we have seen for other Muslim actors in earlier chapters, for the Tatars of Tokyo the rates of exchange for such cooperation were very favourable.

In the early 1930s, Qurban 'Ali was visited several times by an Indian Muslim called Badr al-Islam Fazli. A graduate of Aligarh Muslim University, in the autumn of 1930 he had sailed to Japan to take up a position teaching Urdu and Persian at the Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakko (Tokyo School of Foreign Languages).[66] Fazli recounted the meetings in an Urdu travelogue he wrote about his several years' residence in Japan, describing both the wooden mosque and printing press that Qurban 'Ali had founded, noting that he used the press to print a magazine called *Yapun Mukhbari* ('Japan News').[67] Although the magazine served partly as a vehicle for Japanese propaganda to the East Asian mainland, it was more than that in also serving to inform Turkic-reading Muslims of the activities of fellow Muslims from all round the world, turning Tokyo's

highly-developed news apparatus towards pan-Islamic ends. An issue of *Yapun Mukhbari* from 1936, for example, contained reports on Japanese trade with Egypt and Afghanistan; current news from Manchuria; the state of Muslim affairs in such far-flung regions as Yugoslavia and Iraq; the missionary efforts of the British Ahmadiyya Muslim convert Lord Headley; and the celebration of 'Id al-Fitr in India.[68]

Qurban 'Ali's printing press was part of the larger educational and propagation mission of the Tokyo'da Mätbää-i İslamiyä (Tokyo Islamic Printing House), which he had established in 1927.[69] Like the Muslim

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Nan ji dis ka ?	نان جی دس کا ؟	کیا بجا ہے ؟	وقت
Shichi ji dis	شی چی جی دس-	سات بجے ہیں-	
Yon ji han dis	یون جی ہان دس-	ساڑھے چار بجے ہیں-	
Ichi ji Juppun dis	اِچی جی جوپون دس	ایک بجکر دس منٹ ہیں-	
		گھنٹہ- جیکان (جس کا مخفف جی وقت بتاتے ہوئے گھنٹوں کے بعد آتا ہے) دیکھئے اوپر کی امثلہ	
	"فون" یا "پون"	منٹ-	
toke	تو کے-	گھڑی-	
(Fune)	فو نے-	جہاز-	گاڑیاں
(Kisha)	کشا-	دخانی ریل-	
(densha)	ڈینشا-	بجلی کی ریل اور ٹریم-	
jidosha	جیدوشا	موٹر کار یا بس	
takushi	تاکوشی	ٹیکسی	
(Iki)	اِیکی	اسٹیشن	
tokoro	توکورو	جگہ- مقام	
michi	میچی	سڑک	
hitoba	ھِتوبا	بندرگاہ	
zaikan	زائی کان	کسٹم آفس	
(Kippu)	کپّو	ٹکٹ	
(itto)	ایتّو	اوّل درجہ	
(nitto)	نِتّو	دوسرا درجہ	

Fig. 18: Linguistic interactions: Badr al-Islam's Urdu   Japanese vocabulary

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printers and translators we saw helping Christian missionaries in Chapter Two, Qurban 'Ali was able to promote his Muslim causes through the resources that were channelled to him by his cooperation with Japanese interests. As Tatars fled Bolsheviks to seek refuge in Japan, through the efforts of the entrepreneurial Qurban 'Ali, for the first time Tokyo became a generative terrain of exchange where Muslim books were published and exported overseas. Like Muhammad Sadiq, who had learned printing in British India before publishing his newspaper in Detroit, Qurban 'Ali had learned printing in the Russian Empire and then exported his skills to promote Islam not in America but Japan. Before the establishment of the Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee in 1929, Qurban 'Ali's Tokyo'da Mätbää-i İslamiyä was the most important Muslim religious firm in Japan.

The Religious Firms of Kobe

Indian Muslims were by no means the only and still less the first foreign community to establish a religious firm in Kobe. Whether Indian, British or German, the majority of Kobe's expatriates were there for commercial or professional reasons as the employees of trading companies or Japanese state agencies. Yet these pecuniary imperatives in no way precluded a place for religion; indeed, as merchants, the foreigners' access to resources made them ideal investors in the activities of religious firms. For the social, infrastructural and financial resources that foreign residents controlled were also directed towards religious projects, whether initiated by merchants themselves or by religious entrepreneurs seeking a foothold in Japan.

Given the leading role of Europeans and Americans in the transformation of Kobe's commercial economy, it is little surprise that Christian firms played the main role in the early transformation of its religious economy. In July 1868, within weeks of Kobe's opening to foreign residents, a Catholic chapel was set up in the city's downtown Motomachi quarter, and by April 1870 a purpose-built Catholic church was being consecrated there.[70] Not to be outdone, Kobe's Protestant community constructed its own Union Church a year later. In 1927, the original church building was replaced by a grander edifice designed by William Merrell Vories (1880 1964); it would be Kobe's most impressive monument to the Arts and Crafts movement.[71] A talented commercial and

religious entrepreneur in his own right, despite his lack of qualifications the Kansas-born Vories had gained his first architectural experience in 1908 by overseeing the design of the Kyoto offices of the Young Men's Christian Association. In 1918, he went on to found a hybrid Christian religious firm known as the Omi Kyodaisha (Omi Brotherhood) in the town of Ōmihachiman some seventy miles north of Kobe, before blending his missionary and commercial concerns with the launch of the Omi Sales Company in 1920. In architecture as in organization, there was much variety amongst the innovative Christian religious firms operating in and around Kobe.

Amid this variety, the building and rebuilding of Kobe's first Catholic and Protestant churches points to the competition that fed the construction of other religious buildings. Since the Union Church was dominated by American Presbyterians, in 1898 the All Saints Church was constructed for British Anglicans.[72] Smaller religious firms than the Anglican and Presbyterian denominations also set up outposts in Kobe, including the British Young Men's Christian Association and the American Church of Christ (Scientist), which opened one of its characteristic Christian Science 'reading rooms' in the city.[73] As various missionary organizations began sending representatives to Japan, Kobe saw attempts by these different Christian firms to gain Japanese converts.[74] This was already taking place before Japanese citizens were allowed to convert to Christianity in 1873, when the Reverend P. Monicou established the first of several Catholic churches in the city for Japanese converts in 1870.[75] Having already operated in India for a century and a half, in 1869 the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) also began operations in Japan and in 1874 established a church for Japanese converts in Kobe, which would remain the centre of its operations in Japan.[76] By 1878, the ABCFM had established no fewer than nine churches for Japanese converts in the Kobe Osaka region. Around the same time, this oldest and grandest of America's missionary firms established Kobe College, which for many decades provided Japanese women with a modern Christian education.[77]

In such ways, these new religious firms provided services that their domestic rivals were at that point unable to offer. Similarly, an American medical missionary associated with the International Hospital established a Japanese Sunday School in 1873. More and more foreign missions began to arrive. Five years later, the British Society for the Propagation of the

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Gospel began operations in Kobe and around the same time the American Baptist Missionary Union began work there.[78] Newer religious organizations from Britain and the United States also reached out to the city, as when Kobe played host to promoters of the fashionable new occult religions, such as 'the Little Georgia Magnet' Annie Abbot (1861 1915), who in 1895 demonstrated her strange powers to the city's astounded inhabitants, propagating the very claims of 'animal magnetism' that Kobe's Christian Scientists had vowed to suppress.[79]

Several Christian religious firms were also involved in printing operations, including translations of scripture and propaganda into Japanese, so carrying to new terrains the same techniques we have seen such missions employing in Iran and India earlier in the nineteenth century. Working in Kobe on behalf of the ABCFM, for example, in 1875 the Reverend O. H Gulick launched *Shichi Ichi Zappo* ('Weekly Miscellany'), the first Japanese Christian newspaper.[80] Having begun its operations in Japan in 1875, in 1904 the British and Foreign Bible Society which in Chapter Two we saw playing so important a role in the development of Muslim printing also established a franchise in Kobe that committed to printing the Bible in Japanese.[81] While initial attempts to translate the Bible into Japanese had been made in the mid nineteenth century, it was only in 1879 that the Bible Society printed the official 'Meiji version' of the New Testament in Tokyo, thus transferring to Japan the techniques we have seen the Bible Society perfecting earlier with its Persian, Arabic and Tatar translations.[82] But in Japan as elsewhere, the competition was again waiting in the wings: for 1938 saw the publication of a Japanese translation of the Quran. Its translator was the Japanese convert Ahmad Bunpachiro Ariga, who six years earlier had formally converted to Islam on the building site of the Kobe mosque.[83] In the 1930s, various Muslim entrepreneurs were translating and publishing the Quran in other Asian and European languages. In 1936, an immensely popular Persian translation of the Quran was published in Iran; in 1938, the British convert Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall and the Indian 'Abdullah Yusuf Ali both published new translations, the former in India and the latter in Britain; and in 1939 the German convert Hugo 'Hamid' Markus and the Indian Sadr al-Din published their German Quran.[84] Echoing across the world the Japanese Quran of Ahmad Bunpachiro Ariga, these joint ventures were the religious outcomes of the combined Muslim adaptation of the printing and translation skills we saw in earlier chapters.

In the decades either side of 1900, other migrant communities also established their organizations, printing operations and houses of worship in Kobe and other Japanese cities. In 1887, the Chinese who had also settled in Kobe since 1868 inaugurated their Kanteibyō temple, dedicated to the divinized warrior Guan Yu. Located on the edge of the Nankinmachi 'Chinatown', the temple was right next to Sannomiya-chō, where the majority of the city's Indian businesses were located. From around 1890, Japan's ports also became home to increasing numbers of Jews, some moving in search of business opportunities from colonial British cities such as Bombay, some fleeing persecution in the Russian Empire, and some moving from the Manchurian city of Harbin after it was conquered by Japan in 1931. As a result, around the turn of the twentieth century the pluralization of Japan's religious economy also saw the opening of its first synagogues in Nagasaki (1889), Yokohama (1895) and then Kobe (1937), the latter just over a year after the opening of the Kobe mosque in October 1935.[85] In 1918, it was also reported that Japan's first Hindu temple was inaugurated. Though the report gave no details of its location, the demographics of Indian settlement mean that it must have been in either Kobe or Yokohama.[86] In architectural no less than organizational terms, the mosque was part of a larger pattern of religious pluralization in Kobe and Japan more generally in this period.

Since the Japanese were active participants in the diversification of their country's religious landscape by converting to various forms of Christianity as well as embracing Islam and joining the innovative religious firm that was the Theosophical Society, Japanese religious firms formulated bold responses to the foreign competition. In some cases this involved attempts to create domestic Christian alternatives to the foreign-dominated church organizations, as in the case of the Nihon Kumiai Kirisuto Kyōkai (Japanese Congregational Church), founded in 1886 as a domestic breakaway from the imported ABCFM.[87] From 1904 when it built the first Japanese Christian church in Seoul, the Nihon Kumiai Kirisuto Kyōkai turned the strategies it had learned from the American missionaries to create its own overseas franchises in Japan's expanding empire, first in Korea and subsequently in Manchuria and Shanghai.[88] In other cases this competition involved attempts to convert Europeans and Americans to the religions of Japan: in 1897 a rumour circulated widely in the Japanese and English language press that nineteen American and fifteen German residents of Kobe had converted to Shinto.[89] By the

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1900s, older Shinto and Buddhist organizations and increasingly the Japanese state were putting pressure on the Japanese not to renounce their 'ancestral' and 'national' faiths, while more innovative religious entrepreneurs were founding the new hybridized versions of Shinto and Buddhism that flourished in this period.[90] Yet even if for its own citizens Japan's religious economy was never as 'liberal' as that of the United States, for its foreign residents there were great opportunities to establish religious franchises of their own favoured faiths.

An Enclave of Indian Entrepreneurs

Having gained a clearer sense of the cross-fertilized terrain where Japan's first mosque was founded, we can now turn to the Indians who were its main, though by no means sole, fundraisers. Though not British capitalists associated with the City of London, in many respects the Indians of Kobe were the kind of 'gentlemanly capitalists' that were so characteristic a feature of the British Empire.[91] For Indian merchants helped expand older Indian Ocean trade networks by following British expansion to such new port cities as Rangoon, Singapore and Hong Kong. As we have seen, in Kobe as in these colonial cities, Indian 'gentlemanly capitalists' adapted the clubhouse model that was so crucial to the social organization of British overseas capital. With their cricket teams and ladies' clubs, Kobe's Anglophone and Anglicized Indian community was itself the product of what was by 1900 several centuries of interaction with British institutions. As in East Africa and South East Asia, the presence of Indian merchants in Kobe was the result of following the flag to sites where they could enjoy the protections (if not all of the privileges) of imperial citizenship.

Muslims were not the only Indians to set up businesses in Japan. Bombay's wealthy Parsi merchants appear to have been the earliest. Similarly operating out of Bombay, Gujarati Hindus soon followed, with Sindhi Hindus ultimately becoming the most prominent.[92] These links to Bombay were helped by the fact that as early as 1885 the Nippon Yusen Kaisha (NYK) shipping line began a regular service between Yokohama and Bombay, while the Osaka Shosen Kaisha (OSK) inaugurated its Kobe Bombay service in 1911.[93] In a pointer to Parsi influence, it was Jamsetji Nusserwanji Tata (1839 1904) who took the lead in successful negotiations with the NYK line.[94] While Muslims were

therefore not the largest group of Indians in Kobe, they did control several large and important trading companies, such as Futehally & Sons and A. A. Karim Bros.

It was primarily the textile trade that brought all these Indian groups to Japan. For through their connections to the Indian markets of their homelands and the South East Asian markets of the Indian trade diaspora that had developed over the nineteenth century, from Kobe Indians were well placed to compete in both Japan's import and export markets.[95] Comprising the importing of raw cotton from India and the exporting (both to India and South East Asia) of Japanese finished cotton goods and highly valued silks, the Indian trade was a triangular circuit that was extremely profitable. In 1894, the Indian role in the South East Asian trade had received an additional boost with the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War, which forced out of Japan many of the Chinese merchants whose own trade diaspora reached similarly deep into South East Asia.[96] The South East Asian trade became all the more important after 1915, when Japanese textile imports rapidly overtook those of Britain, an ascent that attracted even more Indian commercial firms to found outposts in Japan.[97]

Although the earliest Indian firms in Japan had established themselves in Yokohama, from the 1890s Kobe began to attract increasing numbers of Indian merchants, particularly through its proximity to the main silk-weaving areas of Fukui and Kanazawa and the neighbouring factory city of Osaka.[98] The regular shipping service between Bombay and Kobe that we saw beginning in the 1880s spurred more Indian merchants to found franchises in Kobe, including such Bombay-based Muslim commercial firms as A. Rahim & Co. Even so, as late as 1905 there were only fifty-nine Indians officially resident in Kobe, the majority of whom were representatives of Hindu commercial firms from Sindh and Gujarat.[99] By 1913 the number of Indian official residents had fallen to forty-three, but in the next few years it rapidly increased to reach 158 by 1920.[100] In part this was a result of Japanese policies that deliberately sought to expand trade with India after the 1913 official trade mission sent there by members of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce.[101] One outcome of the delegation was increased shipping to further the export of Japanese goods: by 1918, the OSK shipping line alone was advertising three sailings per month between Bombay and Kobe.[102]

Then, in 1923, Kobe received a tragic boon when the Great Kanto Earthquake struck Yokohama and the business properties of the 170

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Indian merchants who lived there were burned to the ground in the conflagration that followed.[103] In the following months, the majority of Yokohama's Indian merchants relocated to Kobe, making it suddenly the centre of Indian enterprise in Japan. Based on the addresses listed in the Japanese trade directories of the period, it is clear that these Indian companies gathered in the same area of the city and by the end of 1923 there were around twenty-five Indian businesses based on just one street, Sannomiya-chō, in downtown Kobe.[104] Just as the Chinese gathered in their Nankinmachi 'Chinatown' a few blocks to the south, so had Sannomiya been turned into an Indian quarter. Surrounded by Indian businesses and private residences, it was here that the mosque would be built just over a decade later.

By 1930, there were just over thirty Indian businesses operating in Yokohama.[105] In Kobe there were around 130 Indian companies, usually run by one or two Indian official residents.[106] Among them were many Muslim enterprises, such as S. M. Bashir & Co. ('Export & Import'), Ahmed Ibrahim Bros. ('Exporters of Hosiery, Piece-goods and Sundries') and S. Mohamed Husain (more unusually, 'Exporters of Optical Goods').[107] Among them was the second most profitable Indian company in Kobe, N. Futehally & Sons.[108] Below we shall see all these companies contributing to the mosque's construction fund. By 1935, the year in which the mosque was inaugurated, with some 353 official residents Indians formed the fifth largest foreign community in Kobe after Chinese (numbering 5,576), British (numbering 809), Germans (numbering 526) and Americans (numbering 402).[109] In just twenty years, the number of Indian merchants had rapidly expanded to outnumber the Dutch (numbering 203) and French (numbering 104) who had been trading in Kobe since 1868. It was also in the mid 1930s that Japanese trade with India reached its peak. In 1934, the year before the mosque opened, Kobe's trade with India amounted to 97,673,000 Yen of exports and a massive 188,004,000 Yen in imports, almost 91 per cent of which constituted raw cotton for Japanese textile mills.[110] Since the vast majority of this trade was in the hands of Indian rather than British merchants, it provided a tremendous and rapidly increased source of wealth. Through their exchanges with Japanese industrialists, the Muslims of Kobe would gather the wealth to found a highly efficient religious firm.

We have already seen this relatively small but very wealthy Indian community pouring some of its resources into establishing social clubs,

such as the Oriental (subsequently Indian) Club, whose buildings and activities sought to rival those of the longer-established European clubs. While willing to imitiate colonial mores with a club of their own, behind the decision to build a mosque lay a desire for authenticity. Even if the firm that established the mosque was itself an adaptation of the voluntary societies of Victorian Britain, by the 1930s India's Muslim elite were increasingly conscious of their 'separate' heritage. The mosque, then, was a communal place apart from the more collective Indian Club which, as

Fig. 19: Merchant entrepreneurs: advertisement for a Kobe Indian company

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testified in the speeches on its opening day, carried the sanction of Muslim tradition to the foreign home of a merchant diaspora.

In the years directly before the mosque opened in 1935, Kobe's Muslims had positioned themselves in prominent positions in several of these influential Indian associations, which like their European counterparts in the city were as much mechanisms for business as social life. During 1935 and 1936, for example, the president of the Indian Club was the Muslim merchant M. S. Toorabally; in the same years the president of Kobe's Indian Trade Association was another Muslim merchant, K. N. Futehally.[111] His close relative A. N. Futehally was honorary president of Kobe's Indian Lodge, founded in Kobe in 1932 'for the accommodation of Indian students coming to Japan for education and training in technical and other subjects'.[112] At the same time, K. N. Futehally's sister-in-law, Mrs R. N. Futehally, was president of the Indian Ladies' Club.[113] The decision to build a mosque was therefore taken at the peak of Indian Muslim wealth and social influence in Kobe.

An account of Kobe survives from these years, written in Urdu by Badr al-Islam Fazli, whom we have earlier seen meeting the Tatar religious entrepreneur Qurban 'Ali in Tokyo. Fazli disembarked first at Kobe, where he spent a day before sailing on to his final port of call at Yokohama.[114] As he described the city, even its dockyards were impressive, with quays capable of holding sixteen large ships at a time. Kobe's other facilities were no less new and grandiose he wrote, with the city itself built on a modern open plan, with wide public streets (a contrast to many Indian cities of the period) and buildings mostly in concrete. Walking through Kobe's markets, Fazli was struck by the abundance of electricity, used not only for practical purposes of lighting but also for neon signs that colourfully decorated the shop-fronts. While there were a few poorer Japanese to be seen driving rickshaws or selling oil, Fazli described most of the poor as working in modern factories. Such far-reaching industrialization appeared to have reached every element of daily life, with his first glimpse of Japan revealing a society in which, through the power of electricity and gas, machines appeared to do everything, including (in another contrast with India) powering rickshaws. Indeed, he explained, the latter form of transport was largely outmoded in Japan, for the citizens of Kobe now travelled mainly by train, tram and taxi, or else on one of the countless buses and every kind of motor car that crammed the busy streets. Seen through Muslim eyes, such was the

city that through exporting and importing commodities, and establishing religious and communal associations, between the 1900s and 1930s became a major new terrain of exchange.

Funding and Building Islam in Japan

Having surveyed the terrain of Kobe, recognized its role in diversifying Japan's religious economy and introduced the Indians who by the 1920s were so prominent in its financial economy, we can finally turn to the mosque. The following pages show how the mosque that served to institutionalize Islam in Japan was the outcome of its founders' adaptation of business techniques and their redeployment of others' skills made available by Kobe's cosmopolitan terrain. For the mosque's impresario was a particular type of religious entrepreneur that was quite distinct from the state-sponsored, Sufi or Ahmadiyya religious professionals we have seen earlier. Muhammad Abdul Karim Bochia, the Indian who first proposed the mosque project, was first and foremost a merchant, as were all the other Indian supporters of the mosque project. Only when it eventually came to employing an *imam* did they have to look beyond their own circle to Japan's more vocationally diverse Tatars. For what we shall see behind the Kobe mosque was a response to the overseas church-building organizations of Christian missions through an adaptation of the techniques of the British 'gentlemanly capitalists' with whom Indians competed for business no less than status in Japan. But in drawing together skills and resources adapted from the British, Tatars, Japanese and even Egyptians present in Kobe, the mosque was more than a simple echo of the evangelical imperialism we have traced in earlier chapters. It was an ambitious Muslim outreach beyond the British Empire to what was briefly a realm of vast opportunity on the far side of the world.

Formally titled in English as the Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee, the religious firm that Muhammad Abdul Karim Bochia established was more simply known in Urdu as the *anjuman* ('association'). Its doctrinal profile was quite distinct from those of other Indian promotors of Islam in Japan and other new terrains. Unlike the politicized pan-Islamism that we have seen Muhammad Barakatullah exporting to Japan, the *anjuman*'s Islam was politically quietist and conformist. Unlike the messianic Islam of the Ahmadiyya that we saw Mufti Muhammad Sadiq exporting to America, the *anjuman*'s Islam was based firmly in Hanafi Sunnism and

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its recognition of Muhammad as the final prophet. Unlike the Sufi Islam that other Bombay Muslims such as Ghulam Muhammad 'Sufi Sahib' were exporting to South Africa, the *anjuman*'s Islam was a disenchanted and rationalized creed.[115] And unlike the hierarchical Isma'ili Islam that the Gujarati merchant followers of the Agha Khan were exporting throughout the British Empire, the *anjuman*'s Islam was an egalitarian and anti-intercessionary faith. Amid the different Islams promoted by so many competing religious firms, that of Bochia's *anjuman* was a modernist and reformist religiosity. Intellectually hybrid and Anglophone, it was the Islam of Bombay's Sunni merchant elite that was earlier associated with Badr al-Din Tayyibji (1844 1906) and his reformist Anjuman-e Islam. Shaped through earlier exchanges with the Christian missionaries of Bombay and through the demands of a wealthy and educated class of merchants, it was only one of the many Islams being produced in an age of intensified interaction.

A first-hand account of the kinds of interactions that surrounded the *anjuman* in Kobe can be found in the aforementioned Urdu travelogue of Badr al-Islam Fazli, who came into contact with the city's Muslims a couple of years before the mosque was opened. In 1932 or 1933, Fazli received a visit at his Tokyo lodgings from a Kobe Indian called Mr Ahmad.[116] On getting to know more about this visitor, Fazli learned that he was the son of an Indian Muslim father and a Chinese mother. Born and educated in Hong Kong, he had never actually visited India; after living for many years in Japan, he had taken a Japanese wife. He now worked with Kobe's Indian businessmen as an agent for the Sun Life Insurance Company, aided in his work as middleman between the Indians and their Japanese partners by his ability to speak English, Urdu and Japanese. Through this half-Chinese, half-Indian Muslim, Fazli learned of what he described as a community of around sixty Indian Muslims who resided in Kobe and gathered for Friday and festival prayers at the city's Indian Club, which as we saw opened in 1904. It was a situation that Mr Ahmad had been trying to resolve for the past two years by gathering funds from Indian Muslims in both Kobe and India to construct a proper mosque. Pointing to the incremental institutionalization of Islam in Japan and the role of religious firms based on the model of the voluntary society or *anjuman*, Mr Ahmad explained how such an *anjuman* had been founded in Kobe to oversee the mosque project. Mr Ahmad himself was its secretary, which was how he came to meet Fazli in Tokyo as part of his

outreach work for the *anjuman*. Here in Fazli's Urdu travelogue is crucial evidence for the kind of religious firm that had been founded for the task of constructing the first purpose-built mosque in Japan. For by the 1930s, Japan was not only hosting individual Muslim religious entrepreneurs such as the missionary Muhammad Barakatullah who had by then returned after his earlier expulsion: its port city terrain was now also *producing* Muslim religious firms such as the Kobe *anjuman*.

When Ahmad and Fazli spoke of an *anjuman*, they were using the Urdu term for the voluntary associations that had sprung up in great number in colonial India through the adaptation of British models of collective organization. Reflecting their hybrid origins, such *anjumans* were characterized by their modernist and reformist aims, whether providing modern education to both girls and boys, replacing 'superstition' with a more 'scientific' Islam or morally uplifting the urban Muslim poor. With governing boards and elected presidents whose offices were indigenized with the title of *sadr*, the *anjumans* were adaptations of the many British voluntary societies imported to colonial India. In both the British and Indian cases, these societies used voluntary subscriptions and donations to gather funds for the activities chosen by their board members. From around the 1860s onwards, such *anjumans* were founded by Muslims in Bombay, the home city of many of Kobe's merchants.[117] In Bombay, these *anjumans* were the most important organizational vehicles for Islamic reform, competing for the support of the city's vast Muslim population with such customary religious firms as the Sufi shrines and brotherhoods. If not ultimately successful in the larger proletarian marketplace of Bombay, the reformist *anjumans* did function as highly efficient mechanisms of fundraising for particular objectives, most famously in establishing Bombay's Anjuman-e Islam High School in 1893, a school which in its architectural blend of Gothic and Mughal styles promised a rationalized union of Christian and Muslim learning.[118] As such, the *anjumans* were institutional products of exchange that were in turn exported via Indian migration through the Indian Ocean and beyond.

In this way, the Kobe *anjuman* that Mr Ahmad described being founded to establish a mosque was an adaptation for a specific religious purpose of an adaptable organizational unit or firm. Given their backgrounds in other imperial ports such as Bombay, Rangoon and Singapore where other *anjumans* existed, Kobe's Indians were well aware of the use of *anjumans* as religious firms. At the same time, they were also able to adapt the

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models of more local voluntary associations for their purposes. As we have seen, Kobe had a considerable number of Indian clubs in which such prominent Muslim families as the Futehallys had risen to high office by around 1930. When the decision was taken in late 1929 to found an *anjuman* for the purposes of raising funds and, in time, overseeing the construction and management of a mosque, the merchants who proposed the idea were therefore well aware of how to organize such a venture.

While in organizational terms the religious firm they founded was a hybrid of British and Indian voluntary associations an *anjuman*-cum-club, as it were it also functioned as a social hub for the other organizations represented by its membership. This was, of course, an in-built feature of clubs that had served British gentlemanly capitalists so well. But its adaptation to Indian purposes saw it now draw together an array of Muslim groups and networks. Most importantly, these were the trading companies of the *anjuman*'s merchant members, companies that funnelled to the *anjuman* the personnel, skills, contacts and capital that were needed to establish a mosque. Different trading companies offered the *anjuman* skilled salesmen for fundraising tours; accounting skills to manage its increasingly complex finances and investments; connections to lawyers, builders, real estate brokers and architects; and most importantly, contacts with other Indian Muslim merchants throughout the British Empire who could be called on to pledge donations. In addition to functioning as a hub for representatives of Kobe's Muslim trading companies, the *anjuman* also drew together its members' contacts with other Indian organizations; Japan's larger Tatar community (which was also raising funds for a mosque at this time); and the diplomats of Muslim states represented in Japan. By drawing together for a single cause the resources, personnel and networks of so many disparate organizations, ranging from Indians in East Africa to the Afghan ambassador to Tokyo, the *anjuman* functioned as an extremely efficient religious firm.

As we have seen, by the early 1930s when the *anjuman* was taking shape, Kobe had been transformed from a wood-built fishing village into a neon, brick and concrete cityscape over which rose the spires and pagodas of American, European, Chinese and Japanese places of worship. The decision to build a mosque not least, to commission a design with two tall minarets astride a bold central dome was an act of visual competition with the city's more established religious groups. The mosque would, after all, be built just two blocks away from the city's Catholic church and

a short stroll from the Ruskinian All Saints Protestant church. Given the significant expense of buying land in the central business district, the competition to acquire even the territorial footprint was very real. Like Detroit, where we have similarly seen America's first mosque appear at the end of decades of church and synagogue construction, the Kobe mosque was partly a statement of community pride by a new community of migrants. Similar too was the financial enabling of these pioneering mosques through the rapid fortunes available to such migrants in industrializing cities beyond Europe's fading empires. But there were also important differences between the two mosque projects, both in financial and organizational terms. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Detroit mosque was funded by a Lebanese real estate developer, whose venture was only then taken over by a representative of a religious firm based in India. In financial terms, the Kobe mosque was by contrast a joint venture of many different investors and in organizational terms was overseen by a religious firm founded in Kobe itself rather than distant India. With its more diversified financial base and more localized organization, the Kobe mosque was a more viable religious venture than its counterpart in Detroit. This helps explain the fact that through the following decades when Detroit grew richer while Kobe was destroyed by bombs, through its concrete construction and subsidiary investments Japan's first mosque survived as its American sibling failed to outlast the Great Depression. Yet far apart as they were, what was common to both mosques was the role of Indian religious entrepreneurs in planting Islam in these distant new terrains.

The fact that the Kobe *anjuman* was gathering funds at the worldwide height of the Great Depression points to some of the financial dynamics of global religious exchange. For in the very years when Lancashire's textile workers were striking, Osaka's textile industry was booming. Indeed, the sudden shrinkage of Britain's long-dominant textile industry came largely from new competition by Japanese textile firms rapidly seizing British markets across the Middle East, India and South East Asia.[119] With its proximity to industrial Osaka, Kobe was the funnel for Japan's massive export drive, first through its Chinese merchants and then, with the influx of Indians after the Great Kanto Earthquake, through its Indian merchants.[120] As we have already seen, Kobe's Indians were particularly effective in bringing together the imports of raw cotton from India and the exports of finished textiles to South East Asia, where

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Indian firms were well established.[121] In the very years when so much of the world economy was collapsing, the Indians of Kobe grew rich to the point that at the height of the Great Depression in 1929 they felt confident enough to found a religious firm devoted to building a mosque that could stand proudly beside the churches, temples and synagogues of downtown Kobe.

The *anjuman* recorded its activities and meetings in handwritten and typed records that provide step-by-step details of how the mosque was established and who was involved in making it happen.[122] In the autumn of 1929, the *anjuman* began as an informal gathering of twelve members, the minutes of whose initial meetings referred to them as the 'Sunni Mohammadan Community of Kobe'. According to surviving records, they first met on 20 October 1929, when a dozen Indian merchants gathered at the house of Muhammad Abdul Karim Bochia 'to consider the question of building a mosque'.[123] Having called the meeting himself, Bochia 'outlined in detail the purpose of calling this meeting' as being the founding of a mosque in Kobe. With an eye to developments in other new Muslim terrains where Indians led the way, Bochia described how 'mosques were [already] built with funds collected in London, Berlin and Paris, and many Christians were converted'.[124] Having only arrived in Kobe the previous year, Bochia was quite the religious entrepreneur. For with a keen eye for strategy, at this very first meeting of the merchants he had assembled at his home he explained that 'managers of firms here who have their main offices in Rangoon have already approached their principals' with regard to raising funds.[125] Now he explained the next step of his strategy: 'subscriptions should be opened in Kobe so as to be able to buy land for building the mosque and managers and assistants of firms here be asked to subscribe'.[126] The game was afoot.

At the end of that first meeting, V. H. Toorabally was elected as chair of the group, which would shortly formally organize itself into the Kobe Sunni Mosque Committee, informally known to its members as the *anjuman*. While Bochia would remain the principal organizer, Toorabally was a sensible choice as front man for the project. He was the proprietor of one of Kobe's larger trading companies, the eponymous V. H. Toorabally & Co., which according to its advertisements exported such diverse goods as 'cotton, silk and rayon piece goods ... camphor, cement ... porcelain ware' and had agents as far afield as Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon, Singapore, Bangkok, Egypt and East Africa.[127] Moreover, as we have already seen,

his family was very well connected in Kobe, where his close relative M. S. Toorabally would soon be elected president of the Indian Club. Among the other merchants gathered at Bochia's house that first evening were A. S. Baig of Ahmed Abdul Karim Bros and P. M. Master, a director of N. A. Thanawalla & Co., who would both later play important roles in the *anjuman*.[128] Based on its minutes, also vocal at that first meeting was Abdul Ganni Ahmad, again of Ahmed Abdul Karim Bros; this was the Mr Ahmad who described the Kobe *anjuman* to the author of the Urdu travelogue, Fazli.[129] But the records show it was clearly Bochia who was the impresario behind the project. On the minutes of the first meeting, he was listed as the representative of Ahmed Ebrahim Bros, a company which according to the *Indian Directory for Japan* was based in Rangoon but whose Kobe branch was listed as 'Exporters of Hosiery, Piece Goods & Sundries'.[130] Bochia was clearly an ambitious commercial as well as religious entrepreneur and by the time the mosque was completed he had established his own company in Kobe, the Eastern Export Co.[131] Promoting his leadership over the mosque, a photograph of him later appeared in a souvenir booklet published to celebrate its opening in 1935.[132] Dressed in a sober British morning suit, Bochia was clean-shaven but for a clipped moustache and wore large round spectacles beneath a Brylcreemed parting; he looked every bit the gentlemanly capitalist.

In the years between 1929 and 1935, M. A. K. Bochia and P. M. Master led the *anjuman* firm which Bochia had established towards its single goal of founding the first mosque in Japan. The minutes of the *anjuman*'s meetings record in precise detail the strategies adopted to raise the necessary resources and deploy them effectively. As talented entrepreneurs, Bochia and Master were able to transform Kobe's Muslim merchant network into a religious network. Based at the headquarters of Ahmed Ebrahim Bros, where most of its meetings were held, the *anjuman* used the contacts and movements of its merchant members to generate the revenues for their project. Within months of the *anjuman*'s first meeting, its members voted to send a circular letter to all of the Muslim companies active in Kobe, urging them to donate generously.[133] Since the letter came from a religious firm whose membership comprised these companies' business associates, its refusal would hardly have been good for business. As the statements of accounts testify, donations began to pour in. Over the next few years, the *anjuman* continued to meet regularly to assess its budgets and review its strategies. At each meeting, its members

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drew on their business skills to suggest new ways of maximizing the *anjuman*'s revenues.

In November 1931, for example, amid the great fluctuation in the exchange rate between Japan and British India caused by the Great Depression and Britain's decision that year to abandon the Gold Standard, one member proposed 'taking advantage of the present favorable rate of exchange' by transferring the *anjuman*'s yen funds to Indian rupees.[134] Another successful proposal was to dispatch their secretary, S. A. Ahmad, on a fundraising tour of several months' duration to India, Burma and the Straits Settlements (that is, the British colonies in South East Asia), where Ahmad and other *anjuman* members had many business contacts.[135] Fazli's Urdu travelogue also described Ahmad visiting the Tatars of Tokyo, where he was presumably on a similar mission, for the Tatars did indeed pledge funds. The *anjuman* voted its approval of the proposal to send Ahmad on a wider mission overseas and in their familiar terms of business granted 500 yen for his travel expenses on the expectation that this investment would generate a considerable return.[136] As we have already seen from Fazli's travelogue, Ahmad had grown up in Hong Kong with an Indian father and Chinese mother and spoke English, Urdu, Japanese and Cantonese. He was, then, well-qualified for a fundraising journey that would take him along the busy steamship route that led from Kobe to Hong Kong, Singapore, Rangoon, Calcutta and finally Bombay. That Ahmad was expected to conduct his mission in just two or three months was testament to the efficiency of the steamer connections that tied these distant ports together, pointing again to the centrality of industrial communications for the period's heightened religious exchanges.

As revenues increased through the success of these various initiatives, the *anjuman*'s members again deployed their business skills in the service of their faith. In September 1932 they contacted Takenaka Komuten, a contracting firm with which several members had already done business, to provide an estimate for building the mosque. The *anjuman*'s minutes record the merchants carefully scrutinizing Takenaka's estimate.[137] Next, the local law company of De Becker & De Becker was hired to oversee the legal transactions of land sales and building contracts.[138] Based on the merchants' business contacts, it was another informed decision, for the law firm in question had been founded by the recently deceased Joseph De Becker (1863–1929), a renowned British expert on Japanese law

who, after authoring *A Commentary on the Commercial Code of Japan* (1913) and *International Private Law of Japan* (1919), took Japanese citizenship and established his legal practice in Kobe. De Becker & De Becker served many of the port's British and Indian businessmen and by the early 1930s was in the able hands of its founder's partner and son. Other precautions were also taken, and to avoid any siphoning of moneys, in January 1933 the *anjuman* appointed an external auditor to go through its accounts.[139] Later, members debated in which of Kobe's banks their assets would best be deposited.[140] When in 1935 a financial shortfall was discovered during the months when the mosque was being constructed   by which time so many avenues of income had already been pursued   several members came up with the innovative suggestion of seeking not another donation from local Muslims but a pious loan instead. Having already given money as gifts, it was suggested, the same donors might nonetheless be willing to earn further divine merit through agreeing to a *qardh-e husna*, an interest-free loan that was sanctioned in Islamic law.[141] In what was the first recorded sign of future disagreements, Kobe's Indians agreed but the local Tatars who were also consulted declined to provide more money.

The *anjuman*'s accounts provide a dizzying picture of the variety of donors enticed by its strategies of fundraising. Like the investments we saw in Chapter Four of Aurangabad's mill-owners in the khanaqah of Mu'inullah Shah, as a new kind of religious firm the *anjuman* was creating new forms of religious investment. Having developed over the previous decades among other Indian mercantile diasporas in other ports such as Rangoon and Durban, these merchant investments reflected the emergence of a new religious economy of Islam whose financial underpinnings were quite distinct from the land-grants and gifts given by the Muslim emperors and courtiers of earlier times.

In view of Bochia's masterstroke of transforming his associates' business network into a religious network, it is little surprise that the largest donors to the Kobe mosque were either individual Indian Muslim merchants, their companies or both. The latter was a result of another of Bochia's ploys in which he promised to list in the public record individual donors by their private names and companies by their corporate names, so allowing donors to be recognized as private philanthropists at the same time as gathering good publicity for their companies. Like many such fundraising campaigns, the *anjuman*'s was also fortunate in attracting a big individual donor, the Indian businessman J. B. Ferozuddin, who

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donated 66,000 yen.[142] While his absence from Kobe and Yokohama trade directories and address books suggests that Ferozuddin was not a resident of Japan, two reports from 1934 in the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* describe an Indian businessman called Ferozuddin twice taking the new Imperial Airways flight service between Singapore and Calcutta. This at least suggests that Ferozuddin was a wealthy merchant resident of either Singapore or Calcutta, whence S. A. Ahmad had been dispatched to raise funds.[143]

After Ferozuddin, the next largest donors were two companies, Ahmed Ebrahim Bros and Ahmed Abdul Karim Bros, which each donated around 14,000 yen. Pointing to the functioning of the *anjuman* as a pious gentleman's club, Ahmed Ebrahim Bros was the original employer of Bochia himself and was based in Rangoon, another port city whose Muslim merchants had established around a dozen notable mosques during the previous half-century.[144] The other large donor, Ahmed Abdul Karim Bros, was the employer of A. S. Baig, who was also present at the original 1929 meeting at Bochia's house. Similarly present that first night was P. M. Master, a director of N. A. Thanawalla & Co., which in giving 851 yen was one of the next tier of donors, also including such companies as Vally Noor Mohammed Co., A. Mohamed & Co. and the Oriental Export & Import Co. Among the almost fifty private donors were many names listed in Japanese trade directories as proprietors or employees of Indian companies. Clearly, this successfully fulfilled the entrepreneurial Bochia's primary strategy of tapping his associates' business contacts for donations. All of the *anjuman*'s members also donated money, similarly confirming Bochia's wisdom in selecting a dozen wealthy businessmen for the initial gathering at his house to lay the *anjuman*'s foundation.

Yet the fund drive was no parochial enterprise and the *anjuman*'s accounts show that the campaign reached far beyond the committee and even the shores of Japan, with donations from merchants in the Straits Settlements, Surabaya (the major trading port in the Dutch East Indies), Sri Lanka, Burma, East Africa and various ports of India. Judging by the spelling of their names, the vast majority of these donors appear to have been members of the Indian trade diaspora. But by presenting itself as a collective Islamic project, the campaign also reached beyond them such that Japan's non-Indian Muslims were also called on to help. Representing the largest Muslim community in the country, an organization that

claimed to represent the 'Turko-Tatar Community of Kobe & Osaka' provided what was overall the sixth largest donation. At some 2,510 yen, it was a considerable sum for a collective of refugees fleeing the Soviet takeover of their Russian homelands who at that point still had no proper mosque of their own. Also listed in the accounts was Habibullah Khan Tarzi, who as the first Afghan ambassador to Tokyo from 1933 to 1939 oversaw the beginning of Afghanistan's official interactions with Japan, including the arrival of the first Afghan students in Tokyo.[145] A somewhat lesser donor was the Egyptian consul in Kobe, Mahmoud Fawzy (1900 81), who had earlier studied in those other great ports of Liverpool and New York and who later became Egypt's prime minister. In the souvenir booklet printed for the mosque's inauguration, Fawzy explained his motivation as being that of 'a citizen of an Islamic country and as a member of the great family of Islam'.[146]

By March 1936, the total sum that the *anjuman* had raised amounted to 118,774.73 yen.[147] To give some sense of its spending power, the *anjuman* spent only 14,000 yen on purchasing a large plot of land on Nakayamate-Dori near so many of the donors' businesses in Kobe's central business district, while another 13,000 yen was sufficient to buy several houses that could be rented to provide a steady future income to maintain the mosque and pay the salary of an *imam*.[148] Totalling less than 23 per cent of their total funds, this left a good deal of money spare for the construction of the mosque itself, leading the *anjuman*'s members to the task of selecting an architect and a construction firm to lend concrete form to their ambitions. Here began a further round of exchanges; inevitably, insofar as none of the Indians or other Muslims involved in the project were architects or builders. As global terrain, the ports of Japan hosted several foreign architects who designed clubhouses, offices and homes for foreign residents. Several of the architects had also designed the new churches of Japan. Drawing on these expatriate business networks, the *anjuman* selected a Czech architect called Jan Josef Švagr (1885 1969).

Born in Týnčany in what was then the Austro-Hungarian province of Bohemia, Švagr had moved to Japan in 1923. By the time he received the commission for the Kobe mosque, Švagr had designed a sequence of prominent buildings in Yokohama, including the office buildings for the Standard Oil Company (1928) and the Rising Sun Petroleum Company (1929) and the neo-Gothic Sacred Heart Catholic Cathedral (1933). Švagr's commissions, particularly his cathedral with its soaring spire and

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elegantly arched interior, had come to the *anjuman*'s attention because many of Kobe's Indians had previously resided in Yokohama; several of those involved in the mosque project still conducted business there, including the large donor, Ahmed Abdul Karim Bros.[149] Adding further to his credentials as a religious architect, just a year earlier in 1934 Švagr had also designed a Catholic church in neighbouring Osaka. Having chosen its architect, the *anjuman* turned next to the choice of a contractor, settling this time on a well-established Japanese company, Takenaka Komuten, with whom we have already seen it making contact. Based in Nagoya, by the time the Takenaka corporation took on the mosque contract it had offices in Tokyo, Osaka and Yokohama as well as Kobe, where its branch had opened back in 1899.[150] It was another informed choice, for having since the early Meiji era constructed some of Japan's first European-style buildings, the Takenaka corporation was well accustomed to building to foreign designs.[151] According to the *anjuman*'s accounts, Takenaka Komuten was paid 57,525 yen to construct both the mosque and an adjoining school for Muslim children, presumably as an alternative to Kobe's existing Hindustani school with its Hindu headmaster, S. R. Verma.[152] Since the mosque would later withstand not only the Allied bombings but also Kobe's devastating 1995 earthquake, the choices of both architect and contractor turned out to be sound ones. Like the *anjuman*'s other decisions, the choices were based on its businessmen members' keen sense of their market terrain.

The Kobe mosque was officially opened in October 1935. Marking the fruit of six years' effort, the opening ceremony was a lavish affair that culminated in a magnificent reception at Kobe's Tor Hotel costing 500 yen that had been put aside to pay for the reception.[153] Considering that many donors had only pledged between 2 and 20 yen for the mosque itself, this was a considerable sum. Reflecting the modernist religious vision of the *anjuman*'s leading members many of whom were photographed that day in elegant Western suits a resolution had been passed to allow women to attend the opening ceremony.[154] As reported in the local Japanese newspaper *Kobe Yu-shin Nippon*, also present at the ceremony were the mayor of Kobe, Ginjiro Katsuda, and a host of five hundred foreign and visiting dignitaries specially invited from abroad.[155] The newspaper report evoked the exoticism of the mosque's design, with its crescent moon symbol and large dome adding variety to the Kobe skyline.[156] Another article in the same Japanese newspaper publicized the very acts of exchange that we have seen taking place around the mosque:

The mosque has a classic Arabian aura that represents the unique cultural quality of an Islamic country and is a perfect match for the international city of Kobe. The contruction of the mosque was made possible by three hundred Tatar Muslims and the financial contributions of our country. It cost 60,000 Yen and was designed and built by the Takenaka construction company... The top of the

Fig. 20: Institutionalizing a Japanese Islam: the Kobe mosque, 1935

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dome has a crescent moon sign that illuminates after sunset. Now the holy light of the crescent moon is reflected in the night sky of the harbor city, Kobe.[157]

Among the overseas guests at the opening ceremony was Mian Abdul Aziz, a former president of the All-India Moslem League who acted as master of ceremonies and later published the speech he made that day at the mosque.[158] A report in the local *Japan Chronicle* described him as dressed 'in the robe of an Arab priest' that had been woven in Medina and sent to Kobe by the Rangoon merchant Hajji Dawood Hashim Muhammad Esoof. Abdul Aziz began his speech by evoking what we have conceived as the transformation of Kobe into a more pluralistic terrain of exchange.[159] 'When after her long seclusion, Japan again opened her gates to visitors from all the world,' he intoned, 'she guaranteed to these visitors, as to her own subjects, religious freedom, and she has always kept her word: the Mosque, the opening of which we are here to celebrate, is the latest example of this liberty.'[160] Abdul Aziz went on to laud the variety of Indian, Malay, Turkish and Russian Muslims who stood gathered at the mosque as well as the 'many Japanese people who have come within our fraternity' and the nobility of the creed that unified them.[161] As he reached the crescendo of his opening address, he looked to the future of Islam in Japan:

> We pray to God that a day may come when Muslim prayers may be regularly offered in Japan and hundreds of Muslims may congregate to bear witness to the Unity of God. I am glad to see that it has pleased God to allow us to see that day... Let us pray for the day when the Call to the prayer of the One True God shall resound from the minarets of many a mosque in Japan; and the people of this country... shall see and share with us the Light with which the followers of the Great Prophet of Arabia have been blessed.[162]

Abdul Aziz was not the only dignitary to make a speech that day and the scripts of several other speeches were published shortly afterwards in a commemorative booklet.[163] A persistent theme of the speeches was the ambition that the mosque should become a bridgehead for the spread of Islam in Japan: the speakers clearly recognized the role of institutions as religious power bases. The Afghan ambassador Habibullah Khan Tarzi (1896 after 1953), scion of Afghanistan's leading political family and subsequent ambassador to the United States, echoed the aspirations of Abdul Aziz by declaring his hope that the 'mosque may in the course of time prove to be the forerunner of a Muslim mosque in each and every town of

Japan'.[164] Next came the prominent Indian lawyer and journalist Sir Abdul Qadir (1872 1950), who similarly described the mosque's purpose as being 'a centre for propagating ideas about Islam' that would be 'the harbinger of great results in the future'.[165] From distant Woking, Aftabuddin Ahmed, the Indian *imam* of the first mosque in England, had posted a sermon to be read on this great day: he too declared that it was 'up to our Muslim brethren in Japan to make a united effort and preach Islam to the Japanese nation'.[166] Pointing to the competition already present in the expanding Japanese religious marketplace, he added, 'it is true that Buddhism and Christianity have a great lead over Islam in this country, but the Sun of Islam has now risen in the Land of the Rising Sun'.[167]

Conclusions

Although led by the Indian religious entrepreneur M. A. K. Bochia and his entirely Indian committee, in its fundraising efforts the *anjuman* had presented itself as an inclusive Islamic project. Responding to what Bochia and his colleagues saw as religious demand from not only Indians but from Tatars, Malays and the smaller number of converts and Middle Eastern Muslims in Japan, the mosque was presented as a unifying institution for all followers of Muhammad. But as its opening drew near, the Indian investors in the mosque sought to retain control of the institution they had created. In this, the *anjuman* resembled the Ahmadiyya religious firm that we have seen Muhammad Sadiq introducing to America, which for all its promises to unite African American and other converts in the brotherhood of Islam remained entirely under Indian control. After all, whoever controlled the mosque was granted considerable social power through their ability to direct the religious doctrines and obligations of the varied Muslims who worshipped there.

As in Detroit, where rivalries with other Muslim ethnic groups and their own religious entrepreneurs soon filled America's first mosque with dissension, in Kobe the mosque records reveal that there were soon increasing tensions between Indians and Tatars. Even before the mosque was opened, the majority Indian members of the *anjuman* had fallen out with the faction of Tatars led by Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy Qurban 'Ali, whom we saw earlier as the chief impresario of Islam in Tokyo. Indeed, Qurban 'Ali's Tatars were not even allowed to attend the opening ceremony.[168] Within two years of its opening, the Indians were accusing

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other Tatars of engaging in 'prohibited' (probably political) activities inside the mosque compound.[169] While assuring the Tatars that 'all Muslims shall be treated equally' in the mosque, the Indian president of the *anjuman* nonetheless reminded them of the legal bindings in the mosque's foundation charter that 'Indians especially Sunni Hanafis are accorded Special Terms in the management of the Mosque'.[170] Once again we see the importance of identifying the operations of the religious firms that, beneath surface claims of Muslim unity, acquire social power through gaining control of the symbolic and institutional resources of religion. We can also now see that whether in Japan, the United States or the other new terrains they were reaching by the twentieth century, South Asian religious firms were often better organized, better funded and more effective than firms associated with other Muslim ethnicities. The intensity of the Indian colonial encounter had borne unexpected fruits as a hybrid voluntary association had become the vehicle of religious authenticity.

There were, though, limits to the ambitions voiced by the impresarios of Islam on that heady day when Kobe's mosque was inaugurated in October 1935. The rising of the sun of Islam over Japan that various Muslim Japanophiles had prophesied in their writings would never come to pass. Although, in its expansionist next decade, the Japanese Empire engaged closely with the Muslims of Asia, the ambitions given voice at the opening ceremony would never be realized. Certainly, there were efforts to 'preach Islam to the Japanese nation', not least through the dispatch of mosque representatives to meet high officials in Tokyo.[171] And certainly there were some successes. It was on the mosque's building site and at the hands of its *imam* that in 1932 the influential Japanese writer Bunpachiro Ariga had converted to Islam; as we have seen earlier, three years after the mosque opened, he published his Japanese Quran.[172] Then in 1937 the marginalized Tatars who had helped fund the mosque, only to be then nudged out of it, succeeded in opening their own mosque in Nagoya, followed by another the following year in Tokyo. These too were terrains of exchange, for it was another Indian impresario, Muhammad 'Abd al-'Alim Siddiqi (1892–1954), who on a visit to Japan in 1936 laid the foundation stone of the Nagoya mosque on behalf of the All-Malaya Moslem Missionary Society.[173] Organized into such transnational firms, India's Muslims were as active in founding institutions in Nagoya as they were in Rangoon, Detroit and Berlin.

The Nagoya mosque was in fact only one of many mosques that the entrepreneurial Siddiqi helped found from East Asia to South Africa and the Caribbean. It was through the efforts of such entrepreneurs as Siddiqi, Bochia and Barakatullah that Japan had been drawn into a global programme of Muslim propagation, institution-building and empowerment. Within months of the inauguration of the Nagoya mosque, Siddiqi claimed to have converted twenty-two Japanese who were 'now carrying on missionary work themselves'.[174] But like the many Christian firms who similarly sought to convert Japan, their Muslim counterparts were suppliers to a market in which by the 1930s there was limited demand for non-Japanese that is, non-national religions. As Abdul Aziz noted in his own comments on the limited expansion of Islam in Japan, 'the Japanese are a supremely nationalist people' so that missionaries must 'be careful that Islam is not presented as a foreign creed brought by foreigners'.[175] The transnational religious possibilities of the imperial globalization of the previous century were ultimately contained by the bulwarks of religious nationalism. For despite the earlier promises of the Meiji Constitution concerning freedom of religion, from the 1930s the Japanese state increasingly coerced the religious transactions of its citizens. When Japan embarked on its war with the British Empire, almost all of Kobe's Indian Muslims departed, leaving the mosque, ironically, in the hands of the Tatars they had earlier marginalized. When the war was over, they too mostly emigrated to Istanbul and San Francisco.[176]

Rather than marking the beginning of a new era of Islam in Japan as its Indian investors had hoped, the opening of the Kobe mosque announced the end of an era in which the ports of Japan had seen Indian Muslims seek a stake in what for a few brief decades was a pluralizing religious marketplace. Remarkably according to its worshipers, miraculously their mosque survived the Allied bombings that flattened the surrounding districts of the city. But if its Indian impresarios were gone, it was far from the end of the story for South Asia's Muslim firms: the decolonizing decades after 1945 afforded them new opportunities in a postcolonial world order. But in the world of European empires that survived until World War Two, the patterns of religious exchange that began in the early nineteenth century reached their farthest horizon in Kobe. Funded by Indians, designed by a Czech, built by Japanese and inherited by Tatars, on its quiet side street the mosque stands today as the incongruous monument to an earlier age of exchange.

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CONCLUSIONS

Through the rubric of exchange, the previous chapters have studied not merely religion and globalization but religion as globalization. For the aim of this book has been to introduce neglected social forces to the study of not only global history but also modern history more generally by making the case that globalized modernity was inseparable from the expansion of new religious firms who competed for followers in the far corners of the world. Through case studies of varied deployments of the social tools of religion, we have seen religion as both a driver and outcome, a producer and product, of global exchange.[1] By deconstructing the abstraction of 'religion' into its concrete constituent parts in the social world, the method here has been to identify mechanisms of exchange through a focus on tangible techniques of communication (chiefly travel, translation and printing) and organization (chiefly the mission, the Sufi brotherhood and the voluntary association) as they were deployed and adapted in different terrains.

Setting these exchanges apart from those of earlier periods was the catalytic role in triggering them played by Protestant religious firms that sought to transform imperial conquests into religious conquests. With their efficient mechanisms of raising funds, deploying technologies, training personnel and distributing 'product' (particularly printed books), the Protestant missions were true multinationals of faith that adapted the financial and managerial techniques of commercial imperialism to build a parallel empire of Christ. What makes these Christian firms so important for the study of global history is their introduction of these same tools, techniques and products to so many different terrains, allowing us to trace the related but divergent reactions of their local cooperators and competitors to the same stimuli.

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Through dynamic interactions with such Christian religious firms, we have seen Islam given new theological and organizational forms by entrepreneurial Muslim religious innovators, adapters, middlemen and occasionally converts who were quick to learn from their Christian competitors and cooperators. Conceiving Europeans as catalysts rather than controllers of exchange has enabled us to see how these interactions fed dynamic cycles of further exchange, both competitive and cooperative, that spilled into new terrains with their own local players. We saw a key example when Karl Gottlieb Pfander and Mirza Farukh wrote their Persian *Mízan al-Haqq* in the Caucasus, which Pfander then took to India and published in Urdu translation in the port of Calcutta, from where it triggered local reactions in India that in turn led Rahmatullah Kairanawi to write his Arabic *Izhar al-Haqq* in response and publish it in the port of Istanbul, whence it was itself exported back to India to be translated into Urdu and in turn initiate a new cycle of exchange. In such ways, these dynamic cycles of religious exchange were generative and productive, enabling sequences of interacting entrepreneurs to create a variety of new religious forms, whether in the organizational terms of a missionary Islam or the semantic terms of a Hindu Sufism. The shared structures of exchange were in this way inseparable from the semantics of exchange in which the doctrinal content of Islam increasingly adapted new concepts at the hands of religious entrepreneurs.

Our experiment of following different Muslims into contact with a sequence of 'others', ranging from Scottish Bible printers to Japanese manufacturers, has shown the mutability of Islam as a social production that skillful entrepreneurs can adapt for different 'markets', 'consumers' and 'competitors'. From the messianic Islam of the Ahmadiyya Jama'at to the scripturalist Islam of Quran printers, the varied outcomes of these interactions had no singular trajectory, no steady momentum towards a unified or uniform 'global Islam'.[2] Whether today or a century ago, to look behind the surface similarities of global Islam (or a century ago, 'pan-Islam') is to see a multitude of religious entrepreneurs and firms, each with their varied agendas, interests and memberships. Yet if there was (and is) no single pattern or teleology behind the global expansion of Islam, there was (and is) an identifiable process at work: the generation of new religious entrepreneurs, firms, products, communities and practices through exchanges characterized by competition, cooperation, adaptation and innovation.

In one case study after another, we have seen interactions between such entrepreneurs and firms create a productive cycle that generated new religious entities. This process is heightened in the absence of state controls or other checks on religious interactions: the comparison between the relative success of Muslim entrepreneurs in winning converts in America compared with the tiny number of converts in the more regulated religious economy of Japan is a case in point. In religious economies as in commercial economies, there is a link between 'liberal' regimes and productivity: the more exchange that is permitted, the more religion becomes diversified.[3] This in turn helps partly explain the massive expansion of religious movements in the age of imperial globalization, the slow-down in religious productivity in the more bordered world of the Cold War and the resurgence of religious entrepreneurship in the more recent phase of open-border exchange. In the simplest terms, there is now more (and more varied and widely dispersed) religion in the world than there once was. This development is the historical outcome of a global dynamic of generative exchange.

It is the interplay of transnational actors with local players and conditions that produces the variables we have termed 'rates of exchanges', the flexible responses to analogous stimuli that allow us to explain different outcomes and trajectories of religious development. These variable rates of exchange generate different paths of religious development characterized by different types of products and services, providers and consumers. For when viewed as concrete social entities, religions are never the same entity in different terrains: in one marketplace the Muslim religious firm must provide supernatural talismans and cures for spirit possession; in another, modernized forms of welfare and political mobilization; in another, psychological solace and identity construction. Such differentiation is the outcome of these variable rates of exchange which, in the period surveyed in this book and its sibling *Bombay Islam*, saw firms that promoted 'enchanted' religious products and services dominate the competitive religious markets of the Indian Ocean at the same time that 'disenchanted' Islams made headway into the new market terrains of Europe and Japan. Unlike the linear, temporal trajectory of Weberian sociology, the planar, spatial dynamic of the sociology of religious economy allows for the contemporaneity of a range of religious forms in different terrains. In this model, Weber's 'disenchantment' (*Entzauberung*) can competitively co-exist with, or even be replaced by, the impresarios

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of 'enchantment' (*Zauberung*). In the empirical tradition of the social sciences, this model fits better with the evidence of both past and contemporary history. As the anthropologist Benjamin Soares has argued for colonial and postcolonial West Africa, progressive modernization is quite capable of following an anti-Weberian path towards the re-enchantment and personalization of Muslim religiosity.[4] For history has no end point, no *telos* of secularization, rationalization or modernization. In recognition of this, we have seen how the dynamic interplay between religious supply and demand allows talented entrepreneurs to promote messianisms and supernaturalisms even in modernity's most technologically advanced terrains.

Through a processual sequence of case studies, we have wandered through adjoining fields of 'translocality' to see a multidirectional but nonetheless coherent global history that is still unfolding today.[5] After all, most of the religious firms discussed in this book are still in operation, some as local concerns, others as vast transnational enterprises. Not only has the worldwide outreach of the religious firms seen in previous chapters been sustained to this day, but so has the prominence of Muslim religious entrepreneurs from South Asia. In the year this book was completed, the leader of the Ahmadiyya Movement we saw sending Muhammad Sadiq to Detroit hosted the high officialdom of Los Angeles to a grand public reception; in Japan, the management of the Kobe mosque had returned to South Asian hands; and from London to Hong Kong the South Asian Tablighi Jama'at had taken control of mosque after mosque. As the demographic dominance of South Asia's Muslim population continues to outweigh that of the Middle East, South East Asia and Africa, this pattern looks likely to continue and even accelerate in the decades to come, not least through South Asian migration and other forms of transnationalism.[6] Through the activities of their many religious entrepreneurs and firms, South Asian Muslims have become global Muslims.

Whether cosmopolitan or sectarian, today's multiple global Islams are the hybridized outcomes of the chain reactions of dynamic and generative exchange described here. The analytical distance afforded by the model developed here is useful because the rhetoric of self-proclaimed Islamic 'purifiers' such as the Salafi or Deobandi religious firms should not blind us to the fact that even these 'fundamentalist' organizations traffic in the hybrid religious semantics of global exchange. Ironically, the

fundamentalist retreat to the pure text of scripture was only made possible by the spread of iron printing presses to Muslim regions to allow for the first time in history the mass production, and later the vernacular translation, of the Quran. Insofar as there has been a Reformation among Muslims, it has taken place through exchange with the missionary heirs of the Protestant Reformation in Europe. In this way, even Muslim 'Protestantism' and 'fundamentalism' emerged as hybrid products of the adaptive and competitive exchanges we have seen with the Christian vernacular Bible printers of the nineteenth century.

Looking analytically beyond apparent differences of rhetoric and doctrine to focus on interaction, strategy, technology and organization has therefore allowed us to follow religious players in interactive games of adaptive and creative exchange. For the long view we have taken in from Cambridge to Kobe has shown how the tools of Christianization became the tools of Islamization as Muslim missionaries like Muhammad Sadiq adapted the techniques pioneered by the Oxbridge Evangelicals to export Islam to England and America. Moving between and then beyond imperial geographies has in this way enabled us to reframe global history in the age of European empires in a way that neither diminishes nor overstates the impact of empire. In passing from imperial strongholds (such as Oxford and London) through imperial borderlands (such as the Caucasus and Hyderabad) on to non-European nations (such as America and Japan), we have traced patterns of exchange in which the same techniques that in one terrain empowered Christian entrepreneurs were adapted elsewhere to empower the impresarios of Islam. In many respects, the roles played by printing, trains, steamships and the automobile and textile industries meant that the context was industrialization as much as empire. Evidently the two were intertwined. But the pursuit in this book of processes that moved through and beyond imperial geographies shows that technologies and capital could be used to empower Muslim counter-missions no less than Europe's Christian imperialisms.[7] For the complex aggregates of sometimes cooperating and sometimes conflicting networks and interests known as 'empires' served to redistribute resources in ways that alternately empowered and disempowered different social groups.[8] Religious organizations   particularly innovative firms led by capable entrepreneurs   were among those empowered by these exchanges by gaining large numbers of followers at the expense of older religious 'establishments'.[9] The following achieved by such hybrid

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twentieth century religious firms as the Muslim Brotherhood and Tablighi Jama'at is testament to this development.

This returns us finally to the primordial nexus between religion and power. The sociology of Michael Mann teaches us that organization is crucial to the production of social power and this is a point echoed through the many cases we have seen of the emergence of new religious organizations or 'firms'.[10] As defined in the Introduction, social power is the basic energy of the human world: it is the power to shape opinions and mindscapes, behaviours and affections, the affiliations of groups and the contours of community. By conceptualizing social power as the means of defining and directing collective human life, we can more easily recognize effective organization as a route to such agency over others for religious entrepreneurs and firms. For this reason, in the theoretical model developed in this book (and its sibling, *Bombay Islam*), emphasis has been placed on the role of the religious firm as the collective organizational unit of religious endeavour. In an attempt to reveal better the innovative dimensions of religion that are usually sacrificed to believers' rhetoric of continuity and tradition, attention has also been given to the religious entrepreneur. As we have seen, the power of these figures can often be measured by their ability to establish effective firms to distribute their services in exchange for the expansion of their fellowships. But even in cases where entrepreneurs were unable to establish firms or institutions capable of amplifying their social power, they served as innovative agents in the generation and expansion of their various Islams into new terrains.

If religious power is usually negotiated through mechanisms of exchange, in the late twentieth century the emergence of the state as a coercive monopolizer of religious power in Iran and other Muslim-majority nations has weakened the role of 'consumer' negotiation. While not the focus of this book, such state forms of dominating religious power and the violent resistance triggered by attempts to gain such monopolistic power by 'terrorist' entrepeneurs in places such as Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan can certainly be analyzed through the rubric of religious economy. To focus on exchange is in no way to rob history of politics: though rarely violent, the negotiated exchanges we have seen carried out through religion were more often competitive than cooperative. Rendering such activities a form of politics is the fact that the root of such competition was the struggle for religious power as a form of

social power. Violence is an occasional strategy of firms competing for such power.

As a vernacular idiom of politics, religion is therefore a route to social power that competes in the wider political arena through its claims to cultural authenticity. By increasingly performing this role in many globalized terrains, religion has become an arena of increasing contestation, particularly in Muslim regions where religion forms a rare avenue of social mobility. Islam is a resource over which, like other resources, multiple claimants compete for control. This is especially the case among the aspirant leaders we have termed 'entrepreneurs' who struggle to direct the symbolic and material resources accessable through the founding of firms and the gaining of followers. While to focus on such instrumentalizing bids for power is to emphasize the 'supply' rather than the 'demand' side of religious economy, the suppliers we have termed entrepreneurs and firms can only gain social power through successfully appealing to markets of religious consumers. It is for this reason that the communication techniques we have followed in transit printing and translating, preaching and propagating were so crucial to competitive bids for authority. It is little wonder that cognate terms for these communication techniques (such as *tabligh*, *da'wa*, *isha'at*, *tarjuma* and *irshad*) feature in the names of so many of the Muslim religious firms at work in the world today.

Through tracing the outcomes of a series of unlikely relationships, we have seen such routes to power, agency and authenticity as the processual mechanics of religious globalization. Since the primal forces of globalization are usually conceived in political and economic terms 'global empires', 'global capitalism' the model employed here of religion as an apparatus of social power enables us to take religion seriously as not merely a passive *Geist* but as an active force in the world. If the study of global history can often appear as a parade of merchants and imperialists, then what we have seen of religion as a route to power for individuals and organizations helps us appreciate better the continued importance of religion in increasingly competitive societies with growing populations, shrinking resources and constrained social mobility. Incorporating into the model of exchange mechanisms of adaptation and cooperation no less than differentiation and competition also allows us to move beyond the rhetoric of indigeneity, authenticity and resistance. Religious symbols are, after all, transferable goods that potentially allow even the most indigent of entrepreneurs to access powerful social resources.

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If the underlying argument of this book is correct, that religion is increasingly generated as an outcome of exchange, then the logical consequence is that increasing interactions will produce increasing amounts of religion. Should the aggregate of exchanges we call globalization continue in future years, it will further generate new religious entrepreneurs and firms who will travel, adapt, innovate, compete and sometimes cooperate to meet the changing religious demands of an unsettled and expanding world. As vehicles of social power, religious organizations look no more likely to disappear than their financial or political counterparts. While narratives of progress and modernity once taught us to look back to the medieval world as the great age of religion, we may instead need to brace ourselves for a future that hosts more religion than at any time in history.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: TERRAINS OF EXCHANGE

1. Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 1, *A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, new edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 2.
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6. Elizabeth A. Foster, *Faith in Empire: Religion, Politics, and Colonial Rule in French Senegal, 1880 1940* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008) and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).
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10. For a flawed if nonetheless insightful blend of emic and etic approaches to this question of innovation, see Mehran Kamrava (ed.), *Innovation in Islam: Traditions and Contributions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). Though restricted to commercial rather than religious economics in the Middle East, in the face of various emic and etic claims that Islam is antithetical to innovation, a recent empirical study has usefully concluded that '[t] here is no evidence of incompatibility between Muslim values and entrepreneurship'. See Rasem N. Kayed & M. Kabir Hassan, *Islamic Entrepreneurship* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 292.
11. Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam* (Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986).
12. I am referring here to 'tradition' in its ordinary (one is tempted to say lazy) academic usage and not to the sociological concept of tradition, on which see Edward Shils, *Tradition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, repr. 2006), and with regard to Islam, Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), Introduction.
13. Green, (2011).
14. Benjamin F. Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy: History and Authority in a Malian Town* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 2005).
15. For the most explicit examples, see the case studies in Toby E. Huff & Wolfgang Schluchter (eds), *Max Weber and Islam* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999).
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17. Antoinette M. Burton (ed.), *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Michael Dodson & Brian Hatcher (eds), *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia* (London: Routledge, 2012); and Kathleen Wilson (ed.), *A New Imperial History: Culture, Identity and Modernity in Britain and the Empire, 1660 1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
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1. PARNASSUS OF THE EVANGELICAL EMPIRE

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2. Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 1, *A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, new edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 1.

3. Said (1978), pp. 120 21.
4. Inge E. Boer (ed.), *After Orientalism: Critical Entanglements, Productive Looks* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003); Diane Long Hoeveler & Jeffrey Cass (eds), *Interrogating Orientalism: Contextual Approaches and Pedagogical Practices* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006); Chandreyee Niyogi (ed.), *Reorienting Orientalism* (Delhi: SAGE, 2006). Even the fullest historical survey of Oriental learning elides its evangelical period: see Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (New York: Allen Lane, 2006).
5. I am using the term evangelical (with lower case) to refer collectively to the range of figures and movements promoting the overseas proselytizing of Christianity in this period rather than the narrower Evangelical (with upper case) movement that emerged from Whitefield and the Wesleys. In this broader usage, I follow the standard work of David Bebbington: 'Evangelicalism … is not to be equated with any single Christian denomination, for it influenced the existing churches in the eighteenth century and generated many more in subsequent years. It has found expression in a variety of institutional forms…' See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 1.
6. On the spread of Evangelicalism to the American empire, see B. R. Ward, *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). On the emergence of the Indian Empire as an Evangelical destination, see Penny Carson, 'The British Raj and the Awakening of the Evangelical Conscience: The Ambiguities of Religious Establishment and Toleration, 1698 1833', in Brian Stanley (ed.), *Christian Missions and the Enlightenment* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2001); and Andrew Porter, 'Religion, Missionary Enthusiasm, and Empire', in Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 3, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
7. Bebbington (1993), pp. 5 10.
8. Farhan Nizami, 'Madrasahs, Scholars, and Saints: Muslim Responses to the British Presence in Delhi and the Upper Doab 1803 1857' (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1983); and S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz: Puritanism, Sectarian Polemics and Jihad* (Canberra: Ma'rifat Publishing, 1982).
9. Thomas Robinson, *The Glory of the Church in its Extension to Heathen Lands: A Sermon Preached in Aid of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (London: C. & S. Rivington, 1827), p. 23.
10. On the economic dimensions, see Anthony Webster, 'The Political Economy of Trade Liberalization: The East India Company Charter Act of 1813', *Economic History Review* 43, 3 (1990).
11. See e.g. Tony Ballantyne, 'Christianity, Colonialism and Cross-Cultural Communication', in John Stenhouse & G. A. Wood (eds), *Christianity, Modernity and Culture: New Perspectives On New Zealand History* (Hindmarsh, Australia: ATF Press, 2005); Avril A. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795 1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
12. Christopher A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780 1830* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 138; see also pp. 136 47.

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13. Nile Green, 'The Madrasas of Oxford: Iranian Interactions with the English Universities in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Iranian Studies* 44, 6 (2011). See also Geoffrey A. Oddie, 'Hindu Pundits and the Missionary "Knowledge" of Hinduism', in Robert Eric Frykenberg & Richard Fox Young (eds), *India and the Indianness of Christianity: Essays on Understanding Historical, Theological, and Bibliographical in Honor of Robert Eric Frykenberg* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009).
14. James Woodforde, *The Diary of a Country Parson, 1758 1802* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949). For overviews of the Evangelical revival, see Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795 1865* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988); and Mark Smith & Stephen Taylor (eds), *Evangelicalism in the Church of England c.1790 c.1890: A Miscellany* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004).
15. Brian Stanley, (2001).
16. It should be noted, though, that the most significant early Scottish university evangelical, Alexander Duff, was one of the chief promoters of Macaulayian English education and so quite different from the orientalists of Oxbridge. See M. A. Laird, *Missionaries and Education in Bengal, 1793 1837* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); and Jane Rendall, 'Scottish Orientalism: From Robertson to James Mill', *Historical Journal* 25, 1 (1982).
17. David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006).
18. V. H. H. Green, *Religion at Oxford and Cambridge* (London: SCM, 1964).
19. J. S. Reynolds, *The Evangelicals at Oxford, 1735 1871: A Record of an Unchronicled Movement*, 2nd edition (Abingdon, Oxon: Marcham Manor Press, 1975).
20. On the BFBS's leadership, see Reynolds (1975), p. 89. The presidents in question who ran the BFBS between 1834 and the turn of the twentieth century were Lord Bexley, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Earl of Harrowby, all graduates of Christ Church, Oxford.
21. Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
22. Green (1964), p. 217. I am also indebted in this section to Richard Symonds, 'Oxford and the Empire', in M. G. Brock & M. C. Curthoys (eds), *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 7, *The Nineteenth-Century*, Part 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); and Symonds, *Oxford and Empire: The Last Lost Cause?* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
23. On the Oxford Mission to Bengal, founded in 1879, and its sibling sisterhood, established in 1902 by the former Vice Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Edith Langridge (1864 1959), see Anonymous, *The Oxford Mission: One Hundred Years* (Oxford: Bocardo & Church Army Press, n.d. [*c.*1980]). On the University Mission to Africa, see Andrew Walls, 'The Evangelical Revival, The Missionary Movement, and Africa', in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington & George A. Rawlyk (eds), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700 1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
24. Mitch Numark, 'Translating *Dharma*: Scottish Missionary-Orientalists and the Politics of Religious Understanding in Nineteenth-Century Bombay', *Journal of Asian Studies* 70, 2 (2011); and Numark, 'Hebrew School in Nineteenth-Century Bombay: Protestant Missionaries, Cochin Jews, and the Hebraization of India's Bene Israel Community', *Modern Asian Studies* 46, 6 (2012).

25. Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840 1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), chapter 1.
26. W. W. Hunter, 'A Forgotten Oxford Movement 1681', *Fortnightly Review* 65 (1896); and E. D. Tappe, 'The Greek College at Oxford, 1699 1705', *Oxoniensia* 19 (1954), p. 93.
27. Hugh Pearson, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, DD*, 2 vols, 3rd edition (London: T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1819), vol. 2, p. 174.
28. John Willis Clark, *Endowments of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. 382.
29. Ibid., p. 380.
30. For example, Daniel Wilson, 'A Defence of the Church Missionary Society, against the Objections of the Rev. Josiah Thomas, Archdeacon of Bath', *Oxford University and City Herald* (17 January 1818). The debate continued in previous and successive issues of the *Oxford University and City Herald*.
31. M. Feingold, 'Patrons and Professors: The Origins and Motives for the Endowment of University Chairs in Particular the Laudian Professorship of Arabic', in G. A. Russell (ed.), *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).
32. Anonymous [Warren Hastings?], *A Proposal for Establishing a Professorship of the Persian Language in the University of Oxford* (Oxford: s.n., 1768).
33. Macbride later oversaw Magdalen Hall's re-foundation as Hertford College, in whose Senior Common Room his sober portrait hangs to this day. I have consulted the small collection of materials related to Macbride in the Hertford College archive. However, few of Macbride's private papers survive and the archive contains nothing that sheds additional light on the topics under discussion.
34. On Macbride's various early offices, see *Oxford University Calendar, 1819* (Oxford: J. Parker, 1819). On Magdalen Hall under Macbride, see Sidney Graves Hamilton, *Hertford College* (London: F. E. Robinson & Co., 1903), chapters 6 and 7; and Reynolds (1975), p. 86.
35. Copy of letter from Dr John David Macbride, then Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, to the undergraduates containing 'advice to candidates for ordination' (dated 16 October 1815), Bristol Record Office, Hale Bequest, ref.14182/HB/C/9.
36. John David Macbride, *Lectures Explanatory of the Diatessaron, or the Life of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Collected from the Four Evangelists* (Oxford: Bartlett and Hinton, 1824), p.iv. Numerous later editions were published.
37. Ibid., pp. 102 3, 109, 116 18, 126.
38. Ibid., p. 126.
39. Ibid., p. 127.
40. Ibid., p. 127.
41. Reynolds (1975), p. 176. Oxford's first CMS missionary was James Connor of Lincoln College, who preached to the Muslims of the Levant.
42. Quoted in Reynolds (1975), p. 84.
43. John David Macbride, *The Mohammedan Religion Explained, With an Introductory Sketch of its Progress, and Suggestions for its Confutation* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1857).
44. On French's career, which ended with his death in Muscat on a CMS venture to the Muslims of Oman, see Reynolds (1975), p. 167.

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45. Macbride (1857), p.ii. For further Oxford Evangelical presentations of the Rebellion as proof of the need for great conversion of barbarous Indians, see Nicholas James Moody, *India's Past and Future and England's Duty, a Sermon* (Oxford: H. Hammans, 1857). See also Anonymous, *A Letter from a Layman in India on the Policy of the East Indian Company in Matters of Religion* (London: W.H. Dalton, 1858).
46. Macbride (1857), p.ii.
47. Macbride (1857), pp. 180 224. On such debates, particularly in Agra, see Powell (1995).
48. Macbride (1857), p. 87.
49. Macbride (1857), p. 87 and John David Macbride, *The Syrian Church in India: A Lecture Read on Monday Evening, March 3, 1856, at a Meeting of the Junior Missionary Association for Members of the University, by the Principal of Magdalen Hall, and Printed at their Request* (Oxford: W. Baxter, 1856), pp. 47 9.
50. Macbride (1856), pp. 68 9. The first bishop of Calcutta, Thomas Fanshawe Middleton (1769 1822), was in fact a Cambridge man and a skeptic of the chances of missionary success. However, the tide began to change with the appointment of his successor Reginald Heber (1783 1826), a Brasenose graduate, Fellow of All Souls and evangelical sympathizer, from which point the evangelicals began to dominate the ecclesiastical hierarchy of British India. For samples of Heber's style, see Reginald Heber, *Sermons Preached in India* (London: John Murray, 1829).
51. Macbride (1856), p. 69.
52. John David Macbride, *Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions Contrasted, in a Speech by the President of Magdalene Hall* (Oxford: J. Vincent, 1851), p. 4. Halle was Europe's leading centre of Protestant missionary work and was active in British India from 1813.
53. *Oxford University Calendar, 1819*, p. 53
54. Pileus Quadratus, *Observations on the Defence of the Church Missionary Society against the Objections of the Archdeacon of Bath* (Oxford, 1818).
55. A pious appraisal of Gandell appears in J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1889), vol. 1, pp.xxii-xxiii.
56. M. L. Loane, *Cambridge and the Evangelical Succession* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1952); and J. C. Pollock, *A Cambridge Movement* (London: John Murray, 1953).
57. Brian Stanley, 'An "Ardour" of Devotion: The Spiritual Legacy of Henry Martyn' in Frykenberg & Young (2009). For a fuller early biography, see Sargent (1819).
58. For other examples of the evangelical impact in the East India Company's armies, see Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 2.
59. Nile Green, 'Persian Print and the Stanhope Revolution: Industrialization, Evangelicalism and the Birth of Printing in Early Qajar Iran', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 30, 3 (2010).
60. 'Simeon, Charles' and 'Milner, Isaac', q.v., in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. For a survey of the activities of the BFBS, see Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann & John Dean (eds), *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804 2004* (Sheffield, Yorks: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004); and, for India, C. J. Nirmal & G. D. V. Prasad, *Imaging the World: A Millennium Perspective: The Bible Society of India, 1811 2000* (Bangalore: Bible Society of India, 2000).

61. Milner's testimonial is printed in Pearson (1819), vol. 1, pp. 131 2.
62. Revd Jonathan Holmes, Queens' College, Cambridge, private communication.
63. On the meeting, see Green, (2011).
64. Printed in Pearson (1819), vol. 2, p. 344. On the circumstances of Buchanan's own supported admission to Queens' and his ambitious industry there, see Pearson (1819), pp. 43 132.
65. Alice M. Lee, *A Scholar of a Past Generation: A Brief Memoir of Samuel Lee, by his Daughter* (London: Seely and Co. Limited, 1896), p. 13. The fullest account of Lee's early Cambridge years is found in his obituary in the Church Missionary Society's *Intelligencer* (March 1853).
66. Lee (1896), p. 16.
67. 'Account of the Rev. Mr. Lee', *Oxford University and City Herald* (26 September 1818).
68. The letter, signed by the Iranian students, is found in the Cambridge University Archives: CUR 39.7.12 (1), pp. 8 9. A somewhat amended extract from the letter is also printed in Lee (1896), p. 20.
69. Lee (1896), p. 24.
70. Lee (1896), p. 18.
71. Bebbington (1993), p. 3.
72. Samuel Lee, *The Events and Times of the Visions of Daniel and St. John, Investigated ... and Determined* (London: Seeleys, 1851), p.i.
73. Samuel Lee, *Six Sermons on the Study of the Holy Scriptures, to which are Annexed Two Dissertations* (London: James Duncan, 1830), pp. 216 370.
74. For a sample, see Anonymous, *Remarks on Professor Lee's Vindication of his Edition of Jones's Persian Grammar, Published in the July and August Numbers of the Asiatic Journal, 1824* (Glasgow: James Brash & Co., 1825).
75. Revd Jonathan Holmes, Queens' College, Cambridge, private communication.
76. Jonathan Holmes, 'Queens', the Maoris and the King of New Zealand', *Queens' College Record* (2001).
77. Don F. McKenzie, 'The Sociology of a Text: Oral Culture, Literacy and Print in Early New Zealand', in Peter Burke & Roy Porter (eds), *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
78. On Hongi Hika's subsequent use of his missionary contacts to procure weapons and provoke mass slaughter, see Judith Binney, *The Legacy of Guilt: A Life of Thomas Kendall* (Auckland: University of Auckland and Oxford University Press, 1968).
79. Parna Sengupta, *Pedagogy for Religion: Missionary Education and the Fashioning of Hindus and Muslims in Bengal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011). In Sengupta's words, 'the pursuit and adaptation of modern educational techniques, mainly exported to the colonies by Protestant missionaries, opened up new ways for Hindu and Muslim leaders and the colonial state to reformulate ideas of community among religious lines' (ibid., p. 1).
80. Ibid., p. 50. The year in question for this particular print run was 1881.

2. THE CHRISTIAN ORIGINS OF MUSLIM PRINTING

1. On the earlier printers, see Hartmut Bobzin, 'Imitation und Imagination: Bemerkungen zu einigen frühen europäischen Drücken mit Arabischen Lettern', in Ulrich Marzolph (ed.),

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Das gedruckte Buch im Vorderen Orient (Dortmund: Verlag für Orientkunde, 2002); and Wahid Gdoura, *Le début de l'imprimerie arabe à Istanbul et en Syrie: evolution de l'évironnement culturel (1706 1787)* (Tunis: Institut supérieur de documentation, 1985). Note that this chapter deals with Muslim printing and not with the separate issues concerning earlier Christian Arabic printing in the Middle East.

2. For an accurate overview of early Middle Eastern printing, see Eva Hanebutt-Benz, Dagmar Glass & Geoffrey Roper (eds), *Sprachen des Nahen Ostens und die Druckrevolution/Middle Eastern Languages and the Print Revolution* (Westhofen: WVA-Verlag Skulima, 2002).
3. Mirza Salih Shirazi, *Majmu'a-ye Safarnamaha-ye Mirza Salih Shirazi*, ed. Ghulam Husayn Mirza Salih (Tehran: Nashr-e Tarikh-e Iran, 1985). I have also consulted other editions (see below) as well as the original manuscript (British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections, Add. 24,034), particularly in order to clarify the orthography of personal names that underlie this chapter's prosopographical reconstructions.
4. On the later development of Muslim printing in the Middle East and India, see Juan R. I. Cole, 'Printing and Urban Islam in the Mediterranean World, 1890 1920', in Leila Tarazi Fawaz & Christopher A. Bayly (eds), *Modernity and Culture: From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); and Francis Robinson, 'Technology and Religious Change: Islam and the Impact of Print', *Modern Asian Studies* 27, 1 (1993).
5. For a critique of this approach, see Ian Proudfoot, 'Mass Producing Houri's Moles; or Aesthetics and Choice of Technology in Early Muslim Book Printing,' in Peter G. Riddell & Tony Street (eds), *Islam: Essays on Scripture, Thought and Society* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).
6. On the importance of a social historical reading of print transfer, see Lutz Berger, 'Zur Problematik der späten Einführung des Buchdrucks in der islamischen Welt', in Marzolph (2002).
7. Ian Inkster, 'Technology in World History: Cultures of Constraint and Innovation, Emulation, and Technology Transfer', *Comparative Technology Transfer and Society* 5, 2 (2007).
8. On 'the cultural work that has to be performed in the conception, development, and implementation of new technologies', see Knut H. Sørensen, 'Cultural Politics of Technology: Combining Critical and Constructive Interventions?' *Science, Technology & Human Values* 29, 2 (2004), pp. 184 90. I have adapted the notion of transculture from Nasrin Rahimieh, *Missing Persians: Discovering Voices in Iranian Cultural History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2001).
9. Gdoura (1985), pp. 193 6 and Johann Strauss, '*Kütüp ve Resail-i Mevkute*: Printing and Publishing in a Multi-Ethnic Society', in Elizabeth Özdalga (ed.), *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2005). When new printing techniques were introduced to Istanbul around 1830, it was similarly through the migration and transnational collaboration of the Marseilles cousins Henri Cayol (1805 65) and Jacques Cayol. See Grégoire Zellich, *Notice historique sur la lithographie et sur les origines de son introduction en Turquie* (Constantinople: A. Zellich Fils, 1895).
10. On the Kazan press, see Michael Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte in Tatarien und Baschkirien: Der islamische Diskurs unter russischer Herrschaft* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1998), pp. 43 50.
11. Reinhard Schulze, *Islamischer Internationalismus im 20. Jahrhundert: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Islamischen Weltliga* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), pp. 27 8.

12. The problem was perennial: an Armenian merchant in 1843 imported a modern press from Java to New Julfa in Iran, where it then lay redundant in the Vanak church because no one knew how to use it. Husayn Mirza'i Golpa'igani, *Tarikh-e Chap va Chapkhana dar Iran* (Tehran: Entisharat Gulshan-e Raz, 1999), p. 9.
13. Although Mirza Salih has long been known as co-founder of the Iranian printing industry and founder of Iran's first newspaper, the circumstances in which he learned about printing have remained sufficiently obscure for him to garner little more than a mention before details of the later and better-documented period of Iranian publishing. See Willem M. Floor, 'Cap', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*; Golpa'igani (1999); Ulrich Marzolph, 'Persian Incunabula: A Definition and Assessment', in *Gutenberg Jahrbuch* (2007), pp. 205 20; and Farid Qasimi, *Avvalinha-ye Matbu'at-e Iran* (Tehran: Nashr-e Abi, 2004).
14. For summaries of Mirza Salih's career, see Husayn Mahbubi Ardakani, '*Duvvumin Karvan-e Ma'rifat', Yaghma* 18 (1965); Ardakani, *Tarikh-e Mu'assasat-e Tamaddoni-ye Jadid dar Iran*, 3 vols (Tehran: Anjuman-e Danishjuyan-e Danishgah-e Tihran, 1975), vol. 1, pp. 176 9, 222 4; and Qasimi (2004), pp. 9 141.
15. Again, the focus in this chapter is on *Muslim* printing and not the earlier printing ventures of Armenian Christians in Iran, even as they too did so through contact with the Christian organizations of Europe.
16. Qasimi (2004), p. 15.
17. Bodleian Library, Ouseley ms 159, colophon dated 1227/1812. The travelogue is also printed in Shirazi (1985).
18. The original manuscript bears two titles *Su'al u Jawab* (Questions and Answers) and *Guftagu-ye Farsi* (Persian Conversation) and is held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (Ouseley ms 390).
19. William Price, *Persian Dialogues, Composed for the Author by Mirza Sauli, of Shiraz* (Worcester: s.n., 1822).
20. C. A. Storey, 'The Beginnings of Persian Printing in India', in J. D. Cursetji Pavry (ed.), *Oriental Studies in Honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933).
21. Alan H. Barrett, 'A Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph D'Arcy, R.A. 1780 1848', *Iran* 43 (2005), pp. 241 73.
22. Shirazi (1985), pp. 349 50.
23. On these ambitions, see Shirazi (1985), pp. 318 20. On the poor state of science, see G. L. E. Turner, 'Experimental Science in Early-Nineteenth Century Oxford', *History of Universities* 8 (1989), pp. 117 35.
24. 'The Persian Princes', *The Times* (7 December 1818), p. 3.
25. Olinthus Gregory, *Letters to a Friend, on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Duties of the Christian Religion* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1851 [1815]).
26. Shirazi (1985), pp. 319 20, 331 2, 340.
27. Shirazi (1985), pp. 169 70.
28. 'John Bisset', Papers of Freddie Percy (SM/17/1), Whitgift School Archives, Croydon. Thanks to the Whitgift Archivist, William G. Wood, for providing access.
29. Shirazi (1985), pp. 169 70, 311 13.
30. FO 60/23 (UK National Archives, London).

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31. 'The Persian Princes', *The Times* (7 December 1818), p. 3.
32. Nile Green, 'The Development of Arabic-Script Printing in Georgian Britain', *Printing History* n.s. 5 (2009).
33. *Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Year 1816* (London: Tilling & Hughes, 1816), pp. 10, 39, 79.
34. William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 5 vols (London: John Murray, 1904 10), vol. 1, p. 64; and Green (2009).
35. 'Account of the Rev. Mr. Lee', *Oxford University and City Herald* (26 September 1818), back page: 'Mr. Lee has moreover made a new fount of letter for Hindostanee [i.e. Urdu] and Persian printing.' On the meetings, see Shirazi (1985), pp. 350 52.
36. Shirazi (1985), pp. 167 8. On similar collaboration, see Michael H. Fisher, 'Persian Professor in Britain: Mirza Muhammad Ibrahim at the East India Company's College, 1826 44', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 21, 1 2 (2001), pp. 24 32; and Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism, and Historiography* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), chapter 2.
37. On Bristol printing at the time of Mirza Salih's visit, see *Mathews's Bristol Guide; Being a Complete Ancient and Modern History of the City of Bristol, the Hotwells and Clifton* (Bristol: Printed and sold by Joseph Mathews, and sold by the booksellers, 1819), p. 94. For Mirza Salih's tour of Bristol's glass, soap and brass factories, see Shirazi (1985), pp. 207 9 and 334 5.
38. Nile Green, 'Paper Modernity? Notes on an Iranian Industrial Tour, 1818', *Iran: Journal of Persian Studies* 46 (2008).
39. Shirazi (1985), pp. 345, 353.
40. On the various spellings in different editions of Mirza Salih's diary, see Shirazi (1985), pp. 353, 355 (*dans*); Humayun Shahidi (ed.), *Guzarish-e Safar-e Mirza Salih Shirazi (Kazaruni)* (Tehran: Rah-e Naw, 1983), p. 369 (*vans*); Isma'il-e Ra'in (ed.), *Safarnama-ye Mirza Salih Shirazi* (Tehran: Ruzan, 1968), 375 (*dans*). Golpa'igani (1999), pp. 10 11, quotes two versions of the name (*vals* and *vans*).
41. On printers active in London at the time of Mirza Salih's apprenticeship, see Philip A. H. Brown, *London Publishers and Printers: A Tentative List, c.1800 1870* (London: British Museum, 1961); and William B. Todd, *A Directory of Printers and Others in Allied Trades, London and Vicinity 1800 1840* (London: Printing Historical Society, 1972).
42. Thus, the letter *ta* in the Persian spelling of 'Vatts/Watts' in the diary's original ms was variously misread by different editors as a *lam* (hence 'Vals') or *nun* (hence 'Vans').
43. Canton (1904 10), vol. 1, p. 64.
44. On Watts, see Talbot Baines Reed, *A History of the Old English Letter Foundries* (London: Eliot Stock, 1887), pp. 362 3.
45. For more details on Mirza Salih's meetings with Professors Lee and Macbride, see Nile Green, 'The Madrasas of Oxford: Iranian Interactions with the English Universities in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Iranian Studies* 44, 6 (2011).
46. David E. Jenkins, *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Charles, B.A., of Bala*, 3 vols (Denbigh, UK: Llewelyn Jenkins, 1908), vol. 3, p. 68.
47. Alice M. Lee, *A Scholar of a Past Generation: A Brief Memoir of Samuel Lee, by his Daughter* (London: Seely and Co. Limited, 1896).

48. *Oriental and Other Types in 67 Languages or Dialects, Principally Prepared by R. Watts and Now in Use in W. M. Watts's Office* (London: W. M. Watts, 1851).
49. D. N. Griffiths, 'Prayer-Book Translations in the Nineteenth Century', *The Library*, 6th series, 6, 1 (1984), pp. 3, 15.
50. *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; Translated into the Hindoostanee Language from the Original Greek by H. Martyn; and Afterwards Carefully Revised with the Assistance of Mirza Fitrit and Other Learned Natives* (London: Printed by Richard Watts for the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819).
51. On Lee's involvement, see T. H. Darlow & H. F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols (London: The Bible House, 1903 11), vol. 2, p. 744.
52. Darlow & Moule (1903 11), vol. 2, pp. 69 70.
53. Darlow & Moule (1903 11), vol. 2, p. 9. The Arabic text of the New Testament was published as *Kitab al-Ahd al-Jadid, yaʿni, Injil al-Muqaddas, li-Rabbina Yasuʿ al-Masih* (London: Richard Watts, 1821).
54. Darlow & Moule (1903 11), vol. 2, p. 1204.
55. *Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, p. 10; *Thirteenth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Year 1817* (London: Tilling & Hughes, 1817), p. 338.
56. For superlative detail, see Richard-Gabriel Rummonds, *Nineteenth-Century Printing Practices and the Iron Handpress*, 2 vols (London: British Library, 2004). On operating imported handpresses in Iran, see Golpa'igani (1999), pp. 12 13.
57. Leslie Howsam, *Cheap Bibles: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 22.
58. Michael H. Fisher, *Counterflows to Colonialism: Indian Travellers and Settlers in Britain, 1600 1857* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2004), pp. 121 3.
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62. Shirazi (1985), p. 345.
63. For statistical data, see Green (2009).
64. For comparative data on print runs, see Green (2009).
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66. *Leigh's New Picture of London* (London: Samuel Leigh, 1819).
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80. The meeting was reported in the *Caledonian Mercury* (19 April 1819); *Christian Observer and Advocate* (1819), pp. 262 4; and *Missionary Register* (1819), pp. 180 82. Clymer's press was valued at £100.
81. 'Account of the Rev. Mr. Lee', *Oxford University and City Herald* (26 September 1818), back page.
82. *Twelfth Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, p. 10. On Jaʿfar's translations in Saint Petersburg in the mid 1820s, also with Ouseley and Lee's collaboration, see George Bullen, *Catalogue of the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (London: Reed and Pardon, 1857), pp. 5, 80.
83. On the identifying of the Iranian printing with an agenda of secularizing modernism, see Muhammad Sadr-e Hashimi, *Tarikh-e Jara'id va Majallat-e Iran*, 4 vols (Isfahan: Intisharat-e Kamal, 1984 5); and Qasimi (2004), especially chapter 1.
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85. Shirazi, *Majmuʿa-ye Safarnamaha-ye Mirza Salih Shirazi*, p. 352. On London's newspaper presses as seen in 1887 by the Iranian Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Pirzada (d.1321/1903), see *Safarnama-ye Hajji Muhammad 'Ali Pirzada, 1303 1306*, ed. Hafiz Farmanfarma'iyan (Tehran: Danishgah-e Tihran, 1963 5), pp. 301 2.
86. Mirza Salih and/or his companions featured in *The Times* on 29 September 1818, 7 December 1818 and 18 January 1823. In *The Times* alone, articles often frivolous on Abu al-

Hasan appeared on 21 & 30 December 1809; 12 & 18 January 1810; 23 February 1810; 24 & 29 March 1810; 27 April 1819; 1 & 24 May 1819; 1 & 10 June 1819. For Abu al-Hasan's own exasperated observations on England's newspapers, see M. M. Cloake, ed. and trans., *A Persian at the Court of King George 1809 10: The Journal of Mirza Abu'l Hassan Khan* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1988), pp. 83, 248, 253.

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92. 'Newspaper' (1839), pp. 359 60 (Persian), pp. 367 8 (English).
93. 'Newspaper' (1839), p. 362 (Persian), p. 369 (English).
94. Golpa'igani (1999), p. 13. On the 1243/1828 *Gulistan*, see Qasimi (2004), vol. 1, p. 191. I have inspected the copy of this book kept in the rare book collections of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.
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97. On Russia's few early Arabic imprints, see Victor Charles Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes, publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885* (Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1892 9), p. 412; and Miroslav Krek, *A Gazetteer of Arabic Printing* (Weston, MA: privately printed, 1977), p. 74. Thanks to Geoffrey Roper for introducing me to Schnoor's printing activities.
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99. The book is probably identical with a work often described as the second book printed in Iran, the *Fath-nama* ('Book of Conquest'). See Marzolph (2007). For an original sale document dated Shavval 1232/August 1817 detailing the sale for 200 tuman from an Aqa Nawruz to 'Abbas Mirza of a 'printing house' (*mangana-khana*) with an iron wheel (*charkh-e ahan*), so identifying it as one of the new iron hand-presses, see Christoph Werner, *An Iranian Town in Transition: A Social and Economic History of the Elites of Tabriz 1747 1848* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), appendix, document 4.

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110. Ian Coller, *Arab France: Islam and the Making of Modern Europe, 1798 1831* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).
111. Forni (1859), vol. 1, p. 141. More generally, L. A. Balboni, *Gl'Italiani nella civiltà egiziana del secolo XIX: storia-biografie-monografie* (Alessandria: V. Pennason, 1906), vol. 3, p. 377; and Sabat (1966), pp. 150 52.
112. Brocchi (1841), vol. 1, pp. 172 4.
113. *Dizionario Italiano e Arabo* (Bolacco [Bulaq]: Stampa Reale, 1822), with contents in Arabic/Roman type.
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115. Olga Pinto, 'Mose Castelli, Tipografo Italiano al Cairo', in *A Francesco Gabrieli: Studi Orientalistici Offerti nel Sessantesimo Compleanno dai suoi Colleghi e Discepoli* (Rome: Università di Roma, 1964). Somewhat later dates for Castelli are recorded in Glass (2002), p. 66.

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123. Maulvi Abdul Wali, *The Life and Work of Jawad Sabat, an Arab Traveller, Writer and Apologist* (Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1925); and Edward Rehatsek, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Arabic, Hindostani, Persian, and Turkish Mss. in the Mulla Firuz Library* (Bombay: Managing Committee of the Mulla Firuz Library, 1873), pp. 185 6.
124. Ian Proudfoot, *Early Malay Printed Books: A Provisional Catalogue of Materials* (Kuala Lumpur: Academy of Malay Studies, 1993), pp. 2, 13 17; and J. van der Putten, 'Printing in Riau: Two Steps toward Modernity', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 153, 4 (1997), pp. 717 36. In addition to his missionary exchanges, Munshi 'Abdullah was also a senior employee of the colonial government in Singapore, whose founder Stanford Raffles was an eager supporter of the Bible Society.
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3. THE ISLAMIC OPPORTUNITIES OF BIBLE TRANSLATION

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48. Ibid.
49. BFBS Archive, BSA/D1/1/(45 7), Letters of Professor Samuel Lee, letter dated 28 May 1830.
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51. Meerza Mohammad Ibraheem, *A Grammar of the Persian Language, to which are Subjoined Several Dialogues* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1841). On the Herodotus, see Sengelmann (1863), p. 76.
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53. Note that Hajji Mirza Aqasi, tutor and adviser to the Nasir al-Din Shah's father Muhammad Shah (r.1834 48), had also previously served as a scribe for the Armenian patriarch at Erivan. See Algar (1969), p. 105.
54. Walter J. Fischel, 'Mulla Ibrahim Nathan (1816 1868): Jewish Agent of the British during the First Anglo-Afghan War', *Hebrew Union College Annual* 29 (1958).
55. Helen Mackenzie, *Storms and Sunshine of a Soldier's Life*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1884), vol. 1, pp. 162 3, 383 4. On Colin Mackenzie's wider evangelical activities, see Nile Green,

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56. Fischel (1958), pp. 363 4.
57. Robert Crews, 'Empire and the Confessional State: Islam and Religious Politics in Nineteenth-Century Russia', *American Historical Review* 108, 1 (2003).
58. On the accounts of Russia's colleges, museums, architecture, transport and social customs by Iranian officials attending the 1830 journey of Prince Khusrow Mirza to Saint Petersburg, see Muhammad Gulbun (ed.), *Safarnama-ye Khusrow Mirza bih-Pitirizburgh va Tarikh-e Zindagani-ye 'Abbas Mirza Na'ib al-Saltana bih-Qalam-e Hajji Mirza Mas'ud* (Tehran: Mustawfi, 1349/1970), pp. 235 45, 341 50, 352 7 respectively.
59. George A. Bournoutian, *A History of Qarabagh: An Annotated Translation of Mirza Jamal Javanshir Qarabaghi's Tarikh-e Qarabagh* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 1994) and Mehrdad Kia, 'Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzadeh and the Call for the Modernization of the Islamic World', *Middle Eastern Studies* 31, 3 (1995).
60. Touraj Atabaki, 'Disgruntled Guests: Iranian Subaltern on the Margins of the Tsarist Empire', *International Review of Social History* 48, (2003); and Hassan Hakimian, 'Wage Labor and Migration: Persian Workers in Southern Russia, 1880 1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17, 4 (1985).
61. William Glen, *Address by the Rev. William Glen to the United Associate Synod* (Edinburgh: privately printed, n.d. [1835]), p. 5.
62. Henry R. Huttenbach, 'Muscovy's Conquest of Muslim Kazan and Astrakhan, 1552 1556', in Michael Rywkin (ed.), *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917* (London: Mansell, 1988).
63. On fluctuating Christianization policies in the region, see Mara Kozelsky, *Christianizing Crimea: Shaping Sacred Space in the Russian Empire and Beyond* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2009); and Mostashari (2006), chapter 3.
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67. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to Robert Pinkerton, 20 June 1827.
68. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to Robert Pinkerton, 20 June 1827; letter to Joseph Jowett, 18 July 1835.
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70. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to Joseph Jowett, 18 July 1835.
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72. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to John Jackson (Bible Society, London), 30 August 1832.
73. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to William Greenfield, 27 August 1830.

74. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to John Jackson, 19 October 1827.
75. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letters to Robert Pinkerton, 20 June 1827 and 22 January 1829.
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77. Nicholas Thomas, *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), p. 84.
78. James Edward Alexander, *Travels to the Seat of War in the East, Through Russia and the Crimea, in 1829* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), appendix I, p. 289. For comparative purposes, Alexander priced 1 ruble at 10d (English pence).
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81. BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to Robert Pinkerton, 9 September 1827.
82. For example, BFBS Archive, BSAX/1, Letters of William Glen, letter to John Jackson, 19 October 1827; to Robert Pinkerton, 4 January 1831; to John Jackson, 30 August 1832.
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84. 'H.K.' (1854), p. 375.
85. On the circumstances of the conversion, see Anon. [William Glen?], *A Brief Memoir of the Life and Conversion of Mahomed Ali Bey, a Learned Persian, of Darband* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1827).
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91. Thomas M. Barrett, 'Crossing Boundaries: The Trading Frontiers of the Terek Cossacks', in Daniel R. Brower & Edward J. Lazzerini (eds), *Russia's Orient: Imperial Borderlands and Peoples, 1700 1917* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997).
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94. Jones (1975).
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97. *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte*, vol. 16 (1832), Anhang/Appendix 1, pp. 408, 434 5.
98. On Judt, see Auch (1999), pp. 260 61. The Astrakhan Psalms were printed as *Zubur Turk Muqadas Kitabi* (Astarakhanda: Isa Masihag Yilanda, 1815) [BFBS Archive, BSS.276. E15.1].
99. *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte*, vol. 16 (1832), p. 412.
100. *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte*, vol. 16 (1832), p. 408. Also reported in Anon., 'Missionary Efforts', *Biblical Repository and Classical Review* 7, 21 (1836), p. 172, with reference to 'Mirza Faruch, a converted Moonshee'.
101. *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte*, vol. 16 (1832), p. 416.
102. Ibid., p. 415.
103. Ibid., p. 416.
104. On the original composition date and Armenian edition of *Mizan al-Haqq*, see Powell (1993), p. 139.
105. On the subsequent translation, printing and content of the Persian edition, see *Magazin für die neueste Geschichte*, vol. 19, 3 (1834), pp. 370 71, 440 41, 474 80.
106. Carl Gottlieb Pfander, *Mizan al-Haqq* (Calcutta: printed by T. Black at the Asiatic Lithographic Press, 1839) [Persian]. A lithographic note printed on the flyleaf of this edition explained to distributors: 'The title page in English must be taken out of those copies which are sent to Persia, or any other Musulman country.'
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108. On the relationship between the two books, see Christine Schirrmacher, *Mit den Waffen des Gegners: Christlich-muslimische Kontroversen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, dargestellt am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung um Karl Gottlieb Pfanders Mîzân al-haqq und Rahmatullâh ibn Halîl al-'Utmânî al-Kairânawîs 'Izhâr al-haqq, und der Diskussion über das Barnabasevangelium* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1992).
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111. *An Authentic Account of the Conversion and Experience of a Negro* (Windsor [Vermont]: Alden Spooner, 1793); id. (London: T. Wilkins, 1795).
112. Auch (1999), p. 262.
113. William Muir, 'The Mohammedan Controversy', *Calcutta Review* 4 (1845), p. 445.
114. Anon. (1927).
115. Auch (1999), p. 254; Jones (1975); and Mostashari (2006), chapter 3.
116. *The Times*, 11 July 1823. Reprinted in *Edinburgh Annual Register*, vol. 16 (1824), pp. 263 4. A

follow-up announcement from Mirza Salih was also issued in *Morning Chronicle* (16 July 1823).

117. 'Australia', the toponym first proposed by Captain Matthew Flinders (1774 1814), was not officially adopted in Britain until the year after 'Abbas Mirza's announcement.
118. On the Armenian migration, see Mostashari (2006), pp. 41 4. Cf. Balkan and Greek resettlement in Crimea in the same period in Kozelsky (2009), pp. 67 78.
119. Pier M. Larson, *Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 312.
120. Ibid.
121. Glen (n.d.), p. 6.
122. Albeit with my own interpretive logic, in the following section I have drawn on Amanat (2009), pp. 114 19.
123. Translated in Amanat (2009), p. 116.
124. On the move to India, see Schirrmacher (1992), pp. 43 52. On the translations, see Schirrmacher (1992), pp. 76 9; and Samuel M. Zwemer, 'Karl Gottlieb Pfander, 1841 1941 [*sic*]', *The Muslim World* 31, 3 (1941), p. 220.
125. Schirrmacher (1992), p. 77.
126. On his biography, see Schirrmacher (1992), pp. 109 43. On the debate with Pfander, see Tereen (2012).
127. Schirrmacher (1992), pp. 144 51.
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4. MISSIONARIES, MYSTICS AND MILL-OWNERS

1. Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), chapter 2.
2. M. D. David, *Missions: Cross-Cultural Encounter and Change in Western India* (Delhi: ISPCK, 2001).
3. Antony Copley, *Religions in Conflict: Ideology, Cultural Contact and Conversion in Late Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999); F. A. Nizami, 'Madrasahs, Scholars and Saints: Muslim Response to the British Presence in Delhi and the Upper Doab, 1803 1857' (unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 1983); and Avril A. Powell, *Muslims and Missionaries in Pre-Mutiny India* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1993).
4. Church Missionary Society, *The Church Missionary Atlas: Containing an Account of the Various Countries in which the Church Missionary Society Labours, and of its Missionary Operations*, 8th edition (London: Church Missionary Society, 1896), p. 141.
5. On Goldsmith's Cambridge connections, see Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society: Its Environment, its Men and its Work*, 3 vols (London: Church Missionary Society, 1899), vol. 2, p. 393.
6. Revd M. G. Goldsmith, 'Methods in the Deccan', *Missionary Review of the World* 27 (October 1904), pp. 728 30.
7. Ibid., p. 729.
8. Ibid., p. 728. For clarity, I have corrected Goldsmith's transliteration of the firm's name.
9. Ibid., p. 729.

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10. P. V. Kate, *Marathwada Under the Nizams, 1724 1948* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1987); and Kerrin Gräfin von Schwerin, *Indirekte Herrschaft und Reformpolitik im indischen Fürstenstaat Hyderabad, 1853 1911* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980).
11. Ian Copland, '"Communalism" in Princely India: The Case of Hyderabad, 1930 1940', *Modern Asian Studies* 22, 4 (1988).
12. Kate (1987), pp. 244 6.
13. Papers of Revd Henry Lane-Smith (1901 38), Church Missionary Society (CMS) Collection, Unofficial Papers, Acc.33, Special Collections Department, Birmingham University Library. Note that the CMS had sent previous representatives to Aurangabad before Smith, but not to work explicitly with the city's Muslims.
14. In social no less than religious terms, Smith was the kind of Protestant Englishman who pulled himself up by his bootstraps: elevated by his respectable labours, later in life he took on the more genteel double-barrelled surname of Lane-Smith.
15. H. J. Smith, 'Mahim Fair', in *Bombay Muhammadan Mission News* (15 February 1902). Copy kept in file Z1, Urdu Mission Records, Bombay 1900 1903, in Lane-Smith (1901 38).
16. On contemporaneous German Protestant missions to Muslims outside India, see Dr Freytag, 'German Missions to Moslems in the Balkans and the Near East', *The Moslem World* 17, 4 (1927). Of particular interest are the Frankfurt Mission established by Pastor Lohmann in 1896 and the German Oriental Mission, which turned its attention towards Muslims in 1907.
17. Printed letter from the Punjab Bible Society Report (August 1905), also pasted as a newspaper cutting in a scrapbook entitled 'Islamics' in Lane-Smith (1901 38), file Z2, Urdu Mission Records, Aurangabad 1903 17.
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19. Mir La'iq 'Ali Khan 'Imad al-Saltana, *Safarnama-ye 'Imad al-Saltana bih Urupa* (repr. Tehran: Nashr-e Paband, 1383/2005), pp. 204 15.
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25. *Aurangabad Urdu Mission Annual Report* (1909), p. 3, in Lane-Smith (1901 38), file Z2.
26. Annual Letter (30 September 1912), in Lane-Smith (1901 38), file Z2.
27. *Aurangabad Urdu Mission Annual Report* (1912), in Lane-Smith (1901 38), file Z2.
28. Letter from the Revd H. J. Lane-Smith (March 1918), in Lane-Smith (1901 38), file Z2.
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30. Yoginder S. Sikand, 'The *Fitna* of *Irtidad*: Muslim Missionary Response to the *Shuddhi* of Ārya Samāj in Early Twentieth Century India', *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 17, 1 (1997), pp. 75 7.
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33. Buehler (1998), p. 184.
34. Nizami (1983).
35. Sikand (1997), p. 78.
36. Sheela Raj, *Medievalism to Modernism: Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Hyderabad, 1869 1911* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1987), p. 271.
37. Sayyid Akhtar Husayn, *Sirat-e Amir-e Millat* ('Alipur Saidan, Siyalkot: Said Akhtar Husayn Shah, 1394/1974), pp. 236 7 on the conversions and pp. 193 217, 242 4 on the travels.
38. Iftikhar 'Ali Shah *'urf* Gharib al-Watan, *Irshadat-e Watan* (Hyderabad: repr. 'Imad Press, 1384/1964), pp. 45 6. On the Mirza's messianic claims, see Yohanan Friedmann, *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and its Medieval Background* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
39. Kate (1978), pp. 268 70.
40. Theodore P. Wright, 'Revival of the Majlis Ittihad-ul-Muslimin of Hyderabad', *Moslem World* 53, 3 (1963). On the militant Islamic movement that later evolved in the Hyderabad of the 1940s, see Mahmuda Belgaumi, 'The Razakar Movement', *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society* 14 (1962).
41. On Watan's life, see Nile Green, 'Defending the Sufis in Nineteenth Century Hyderabad', *Islamic Studies* 47, 3 (2009); and 'Aqil Hashimi, *Sayyid Iftikhar 'Ali Shah Watan: Hayat aur karname* (Hyderabad: Shalimar, 1968). A short biography of Watan is also provided by Sayyid Ahmad 'Ali in the Urdu introduction to his edition of Watan's *Safar dar Watan*. See Iftikhar 'Ali Shah Watan, *Safar dar Watan* (Hyderabad: n.p., 1351/1932).
42. I am grateful to Ghulam 'Ali Shah of Aurangabad for information on the life of his father's master, Mu'in Allah, and to other members of his order for permitting me to conduct interviews during winter 1999 2000 and summer 2003.
43. Tara Sahib Qureshi, *Aftab-e Dakan* (Aurangabad: n.p., *c.*1985), pp. 16 17. On Shams al-Din's career, see Nile Green, *Indian Sufism since the Seventeenth Century: Saints, Books and Empires in the Muslim Deccan* (London: Routledge, 2006), pp. 115 18.
44. For a biography of one such female local convert and subsequent proselyte, see J. S. S. Robertson, *Life of Ganga Bai, Wife of Ruttonji Nowroji of the Church Missionary Society, at Aurangabad, India* (Edinburgh: Seton & Mackenzie, 1880).
45. Barbara D. Metcalf, 'Islam and Custom in Nineteenth-Century India: The Reformist

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46. Iftikhar 'Ali Shah Watan, *Diwan-e Watan*, ed. Sayyid Shahid Husayn (Karachi: n.p., 1995). Later claims that Mu'inullah himself translated Rumi's *Masnawi* into Urdu seem, however, to be incorrect.
47. Sayyid Shah Muhammad Iftikhar 'Ali Madani Chishti u Qadiri al-Husayni, *Diwan-e Watan mashur bih Bustan-e Tasawwuf* (Madras: Matba' Nizam al-Mataba', n.d. [1888]).
48. Mu'inullah Shah, handwritten calico preaching cloth, preserved at shrine of Mu'in Allah Shah, Aurangabad.
49. Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860 1900*, 2nd edition (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002).
50. Usha Sanyal, *Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi: In the Path of the Prophet* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005), pp. 113 15.
51. On subsequent religious debates about the loudspeaker, see Naveeda Khan, 'The Acoustics of Muslim Striving: Loudspeaker Use in Ritual Practice in Pakistan', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 53, 3 (2011).
52. The cloth is preserved at the shrine of Mu'inullah Shah in Aurangabad, where it hangs above his grave. I am deeply grateful to the shrine custodians for permission to inspect and photograph the cloth.
53. The undistinguished prosody and broader character of the poem vis-à-vis the more refined poetry of Watan do suggest, though, that it was the work of Mu'inullah himself.
54. The question of the nature of the imagination (*khayal*) had a long history in Sufi thought and was particularly important in the teachings of Ibn 'Arabi (d.1240). See Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn al-'Arabi* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).
55. Hamid 'Ali Shah, *Tasawwur-e Shaykh* (Aurangabad: n.p., 1420/1999), p. 8.
56. On this practice among Bombay Sufis at the same time, see Nile Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840 1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 199 200.
57. On the practice of *tasawwur-e shaykh* in Punjab at this time, see Arthur Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandi Brotherhood and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998).
58. Hamid 'Ali Shah, *Tasawwur-e Shaykh* and Shah, *Fahm wa 'Amal* (Aurangabad: n.p., 1420/1999).
59. Muhammad Ilyas, *Malfuzat-e Hazrat Mawlana Muhammad Ilyas* (Lucknow: al-Furqān, 2005), p. 46.
60. Cf. Buehler (1998), pp. 170 71.
61. I am grateful to Abdul Aziz Momin and family, who have continued the family tradition of producing *hamru*, via handloom and power loom, for information on the history of the business ventures of their relative, Hamid 'Ali Shah.
62. On the coming of the railway to Hyderabad, see Bharati Ray, 'The Genesis of Railway Development in Hyderabad State: A Case Study in Nineteenth Century British Imperialism', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 21, 1 (1984).
63. The interviews were carried out in Aurangabad in July 2003.

64. On Banne Miyan's life, see Nile Green (2009), chapter 3.
65. Muhammad Isma'il Shah Qadiri, *A'zam al-Karamat* (Aurangabad: Mu'in Press, n.d. [*c.*1340/1921]), p. 68.
66. Details of the plague are found in O. Qureshi, 'Healthcare in Hyderabad, 1846 1943 AD' (unpublished BSc dissertation, University of London, 2003), pp. 33 42.
67. *CMS, Aurangabad, India* (printed leaflet dated 1 January 1917) in Lane-Smith (1901 38), file Z2. More generally, see Raj Chandavarkar, 'Plague, Panic and Epidemic Politics in India, 1896 1914', in Terence Ranger & Paul Slack (eds), *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
68. On the earlier shrines of Aurangabad, see Green (2006).
69. On the history of such eggs, see Nile Green, 'Ostrich Eggs and Peacock Feathers: Sacred Objects as Cultural Exchange Between Christianity and Islam', *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 18, 1 (2006).
70. On the effects of the Jagirdari Abolition Act in Hyderabad, see A. M. Khusro, *Economic and Social Effects of Jagirdari Abolition and Land Reforms in Hyderabad* (Hyderabad: Department of Publication and University Press, Osmania University, 1958).
71. Christian W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978). I am grateful to an anonymous reader for suggesting this comparison.
72. Cf. Francis Robinson, 'Islamic Reform and Modernities in South Asia', *Modern Asian Studies* 41, 5 (2007).
73. Cf. Green (2011).

5. THE INVENTION OF A HINDU SUFISM

1. For a helpful approach to such exchanges, see Dominique-Sila Khan, *Crossing the Threshold: Understanding Religious Identities in South Asia* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2003).
2. On the Persian memoir of the Hindu Mughal bureaucrat Nik Ra'i, including his pilgrimage to the Sufi shrine of Shah Ashraf Jahangir at Kachauchha, see Muzaffar Alam & Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The Making of a Munshi', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, 2 (2004). On other pre-colonial Hindu writers of Persian, see N. S. Gorekar, 'Hindu Efforts at Persian Studies', *Indo-Iranica* 15, 2 (1962); and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, 'Literary Progress of the Hindus under Muslim Rule', *Islamic Culture* 12, 4 (1938) and 13, 4 (1939).
3. There are of course alternative definitions of cosmopolitanism, not least those following Marxist understandings of cosmopolitanism as the ideological expression of advanced capitalist societies that results from the unrestricted movement of labour and capital. In recent scholarship, the term is often used descriptively to characterize pluralistic social environments, though here the term is used in its active rather than descriptively passive sense.
4. Maharaja Kishan Parshad, *Ankh-Wala Ankh-Wale ki Talash Men* (Meerut: Hashimi Press, 1914).
5. Nile Green, *Islam and the Army in Colonial India: Sepoy Religion in the Service of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
6. On Taj al-Din's life, see Anonymous, *Tazkira Baba Taj al-Din Awliya: Mukamil Sawanih 'Umri* (Nagpur: n.p., n.d.) and Ekkirala Bharadwaja, *Shri Tajuddin Baba* (Ongole: Sri Gurupaduka Publications, n.d.). A short early account of his life also appears in C. B. Purdom, *The Per-*

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fect Master: Shri Meher Baba (London: Williams & Norgate Ltd, 1937), p. 25. I am extremely grateful to James R. Newell for providing me with a copy of *Tazkira-e-Baba Taj al-Din Awliya*. On Taj al-Din in relation to other 'cantonment *faqirs*' associated with colonial Indian soldiers, see Green (2009), pp. 120 26.

7. W. W. Hunter, J. S. Cotton, R. Burn & W. S. Meyer (eds), *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908 31), vol. 14, pp. 329 30.
8. On the misinterpretation of God-given 'absorption' (*jazb*) for madness, see Anonymous (n.d.), pp. 17 18.
9. Anonymous (n.d.), p. 17 and Bharadwaja (n.d.), p. 8. The story was clearly well known and was also reported in the 1930s by Purdom (1937). On the Nagpur asylum at the time of Taj al-Din's arrival, see *Report on the Lunatic Asylums in the Central Provinces for the Year 1892* (Nagpur: Chief Secretariat Press, 1893); and *Report on the Lunatic Asylums in the Central Provinces for the Year 1893* (Nagpur: Chief Secretariat Press, 1894). It is recorded that among the twenty-seven new admissions during 1892, there was one soldier classed as a 'military insane'. See *Report ... for the Year 1893*, pp. 2 3.
10. Such holy men were by no means the only Muslims regularly patronized by the Hindu rulers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for the reputation of Graeco-Islamic medicine (*yunani tibb*) meant that Muslim physicians were also a regular feature at the Maratha courts. On his deathbed, the last official raja of Nagpur was thus attended by the Muslim physicians 'Inayat 'Ali Khan, Mawlwi 'Abd al-Qadir Hakim Sikandar and Afzal Hakim, though they were unable to cure him of the acute piles and indigestion that finally killed him. See Prabhakar Gadre, *Bhosle of Nagpur and East India Company* (Jaipur: Publication Scheme, 1994), p. 255.
11. On the palaces and gardens of Nagpur, including those at Sakkardara, see K. M. Girhe, *Architecture of Bhonslas of Nagpur*, 2 vols (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 23 37, 56 8, 115 25.
12. On the earlier history of Sakkardara, see Girhe (2004), vol. 1, p. 56.
13. For details of Kishan's political career I have relied on S. M. H. Jafri, 'The Role of Maharaja Kishen Pershad in Modern Hyderabad (1864 1940)' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1991). However, a charming appreciation of Kishan Parshad appears in Harriet R. Lynton & Mohini Rajan, *The Days of the Beloved* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 106 26; while a first-hand account of the maharaja by his former personal secretary is found in Mahdi Nawaz Jang, *Maharaja Kishan Parshad ki Zindagi ki Halat* (Hyderabad: n.p., 1950).
14. On the Kayasths, see Karen I. Leonard, *Social History of an Indian Caste: The Kayasths of Hyderabad* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978). For a personal memoir of one of Hyderabad state's last Hindu bureaucrats, see Kanaiyalal Maneklal Munshi, *The End of an Era: Hyderabad Memories* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1957).
15. Jafri (1991), p. 386. On Urdu and Persian literary activity among Hyderabadi Kayasths, see Leonard (1978), pp. 199 201.
16. A short literary appreciation of Kishan's poetry is found in Nasir al-Din Hashimi, *Dakan men Urdu* (Delhi: Qawmi Kawnsil baraye Forugh-e Urdu Zaban, 1985), pp. 600 4.
17. Jafri (1991), pp. 386 95. On the Islamicate Urdu poetry of the Hyderabadi Hindu Gardhari Parshad 'Baqi' (d.1896) a generation earlier, see Jafri (1991), pp. 556 7.

18. See e.g. Maharaja Kishan Parshad, *Bagh-e Shad* (Hyderabad: Matba'a Mahbub al-Qulub, 1308/1890).
19. Sayyid Shah Muhammad Iftikhar 'Ali Madani Chishti wa Qadiri al-Husayni, *Díwan-e Watan mashur bih Bustan-e Tasawwuf* (Madras: Matba'a Nizam al-Mataba', n.d. [1888]). For a study of Watan's poetry and its Hyderabadi literary context, see Nile Green, 'The Propriety of Poetry: Morality and Mysticism in the Nineteenth Century Urdu Religious Lyric', *Middle Eastern Literatures* 13, 3 (2010).
20. Maharaja Kishan Parshad, *Rawza-e Sharif* (n.p, *c.*1930). I have been unable to trace a copy of this work.
21. Parshad (1914). Kishan Parshad is also mentioned as a devotee (*'aqidatmand*) of Taj al-Din in the *Tazkira-e-Baba Taj al-Dín Awlíya*, where the saint is described as refusing a land grant which Kishan Parshad had brought from the Nizam. See Anonymous (n.d.), p. 65.
22. Parshad (1914), pp. 3 5. It is worth noting that even Sufis themselves turned to such physicians for help when their own miraculous powers ebbed. Thus we hear of the illness by which the Hyderabadi Sufi Aqa Da'ud discharged a magisterial 82 tolas (approx. 100 grams) of sugar every day in his urine, of which he was eventually cured by the famous *yunaní* physician Sayyid Rafi' al-Din (b.1278/1862). See S. A. Husain, 'Unani Physicians in Hyderabad State during Nizam IV, V and VI', *Bulletin of the Indian Institute of History of Medicine* 13, 1 4 (1983), p. 31.
23. Parshad (1914), pp. 8 10.
24. Hunt was the chief medical officer of the Nizam's State Railway and also had his own *faqír* enthusiasms, leaving a remarkable description of the self-mutilation of Hyderabad's Rifa'is. See E. H. Hunt, 'The Rafai Fakeers of Hyderabad', *Man* 50 51 (1932).
25. Parshad (1914), p. 10.
26. Parshad (1914), pp. 14 15.
27. On Hindu railway pilgrims and social reform in northern India (principally Orissa), see Ravi Ahuja, '"The Bridge-Builders": Some Notes on Railways, Pilgrimage and the British "Civilizing Mission" in Colonial India', in Harald Fischer-Tiné & Michael Mann (eds), *Colonialism as Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India* (London: Anthem Press, 2004).
28. Parshad (1914), pp. 22 8. Kishan's reception at the station and the nostalgia espoused for the late Nizam is perhaps ironic in view of the joke that began to circulate among the train carriages of Hyderabad a few years later, mocking the miserliness of Mahbub 'Ali's successor, 'Usman 'Ali Khan. Writing in 1921, the chief medical officer of the Nizam's Railway, Dr E. H. Hunt (whom Kishan had recently consulted), described how there was 'a usual "gag" in a third-class railway carriage, a gag which never fails to raise a laugh is this: "He [the Nizam] will soon be going from door to door, begging for dubs [a coin usually thrown to beggars]."' See 'Notes on Politics of Hyderabad, 7 April 1921', in Papers of Edmund Henderson Hunt, Oriental and India Office Collections, Private Papers, Mss Eur F222/10. For a more positive assessment of 'Usman 'Ali Khan's character, see Tayiba Begam, *Mír 'Usman 'Alí Khan aur unka 'Ahd* (Hyderabad: Commercial Book Depot, 2000), pp. 100 27.
29. On such Sufi Yogi exchanges, see Nile Green, 'Breathing in India, *c.*1890', *Modern Asian Studies* 42, 2 3 (2008).

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30. Parshad (1914), pp. 32 5.
31. Parshad (1914), p. 33. I have been unable to find any further record of this figure.
32. Sayyid Shah Darwish Muhyi al-Din Sahib Qadiri, *Afzal al-Karamat ma' Karamat-e Sarwari* (Hyderabad: Barakat Publications, 1402/1981), p. 158. The text was written on Sarwar Biyabani's death in 1913 (ibid., p. 161).
33. Munshi Sivanath, *Sayr-e Ajmer* (Ajmer: Matba'a Printing Company, 1892), p. 7.
34. Ibid., pp. 12 13, 17 18.
35. Ibid., pp. 19 20, 23 4.
36. Simon Digby, 'The Sufi Shaykh and the Sultan: A Conflict of Claims to Authority in Medieval India', *Iran* 28 (1990).
37. Parshad (1914), pp. 36 42.
38. Ibid., pp. 43 5.
39. Mrs. I. Portal, 'Song at Seventy', typescript, p. 42, in Papers of Iris Portal, Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge University.
40. The construction of new roads in the Nagpur district was one of the earliest policies pursued by the British after they took control of the region. However, despite Kishan's favourable impressions, the British use of contractors to oversee the local labour force aroused considerable hostility towards the road scheme. See Gadre (1994), pp. 251 3.
41. Parshad (1914), pp. 46 50.
42. On the caste status of the region's *mali* gardeners, see Raj Kumar, *Encyclopaedia of Untouchables: Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2008), p. 44.
43. Karen I. Leonard, 'Hyderabad: The Mulki Non-Mulki Conflict', in Roger Jeffrey (ed.), *People, Princes and Paramount Power: Society and Politics in the Indian Princely States* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1978).
44. For a somewhat ahistorical but nonetheless influential study of *darshan*, see Diana L. Eck, *Darsan: Seeing the Divine Image in India*, 3rd edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).
45. Tony K. Stewart, 'In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving the Muslim Hindu Encounter through Translation Theory', *History of Religions* 40, 3 (2001).
46. Parshad (1914), pp. 38 9.
47. Ibid., pp. 57 60.
48. Ibid., pp. 61 2.
49. The term 'unitarian' or *muwahid* appears in Prince Muhammad Dara Shikuh, *Majma'-ul-Bahrain or the Mingling of the Two Oceans*, ed. & trans. M. Mahfuz-ul-Haq (Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1929), pp. 80, 86, 91, 96, 106, 108, 114 (Persian text). For further examples of such philosophical exchange, see Carl W. Ernst, 'Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages', *Iranian Studies* 36, 2 (2003).
50. On such roles of English literature under the Raj, see Harish Trivedi, *Colonial Transactions: English Literature and India* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995). On literary collaboration as anti-colonialism, see Leela Gandhi, *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin de Siècle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
51. Karen I. Leonard, 'The Deccani Synthesis in Old Hyderabad: An Historiographic Essay', *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 21 (1973).

52. On the Arya Samaj and other sectarian movements in Hyderabad, see Margrit Pernau, *The Passing of Patrimonialism: Politics and Political Culture in Hyderabad, 1911 1948* (Delhi: Manohar, 2000), pp. 229 94. A more contemporary account is found in S. R. Sharma, 'The Arya Samajists in Hyderabad and the Paramount Power', *Modern Review* 66 (August 1939).
53. See Omar Khalidi, 'Gosha Mahal Baradari and the Freemasons Lodge', in V. K. Bawa (ed.), *HUDA-INTACH Heritage Annual, 2001* (Hyderabad: INTACH, 2001), pp. 56 7. For an overview of Freemasonry in the Nizam's state, see J. D. B. Gribble, *History of Freemasonry in Hyderabad (Deccan)* (Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1910).
54. On 'Inayat Khan's career, see E. Keesing, *Hazrat Inayat Khan: A Biography* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981).
55. A fascinating study of the impact of Freemasonry on late Ottoman socio-religious life is found in Thierry Zarcone, *Mystiques, philosophes, et francs-maçons en Islam: Riza Tevfik, penseur Ottoman (1868 1949), du soufisme à la confrérie* (Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 1993).
56. Leonard (1978), p. 149.
57. Sheela Raj, *Medievalism to Modernism: Socio-Economic and Cultural History of Hyderabad, 1869 1911* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1987), p. 272.
58. Sir Ahmed Hussain (Nawab Amin Jung Bahadur), *The Philosophy of the Faqirs: Notes of Talks on Vedantism alias Sufi-ism* (Hyderabad: Dar al-Taba'a Sarkar-e 'Ali, n.d. [*c.*1932]). The lectures were originally delivered on 13 October and 14 November 1931. On Amin Jang's career, see *Hyderabad State: List of Leading Officials, Nobles and Personages* (Hyderabad: n.p., n.d. [*c.*1925]), p. 8. On the similar intellectual enterprises in missionary schools in India at this time, see Hayden J. A. Bellenoit, 'Missionary Education, Religion and Knowledge in India, *c.*1880 1915', *Modern Asian Studies* 41, 2 (2007), especially pp. 373 84, 391.
59. As Carl W. Ernst has shown in several publications, pre-colonial Indian Muslim accounts of Indian mysticisms such as Yoga were at pains to stress the distinction between Islam and Hinduism. See, for example, Carl W. Ernst, 'Muslim Studies of Hinduism: A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages', *Iranian Studies* 36, 2 (2003).
60. Hussain (n.d.), p. 18.
61. Ibid., pp. 11 17. The same attempt to reconcile Islam with scientific modernity was seen in Amin Jang's other book, *Notes on Islam*, originally composed as a series of letters to his sons at Cambridge. See Nawab Sir Amin Jung Bahadur, *Notes on Islam* (Lahore: Sh. Ashraf Press, 1922), especially Note XI.
62. Hussain (n.d.), p. 18. The obvious parallel is of course Muhammad Iqbal, particularly in his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, first published in 1930 after being delivered in lecture form in Madras, Aligarh and Hyderabad.
63. Swami Govinda Tirtha, *The Nectar of Grace: 'Omar Khayyam's Life and Works* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1941).
64. Tirtha (1941), p. vi. On Akbar Hydari's career, see T. V. Haranatha Babu, 'Sir Akbar Hydari: The Forgotten Prime Minister of Hyderabad State', *Deccan Studies* 2, 1 (2004).
65. Cited in Murray T. Titus, 'A Hindu Apologist for Islam', *The Moslem World* 14, 1 (1924).
66. On the influences on Phoenix Settlement and the evolution of *satyagraha*, see M. K. Gan-

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dhi, *Satyagraha in South Africa*, translated from the Gujarati by Valji Govindji Desaia (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, n.d. [1950]).

67. Ihsan Al-Issa (ed.), *Al-Junun: Mental Illness in the Islamic World* (Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 2000); Waltraud Ernst, *Mad Tales from the Raj: The European Insane in British India, 1800 1858* (London: Routledge, 1991); and Ann Goldberg, *Sex, Religion, and the Making of Modern Madness: The Eberbach Asylum and Germany Society, 1815 1849* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
68. Green (2009), chapter 3.
69. A short account of this alternative to colonial medicine is found in Purdom (1937), p. 227.

6. MAKING ISLAM IN THE MOTOR CITY

1. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 2 (1921), p. 31. For a meticulous reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding the mosque's foundation and rapid demise, see Sarah F. Howell, 'Inventing the American Mosque: Early Muslims and Their Institutions in Detroit, 1910 1980' (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 2009), pp. 58 77.
2. *Detroit News* (9 June 1921).
3. Mufti Muhammad Sadeq, *Lata'if-e Sadeq: Hazrat Mufti Muhammad Sadeq Saheb ki Ap Biti*, ed. Shaykh Muhammad Isma'il Panipati (Lahore: Ahmad Akedimi, n.d.), p. 125.
4. In making the comparison with the original American 'burned-over district' of religious 'awakening', inventiveness and competition, I have drawn on Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); and Roger Finke & Rodney Stark, *The Churching of America 1776 1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, 1992).
5. Moustafa Bayoumi, 'East of the Sun (West of the Moon): Islam, the Ahmadis and African America', *Journal of Asian American Studies* 4, 3 (2001), pp. 251 63; Patrick D. Bowen, 'The Search for "Islam": African American Islamic Groups in NYC, 1904 1954', *Muslim World* 102, 2 (2012), pp. 264 83; Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, *A History of Islam in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 207 18; Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad & Jane Idleman Smith, *Mission to America: Five Islamic Sectarian Movements in North America* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1993), chapter 3; and Richard Brent Turner, *Islam in the African-American Experience* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), chapter 4.
6. For an apologetic overview of Ahmadiyya missions, see Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, *Our Foreign Missions: A Brief Account of the Ahmadiyya Work to Push Islam in Various Parts of the World* (Rabwah, West Pakistan: Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions, 1965).
7. Aminah Mohammad-Arif, 'Ilyas et Mawdudi au pays des Yankees: la Tablighi Jama'at et la Jama'at-i Islami aux Etats-Unis', *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 117 (2002).
8. On Islam among African American slaves, see Allan D. Austin, *African Muslims in Antebellum America: Transatlantic Stories and Spiritual Struggles* (London: Routledge, 1997); and Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims Enslaved in the Americas* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).
9. Kemal H. Karpat, 'The Ottoman Emigration to America, 1860 1914', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 17, 2 (1985), pp. 175 209; and Michael W. Suleiman, 'The Arab Com-

munity in the United States: A Comparison of Lebanese and non-Lebanese', in Albert Hourani & Nadim Shehadi (eds), *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies in association with I. B. Tauris, 1992).

10. Alexandre Bennigsen, 'Tatars', in Stephan Thernstrom (ed.), *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1980).
11. Ibrahim Sahhafbashi Tihrani, *Safarnama-e Ibrahim Sahhafbashi*, ed. Muhammad Mushiri (Tehran: Shirkat-e Mu'allifan, 1985). More generally, see M. R. Ghanoonparvar, 'Nineteenth-Century Iranians in America', in Elton Daniel (ed.), *Society and Culture in Qajar Iran: Studies in Honor of Hafez Farmayan* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2002).
12. Nile Green, 'Spacetime and the Muslim Journey West: Industrial Communications in the Making of the "Muslim World"', *American Historical Review* 118, 2 (2013), pp. 401 29.
13. Patrick D. Bowen, 'Satti Majid: A Sudanese Founder of American Islam', *Journal of Africana Religions* 1, 2 (2013), pp. 194 209; and Ahmed I. Abu Shouk, J. O. Hunwick & R. S. O'Fahey, 'A Sudanese Missionary to the United States: Satti Majid, "*Shaykh al-Islam* in North America", and his Encounter with Noble Drew Ali of the Moorish Science Movement', *Sudanic Africa* 8 (1997), pp. 137 91.
14. On the small numbers of Indian Muslims in America at this time, see Vivek Bald, 'Overlapping Diasporas, Multiracial Lives: South Asian Muslims in U.S. Communities of Color, 1880 1950', in Manning Marable & Hishaam D. Aidi (eds), *Black Routes to Islam* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
15. Mustafa Abdelwahid (ed.), *Dusé Mohamed Ali (1866 1945): The Autobiography of a Pioneer Pan African and Afro-Asian Activist* (Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 2011). See also the parallel non-Muslim case studies in Sebastian Conrad & Dominic Sachsenmaier (eds), *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s-1930s* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
16. Abdelwahid (2011), pp. 22 7.
17. Nile Green, 'A Persian Policeman in New York City: American Lessons for the New Pahlavi Nation' (forthcoming); and Maia Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia: How the Ghadar Movement Charted Global Radicalism and Attempted to Overthrow the British Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
18. Green (2011), chapter 1.
19. Aziz Ahmad, 'Afghānī's Indian Contacts', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89, 3 (1969), pp. 476 504.
20. See Jan A. Ali, *Islamic Revivalism Encounters the Modern World: A Study of the Tabligh Jama'at* (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 2012); Green (2011); Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982) and Farish A. Noor, Yoginder Sikand & Martin van Bruinessen (eds), *The Madrasa in Asia: Political Activism and Transnational Linkages* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).
21. Kenneth William Jones, *The Arya Samaj in the Punjab: A Study of Social Reform and Religious Revivalism, 1877 1902* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).
22. Nile Green, 'Anjuman-i Khuddam al-Sufiyya', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3rd edition (Leiden: Brill, 2007) and Sayyid Akhtar Husayn, *Sirat-e Amir-e Millat* (Lahore: n.p., 1394/1974).
23. Yohanan Friedmann, *Prophecy Continuous: Aspects of Ahmadi Religious Thought and its Medieval Background*, 2nd edition (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003) and Simon Ross Valentine, *Islam and the Ahmadiyya Jama'at: History, Belief, Practice* (London: Hurst & Co., 2008).

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24. On Jama'at 'Ali and the Arya Samaj, see Arthur F. Buehler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), pp. 197 8; and Thillayvel Naidoo, *The Arya Samaj Movement in South Africa* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992). On the Ahmadiyya Movement, see Hafiz Sher Mohammad, *The Ahmadiyya Case: Famous Religious Court Case in Cape Town Between Lahore Ahmadiyya Muslims and Sunni Muslim Religious Bodies* (Newark, CA: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam, 1987); and Muslim P. Salamat, *A Miracle at Woking: A History of the Shahjahan Mosque* (Chichester, Hants: Phillimore, 2008).
25. Contemporary reports of these missions were given in the Ahmadiyya Urdu magazine, *Isha'at-e Islam*: see, for example, *Isha'at-e Islam* 1, 9 (1915), pp. 59 63 on Britain; 7, 5 (1921), pp. 299 301 on France; 7, 7 (1921), pp. 441 4 on Egypt; 7, 9 (1921), pp. 519 21 on Singapore; 8, 6 (1922), pp. 380 86 on Germany. For a study of their overseas techniques, see Eric Germain, 'The First Muslim Missions on a European Scale: Ahmadi-Lahori Networks in the Inter-war Period', in Nathalie Clayer & Eric Germain (eds), *Islam in Inter-War Europe* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008); and Iqbal Singh Sevea, 'The Ahmadiyya Print Jihad in South and Southeast Asia', in Michael Feener & Terenjit Sevea (eds), *Islamic Connections: Muslim Societies in South and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: NUS Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009).
26. I have relied here on the biography provided in Sadiq (n.d.), pp. 120 42.
27. Sadiq (n.d.), p. 125.
28. Bowen (2013); and Donald A. S. Graham, 'Spreading the Wisdom of Sufism: The Career of Pir-o-Murshid Inayat Khan in the West', in Pir Zia Inayat-Khan (ed.), *A Peal in Wine: Essays on the Life, Music, and Sufism of Hazrat Inayat Khan* (New Lebanon, NY: Omega Publications, 2001).
29. Using the reports in *The Moslem Sunrise*, Richard Brent Turner has calculated the number of American converts made by Muhammad Sadiq and his successor Maulvi Muhammad Din between 1921 and 1925 as totalling some 1,025. See Turner (2003), p. 124.
30. Rachel Dwyer & Christopher Pinney (eds), *Pleasure and the Nation: The History, Politics, and Consumption of Public Culture in India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001).
31. Green (2011), chapter 3; and Dietrich Reetz, *Islam in the Public Sphere: Religious Groups in India, 1900 1947* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006).
32. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 1 (1921), pp. 13 14.
33. In this section, I have drawn on the America section in Muhammad Sadiq's autobiography (*ap-biti*) in Sadiq (n.d.), pp. 134 42 and the regular column, 'Brief Report of the Work in America', which appeared in each edition of Muhammad Sadiq's journal, *The Moslem Sunrise*, from 1921 until 1924.
34. For the Urdu and English versions of the dialogue, see Sadiq (n.d.), pp. 115 18; and 'If Jesus Comes to America', in *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 4 (1922), pp. 85 6.
35. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 1 (1921), p. 12. The claim is repeated in Sadiq (n.d.), pp. 139 40.
36. Sadiq (n.d.), pp. 138 9.
37. Asad Husain & Harold Vogelaar, 'Activities of the Immigrant Muslim Communities in Chicago', in Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad & Jane Idleman Smith (eds), *Muslim communities in North America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

38. A photograph of the mosque-house appears in *Moslem Sunrise* 2, 2 3 (1923), p. 228.
39. Originally the magazine was called *Muslim India and the Islamic Review* but in 1921 the title was shortened to its better-known name, the *Islamic Review*.
40. On the magazine's funding, see the announcement in *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 4 (1922), p. 86. See for example the advertisements in *Moslem Sunrise* 2, 1 (1923), p. 179.
41. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 3 (1922), p. 63.
42. See for example *Isha'at-e Islam* (March 1922), p. 141; and ibid. (April 1922), p. 190.
43. Titles of the books mailed out are given in *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 2 (1921), pp. 48 and 59.
44. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 2 (1921), p. 36.
45. Mitch Horowitz, *Occult America: White House Seances, Ouija Circles, Masons, and the Secret Mystic History of Our Nation* (New York: Bantam Books, 2009); and Stephen J. Stein, *Communities of Dissent: A History of Alternative Religions in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), chapters 5 and 6.
46. Horowitz (2009), chapter 5.
47. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 5 (1922), p. 114.
48. Umar F. Abd-Allah, *A Muslim in Victorian America: The Life of Alexander Russell Webb* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), chapter 8.
49. Webb also appears in Muhammad Sadiq's Urdu memoir as a forerunner of his own mission. See Sadiq (n.d.), p. 142.
50. Green (2013).
51. Abdelwahid (2011), pp. 32 3.
52. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 1 (1921), p. 14
53. Sadiq (n.d.), pp. 104 5.
54. 'Moslem Hurls Tolerance Defy at Christian Pulpits', *Detroit Free Press* (8 February 1921). Thanks to Sally Howell for directing me to this article.
55. Sadiq (n.d.), p. 105.
56. Howell (2009), pp. 54 61.
57. Sadiq (n.d.), p. 142. The claim is made in the explicit autobiography (*ap-biti*) section of the text.
58. Salamat (2008), pp. 23 32.
59. Marla O. Collum, Barbara E. Krueger & Dorothy Kostuch (eds), *Detroit's Historic Places of Worship* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2012).
60. Ibid., pp. 152 7.
61. Ibid., pp. 132 7 and 150 51.
62. Ibid., pp. 126 31.
63. *Moslem Sunrise* 1, 2 (1921), p. 29.
64. On the Indian presence in Berlin at this time, see Lothar Günther & Hans-Joachim Rehmer, *Inder, Indien und Berlin: 100 Jahre Begegnung Berlin und Indien* (Berlin: Lotos, 1999).
65. Green (2011), pp. 24 31.
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73. *Moslem Sunrise* 2, 2 3 (1923), p. 194.
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7. FOUNDING THE FIRST MOSQUE IN JAPAN

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1936), p. 18. In the various handwritten and typed minutes of the *anjuman*'s meetings, the donor variously appears as 'J. B. Ferozzuddin', 'J. B. Feroze', 'J. B. Feerozdin' and 'J. B. Ferozitdin', with 'J. B. Ferozuddin' as the most common spelling.

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146. *The Kobe Muslim Mosque* (1935), p. 15.
147. 'Donations Received', *Kobe Muslim Mosque Report* (1936), p. 18.
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160. Abdul Aziz (1941), p. 73.
161. Ibid., p. 77.
162. Ibid., pp. 77 8.
163. *The Kobe Muslim Mosque* (1935). A copy of the booklet survives in the National Diet Library, Tokyo.
164. Ibid., p. 21.
165. Ibid., p. 10.
166. Ibid., p. 8.
167. Ibid.
168. Abdul Aziz (1941), p. 22.
169. Kobe Mosque Records, 'President's Statement, Kobe Muslim Mosque Committee' (undated, likely 1937).

170. Ibid., p. 3.
171. Kobe Mosque Records, 'Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of the Kobe Muslim Mosque Committee' (26 March 1935).
172. Misawa (2011), p. 131.
173. 'Visit by Moslem Missionary', *Straits Times* [Singapore] (7 October 1936), p. 12; and *The Nagoya Muslim Mosque: A Souvenir Booklet Issued in Commemoration of the Opening Ceremony* (Nagoya: Nagoya Turkish Tatar Islamic Association, 1937). On 14 May 1945, the Nagoya mosque was destroyed in an Allied air raid.
174. 'Moslem Missionary's Address', *Straits Times* [Singapore] (13 October 1936), p. 17.
175. Abdul Aziz (1941), p. 21.
176. C. Numata Sayoko, 'Fieldwork Note on Tatar Migrants from the Far East to the USA: For Reviews of Islam Policy in Prewar and Wartime Japan', *Annals of the Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 28, 2 (2012).

CONCLUSIONS

1. In this respect, like other ventures in global history, the chapters here can be read as studies in 'contact'. See for example Tony Ballantyne & Antoinette Burton (eds), *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); and Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
2. I have also pursued this argument in relation to the Indian Ocean arena in the conclusion to Green, *Bombay Islam: The Religious Economy of the West Indian Ocean, 1840 1915* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 235 43.
3. Lest this model be read as a 'neo-liberal' manifesto for free market capitalism, as one critic has taken my findings in *Bombay Islam*, I would like to make it clear that the model is intended as sociological observation rather than political recommendation. At a personal level, I remain agnostic as to whether more of anything whether commodities or religions is intrinsically a good thing. For the critique, see Irfan Ahmad, 'Anthropology of Islam: History, Culture and Power', *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 50, 4 (2013).
4. Benjamin F. Soares, *Islam and the Prayer Economy: History and Authority in a Malian Town* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 2005).
5. I have borrowed the concept of translocality from Ulrike Freitag & Achim Von Oppen (eds), *Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
6. For example, Peter Mandaville (ed.), *Transnational Islam in South and Southeast Asia: Movements, Networks and Conflict Dynamics* (Singapore: National Bureau of Asian Research, 2009); and Pnina Werbner, *Pilgrims of Love: The Anthropology of a Global Sufi Cult* (London: Hurst & Co., 2003).
7. This case for the adaptive use of such technologies is expanded further in James L. Gelvin & Nile Green, 'Introduction: Global Muslims in the Age of Steam and Print', in Gelvin and Green (2014).
8. Michael Dodson & Brian Hatcher, 'Introduction' in Dodson and Hatcher (eds), *Trans-Colonial Modernities in South Asia* (London: Routledge, 2012).

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9. On the dynamics between Muslim religious innovators and the religious establishment in the colonial and postcolonial eras, see Nile Green, *Sufism: A Global History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2012), chapter 4.
10. Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*, vol. 1, *A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*, new edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), chapter 1.

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