CHAPTER II

CHRISTIAN SCHOLARS OF ISLAMIC STUDIES IN INDIA

An attempt is made in this chapter to introduce some of the important Christian Scholars who have contributed either directly or indirectly to the development of Islamic studies in India.

JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN THE MUGHAL COURT

Christian writings on the Jesuit mission in the Mughal court are abundantly available. (see appendix No.) No other event, in the history of Indian Muslims, perhaps, has attracted as much attention of the Catholic historians as that of the presence and activities of the Jesuit missionaries at the Mughal court. This is pointed out as the first friendly and cordial encounter of "dialogue" between Islam and Christianity in India. Every year the Jesuit missionaries used to send reports of their activities in India to their Superior General in Rome. These reports are valuable historical documents with vivid descriptions of the Mughal court and Islam in India. Monserrat, one of the three priests in the first batch, had kept a personal diary during the first mission, which he later expanded into a continuous narrative. This also contains a fascinating description of Akbar's personality and of his court.

Christian writers on Indian Islam in general have paid great tributes to Akbar the Great for his religious tolerance and the wide vision of the society of his day. Arunil Campus writes about him as follows:
The period of the Mogul Empire is one of the most illustrious in the history of the subcontinent. It was a time of territorial expansion, administrative organization and of a high civilization and names like the Mogul revenue system, Mogul painting and Mogul architecture have become traditional concepts... But it was also a period of religious fermentation. The principal religions represented in the Mogul Empire were Islam and Hinduism, but there were also communities of Sikhs, Jains, Parsees, Jews and Eastern Christians. The Unity of the empire depended on a close understanding among the adherents of these different creeds and above all between Muslims and Hindus. A certain interpretation of Islam was already in progress but it was Emperor Akbar who tried to unite his subjects by introducing a large measure of religious tolerance and by founding a new religion, the Din-i-Ishā (Divine Religion).2

In the attractive surroundings of Fatehpur Sikri, a favourite place of retreat, Akbar dreamed of a universal religion. He built there his famous Ibadat Khana (House of worship) for religious services and discussions. In the opinion of Bevan Jones, "The stilted Islam of the orthodox ulama no longer satisfied or even interested him."3 So Akbar invited representatives and scholars of other faiths to this house. Even before 1580 he had established cordial relationship with Christians, particularly in Bengal and Gujarat. Gile Eanes Pereira, a Portuguese speaking priest from Cochin had been called as a possible emissary of Christianity. In 1578 Akbar dispatched an official deputation to Goa to get at least two Paulist Fathers4 who could acquaint him in some depth with Christian doctrines. After serious consultation with the bishop and the then Viceroy, Louis de Athaide, the Jesuits decided to comply with the request of Akbar.

In the view of Edward R. Hambye, the chief aim on both sides was religious in character. Akbar wanted to have with him reliable and enlightened Christians who would explain to him their faith by their learned works and saintly examples. The Jesuits on the other side thought that this was a God-given chance to draw
Akbar to their faith. It is important to note that none of the first three Jesuits\(^5\) sent to Fatehpur Sikri was a Portuguese. So it is presumed that they did not entertain the idea of exercising on the Mughul court a political influence which could benefit the interest of the Portuguese.\(^6\)

The relations between the Jesuits and Akbar, and between them and Akbar's friends, soon became warm and cordial. They found in the person of Akbar an affectionate ruler though at times for the fear of appearing too "pro-Christian" he kept his distance from the Fathers. Abul Fazl was asked to teach them Persian. The Jesuits were permitted by the emperor to have their lodging including the chapel within the palace itself.\(^7\) However, at times, the priests felt that they were being looked down upon, if not utterly disliked, by many at the court, including Akbar's mother Maryam Makani.\(^8\) Commenting upon this situation Hambye remarks: "It must be admitted that the members of the First Mughal Mission had not been really prepared for their task and they had to learn how to deal with completely new situations, sometimes at their own cost."\(^9\)

Since the Jesuit missionaries were convinced that Akbar would not become a Christian, they thought of going back to Goa with a feeling of disappointment. But owing to Akbar's pressing request to stay on and under the impact of a slowly formed new vision of a Christian presence in North India, the mission was not wound up. Francis Henrique and Monseratte left for Goa and Acquaviva continued to stay on at Fatehpur-Sikri enjoying the affection and confidence of Akbar. The Jesuit leadership by this time realized that a measure of Christian presence was needed in North India if only to look after the small number of Christians living there. So Acquaviva suggested to his superiors to set up a school for
learning Persian and Urdu in order to train priests to work in North India. Yet a permanent Jesuit presence at the Mughal court was established only from the time of the third mission to Akbar (1595) onwards, which continued till the second half of the eighteenth century.

It is difficult to assess the contribution of the Jesuit Fathers for the development of Islamic studies during their presence at the Mughal court for nearly one century. The first mission had one clear objective - to convert the emperor and through him the people. With this end in view they held discussions with Akbar and participated in religious disputations with the scholars of other religious traditions, of which the emperor was so fond. In the opinion of Iroll, the purpose of these discussions was to discredit everything Islamic thinking that thereby they could force the emperor and others to see the superiority of Christianity. Once in a discussion with Montserrat, Abul Fazl (1551-1602) maintained that there was spiritual nourishment in the Quran. But the priest did not concede to it.

However, it is significant to note that as soon as they could, Acquaviva and Montserrat learned Persian which was the official language of the Mughal court. As for Henriques, who hailed from Persia, it was enough to revive his mother tongue. Thus with the help of some local scholars these missionaries composed some writings. These included a life of Christ based on the four Gospels, a small catechism and a sketch of Christ's passion. They also prepared a Persian version of the Gospels which they presented to Jahangir in 1607.

Most of our knowledge, as Hambye points out about the Mughal
mission of the Jesuits is due to the labours of Henry Hosten (d. 1935) and of the late Sir Edward Maclagan, whose book *The Jesuits and the Great Mughal* published in 1932 is unmatched for the vastness of its information and the depth of its interpretation. As Maclagan readily confessed, his book owed most of its material to Hosten's published and unpublished works on the Mughals, on their relationship with the Jesuits and on allied subjects. Maclagan, an English civil servant, who worked for many years in India, could make use of the unique library resources in London and elsewhere and prepare a work of the kind he finally published. The Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome, due to the work of Joseph Wicki and more recently of his Indian assistant John Gomes, has published a critical edition of all the Jesuit letters pertaining to India. To commemorate the 400th anniversary of the first Jesuit Mission to the Mughal court, John Correa Afonso, S.J., has published an excellent translation of the twelve best letters of that mission eight of them written by Rodolf Acquaviva himself.13

**JEROME XAVIER (1549-1617)**

Jerome Xavier is known as the theorist of the Mughal mission. He came to India as a Jesuit missionary in September 1581. When Akbar requested the Jesuits to send a few learned priests to the Mughal court for the their mission, Jerome was chosen by the society to lead the team which made him the real founder of Mughal Mission. The group consisting of Fr. Jerome, Fr. Emmanuel Pinheiro and Bro. Benedict de Goes reached Lahore on May 5, 1593 and was very warmly received by the Emperor.

Fr. Jerome spent much of his time in studying Persian and
composing his famous work *Fuente de Vida*. He attended the religious
discussions that at times took place before the emperor and also
tried to work out a more systematic mission method. The emperor
was much pleased with Fr. Jerome and called him occasionally to
dispute on matters of religion. Jerome wrote a book on the Life
of Christ precisely for the Emperor. Still Akbar was not convinced
of the divinity of Christ. Even after Jahangir had ascended the
throne, following the death of Akbar in 1606, Jerome continued to
attend the court and to participate in public discussions on reli-
gion. But due to the political development, in which Jahangir pre-
ferred the English to the Portuguese, the missionaries were really
in danger, since they were from Portugal. They had to wind up the
third mission and Fr. Jerome was sent to Goa as a banished man.
Though the good relation of the Fathers with the Mughal court was
restored later, Fr. Jerome could not return to Agra because of his
ill-health. On June 27, 1617, he was found burnt to death in his
room. Thus, by a tragic and unresolved accident, passed away the
founder of the Mughal mission.14

His works

1. *Fuente De Vida* (Fountain of Life)

   This is the most important book written by Jerome. Its copies
are to be found only in manuscript and are comparatively rare. This
work furnishes us with complete information on Jerome's knowledge
of Islam and his attitude towards it. The book is divided into five
parts. The first part deals with the need, felt by mankind, for a
revealed religion. The second part treats the things related to God
which the Christian religion teaches. The third part is meant to
expound the doctrine of the divinity of Christ in nine chapters, while the fourth part explains the precepts of Christianity and the differences between them and those of Islam. The last part treats of the aids to be found in Christianity for the service of God and also of the advantages of Christianity in comparison with Islam and other religions. The book is written in the form of a dialogue between the Father and a philosopher, who is a personification of Akbar himself. When the discussion is about the differences between Christians and Muslims, a Muslim scholar intervenes as a third interlocutor.

2. **Portuguese Translation of the Quran:**

Jerome could not read the Quran in its original language since he did not know Arabic. Hence he had to have recourse to its translations. On December 4, 1615, having received a letter announcing the dispatch of an Arabic text of the Quran he answered: "I thank you very much for your trouble; but I did not ask you for the Al-Koran in Arabic, since we have no end of them here; I had it translated from Arabic into Persian and from Persian into Portuguese." As Arnulf Camps rightly points out, there is no doubt that this Persian version of the Quran was made by somebody else, as he did not know Arabic. The Portuguese translation of this Persian version may probably be added to the works of Xavier as it would have been made only because of his keen interest. It was necessary for him to obtain a profound knowledge of the Quran in order to discuss it with Muslims and to compose his polemical works. This Portuguese translation seems to have been lost now. However, it goes to the credit of Jerome Xavier that he took steps to translate the Quran into Portuguese as early as 1615.

This is only a Persian translation of the *Fuente de Vida*. This abridgement is of much less value than the complete work. Moreover it is written in the form of dialogue.

**Jerome's Approach of Disputation**

Being the theorist of the Mughal mission, Jerome Xavier is understood to have developed a disputation system containing a certain number of principles that should guide himself and his colleagues in their approach towards Muslims. This method is followed in the three of his above mentioned works. Concerning the *Fuente de Vida* he wrote to his Superior General that he composed this work in order to treat systematically the truths of Christianity and the falsity of Islam. Jerome's main concern was to disprove the oft repeated claim of Muslims that Islam has replaced Christianity. The leading principle followed by him in this attempt, as recorded by Arnulf Camps, could be formulated as follows. It is proper to God to raise his creatures from a less good to a better one and from imperfection to perfection and not vice versa. Thus if the promulgation of the Quran abolished the Gospel and if Muhammad and his religion were substituted by God for Jesus and Christianity, then Muhammad has to be a more perfect prophet than Jesus, Islam a more perfect religion than Christianity, and the aids furnished by Islam more powerful than those supplied by Christianity. After analysing elaborately these factors, Xavier tries to prove that the religion of Jesus is the only true one among all other religions and that Islam is not a substitute for Christianity. Thus *Fuente de Vida* is chiefly an apologetical work as its purpose is to prove the superiority
of Christianity over all other religions. By basing the search after it on the one true religion, upon human reasoning and rational arguments, Jerome reminds us of the great missionary to the Muslims, Ramon Lull, three centuries before him.

Jerome's disputation-approach is to be evaluated against the religious background of the Mughal Empire of that period. Two important religious currents caught his attention: the religious ideas of Akbar and those of Islam with its still dominant position in the state. As Arnold Camps points out, Fuente de Vida is an echo of that situation. In the first book the mentality of the philosopher accords perfectly with the rationalistic and sceptic mentality of Akbar and also corresponds with the religious convictions of Jehangir. The mullah definitely represents the Muslim leaders with whom Xavier held frequent discussions. So it may be concluded that the first disputation is a reproduction of Xavier's conversation with Akbar and Jehangir and that the second is a reflection of Xavier's dispute system elaborated with his dealings with the Muslims.

From the survey of his works, it becomes very clear that Jerome Xavier had touched upon some of the great controversial questions between Christians and Muslims, such as the Holy Trinity, the divinity of Jesus Christ, the integrity of the Bible etc. An analysis of these questions, as treated by Xavier, is omitted here, since they are not directly related to our topic.

HENRY MARTYN (1781-1812)

Although Henry Martyn has not contributed anything directly related to the study of Islam in India, he is still considered
the pioneer Christian missionary, who initiated a new approach towards the Muslims of India. He was born on February 18, 1761, in Great Britain. Soon after his ordination to the priesthood in March 1803, in the Church Missionary Society, he was appointed a Chaplain of the East India Company and landed at Calcutta in May, 1806. "Now let me burn out for God." Such were the words with which he began his ministry to the natives and the Europeans in India at the age of 25.

He began his ministry in Serampore, where he spent much of his time in learning languages. It was during his missionary work in Calcutta that he began to think of Muslims, who could understand only Hindustani sermons. In his own words, "The Mohammedans in Calcutta, I seem to think, are consigned to me by God, because nobody else preaches in Hindustani." He realized the need of directing attention to the sacred scriptures of Islam and Christianity rather than to later scholastic elaborations. He was convinced that much of the misunderstandings between Muslims and Christians could be removed, if the former could read the Christian scriptures in their own language. Therefore he devoted himself to language study and started translating the New Testament into Urdu with the assistance of Sabat, a Muslim convert. The Urdu translation, which he completed in 1810 saw nearly a score of editions between 1810 and 1847. Martyn's translation into Hindustani (Urdu) was highly praised, whereas his Persian translation was strongly criticized. He realized that only in Persia, preferably in Shiraz, where Persian was spoken in its highest beauty, he could correct the translation he had made of the New Testament. He reached Shiraz in May 1811 and started the translation work with the help of Seyyid Ali,
well known for the purest Persian he spoke. Besides the translation work, he was also drawn to public controversies with Muslim scholars and so had to write some tracts in reply to some booklets produced by Muslims in defence of Islam. His stay aroused widespread curiosity among the people of Shiraz and soon he had to play host to a stream of visitors with diverse interests, ranging from mathematics to heated controversies. However, on February 24, 1812 he was able to finish his Persian translation of the New Testament and that of the Psalms. After completing his work in Shiraz he started his long journey to Constantinople via Tabrez. Though he was suffering from advanced tuberculosis, he walked much of the way and in a dying condition he reached the Turkish town of Tokat, where he breathed his last on October 16, 1812.

Although Martyn’s life was snuffed out at thirty-two by unceasing toil and exhaustion because of disease, climate and travel he is remembered as the first modern missionary to Islam. According to Vander Werff, Martyn’s contributions in five areas account for this high estimation.

Martyn’s foremost contribution consists in his new awareness and vision concerning the needs of the Muslim world. He perceived that missions to them would not be achieved merely by knowledge and improved technique. He advocated dedication, fellowship and cooperation as necessary virtues for missionaries in the field. Secondly Martyn claimed that effective preaching and education among Muslims and others could still be accomplished. In spite of official disapproval from the British rulers, Martyn dared to advocate missions to the Muslims of India. Being convinced that education is the primary means to penetrate Hindu discontent and Muslim separation, he set up schools at Dinsapore, Bankipore, Patna
and Cawnpore under native school masters, often Muslims.

Martyn's greatest contribution is certainly his translation and publication of the Scriptures and Christian literature. With his knowledge in philology, Hindustani (Urdu), Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, he was able to make translations of the New Testament into Urdu, Persian and Arabic. He considered the press a vital instrument of mission and expected an explosive reaction to the printed and preached Word of God.

Although Martyn was not in favour of controversy and public disputations, he was drawn to them by the pressure of the situation. This is clear from his own words:

April 28, 1807... for myself, I never enter into a dispute with them without having reason to reflect that I was the work for which I contend, by the spirit in which I do it. I wish a spirit of inquiry may be excited but I lay not much stress upon clear arguments. The work of the Lord is seldom wrought in this way. To preach the Gospel, which the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven, is a better way to win souls.

It was impossible for Martyn to avoid the apologetic approach completely, since it was the accepted pattern in those days for two who differed in religious conviction to engage in public discussion. The failure to make an apologia was tantamount to a denial of one's own faith. But it must be admitted that his approach lacked the bitterness and aggressiveness usually found in such programmes. The best of his apologetics are set forth in three Persian tracts, which show considerable improvement over medieval apologetics.

Finally his personal evangelism among Muslims is a new feature of nineteenth century missions. As Troll points out, Martyn's overall approach to Muslims was much broader than is evinced by the tracts.
He was at his best when he shared his Christ-experience with a small circle of interested Muslims. These intimate talks produced mutually responsive notes. He did not fail to appreciate the good points found in his Muslim friends and to ascribe such to the activity of God.

Thus Martyn's intense devotion, intellectual and linguistic gifts, natural enthusiasm and keen ability made him something of an ideal for those dedicating themselves to work in the Muslim world. Finally, by his questions and contributions to apologetics and personal evangelism Martyn set the pace for the missionary movement to Muslims in India.24

**ABDUL MASIH (1765-1827)**

Abdul Masih is known for his apologetic-evangelistic approach to Muslims in India. Before his conversion to Christianity in 1813 he was a Muslim endowed with deep knowledge of Islam, Persian and Arabic. He was attracted to Christianity when he heard Henry Martyn preaching at Cawnpore on the Ten Commandments in the light of the Sermon on the Mount.25 He started working with Martyn and gained access to Persian and Urdu translations of the New Testament. After proper instruction he was baptised in 1813 and given the new name Abdul Masih. As a lay missionary of the C.M.S. he travelled with Corrie and worked for twelve years at Agra. He preached to the poor and to the educated and prepared many Muslims for baptism. According to Vander Werff, Abdul Masih was the first of a long chain of Indian Christian apologists to Islam. His pioneering ministry, blended the methods of Martyn with the rational meth- dology inherited from Islam, to form a uniquely Indian Christian apologetics.27
G.A. HERKLOTS (1790-1834)

G.A. Herklotz is well known for the signal contribution he made to the studies of Indian Islam as the editor and translator of the famous book Qanun-i-Islam by Ja'far Sharif. Herklotz belonged to a family of Dutch origin settled in the town of Chinsura, in Bengal. He was educated in England in medicine and posted to the Madras Establishment as assistant surgeon on July, 1818. On his return from active service he probably induced Ja'far Sharif to compile this work, which he translated into English in London. It is remarkable to note that the East Indian Company supplied the funds for publishing this book.

The original work of Ja'far was an account of the beliefs and practices of the Indian Muslims to which Herklotz attached a long appendix, containing articles on relationships, weights and measures, dress, jewellery, cooking, games, children's plays and fireworks. He added also a glossary containing particulars of many matters referred to in the body of the book and of others here discussed for the first time. He had collected some of this information from Mrs Meer Hassan Ali's Observations on the Mussalmans of Indie and from Garein de Tassy's Mémoires Sur les Particularites de la Religion Musulmane dans l'Inde. Herklotz has stated that this new addition has made it an account of all the peculiarities of Muslims, worthy of note in every part of India. But one cannot say that this book contains most of the information regarding the Muslims throughout India, particularly as it ignores the Muslims of the North-West part of India, who more or less conform to the orthodox faith.

In the long introduction to this book, Herklotz speaks of the need and importance of this book as fellows:
...it is not a topic of philosophical speculation merely, but a matter of real practical utility, to understand thoroughly a people with whom we have constant transactions and daily intercourse,... The utility of a work directed to this object is so obvious that it appears to me a matter of no small surprise that something of the kind has not hither to been undertaken. On the history, religion and manners etc. of the Hindus, ample information may be obtained from valuable works already before the public, such as Mill's History Of British India, Moor's Hindu Pantheon, Ward's History, Literature, Mythology, Manners and Customs of the Hindoos... But as far as my knowledge extends, no similar work exists giving a methodical account of the Muhamm adam branch of the Indian population which embraces the various subjects comprehended in this or which treats of them individually with sufficient precision and accuracy. From the comparative simplicity of the Muhamm adam system of religion, its followers are less accessible to the influence of conversion, and may have therefore attracted less attention from Christian missionaries who are the closest observers of a people among whom they pursue their pious labours.

Though the original text of this book has been prepared by Ja'far Sharif in Dakhni language, Harklots played the major role in its composing. About his own share in the publication of this book Harklots writes:

Having felt the want of such a work ever since my arrival in India, I set about all the intelligence procurable relative to the various subjects comprised in these pages. To accomplish this object, it must be admitted, was no easy task in a country where the natives, as is well known, are very reluctant to impart information regarding their religious rites, ceremonies etc. I have succeeded in accumulating a pretty extensive stock of the requisite materials when I became acquainted with the liberal minded author of these sheets. At my request he composed in the Dakhini language the treatise now presented to the public, while I acted merely as a reviser and occasionally suggested subjects which had escaped his memory... I have made the translation as literal as the different idioms of the two languages would admit... During the progress of the work and researches connected with it a large quantity of useful miscellaneous information has come into my hands. Part of this I have comprised in appendix...

From the above cited passage it is clear that this book has been written under the strict instruction of Harklots. No information is procurable about the author, Ja'far Sharif. According to
W. Crooke, he was a munshi or tutor employed in teaching Arabic, Persian and Urdu to officers in the service of the Madras Government. In the course of these duties he gained the patronage of Dr. Herklots who induced him to compile this book. Most probably he was a resident of the municipal town of Ellore in the Krishna district of Andhra Pradesh. 33

The first edition of this book was re-arranged by W. Crooke. According to him this is not a classic in the strict sense, but merely a translation and rather a rude translation of a lost original in Hindustani. He thought it necessary to re-arrange and partially to re-write the book so that it might be more useful to the students of Indian Islam. Regarding this new edition W. Crooke says:

In this rearrangement and condensation I trust that I have omitted nothing of real importance, and that I have, as far as possible, retained the original oriental atmosphere of the book. The space thus gained has been utilised for the inclusion of much new information, which is, I believe, of much more value than anything which I have been forced to discard. 34

Thus the new presentation, made by W. Crooke, of this important book presents many features which are very interesting and informative to the students concerning the social life of Indian Muslims. This book certainly deserves more attention than it has hither to received.

Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali

Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali published her famous book Observations On The Mussalmans of India in 1832. As W. Crooke writes in the introduction of the second edition of this book (1917) "very little is known about the authoress of this interesting book." 35 In the opinion of Murray Titus these were the letters home of an English
woman. Though she became the wife of a Lucknow Shia Muslim, she retained her faith in Christ.

The value of this book rests on the fact that it is a record of the first-hand experiences of an English Christian lady. As the wife of a Shia Muslim, she had free access to the houses of the Sayyid family and thus gained ample opportunities for the study of the manners, customs and life style of Indian Muslims, especially those of Muslim women of high class families. Much of her information on Islam was obtained from her husband and father-in-law, who were both learned and travelled gentlemen.

As Titus has pointed out the book is written in an interesting epistolary style. Mrs Hassan Ali begins her book as follows:

I have promised you, friends, occasional sketches of men and manners comprising the society of the Mussulmans of India. Aware of the difficulty of my task, I must entreat your kind indulgence to the weakness of a female pen, thus exercised for your amusement, during my twelve year's domicile in their immediate society.36

After giving a detailed description of Indian life which she experienced at Lucknow, the authoress concludes: "In my attempt to delineate the Mussulmans, I have been careful to speak as I have found them, not allowing prejudice to bias my judgement either the side of faults or virtues."37

It is but natural that her picture of zenana life is certainly coloured by her frank admiration for the people among whom she lived and whose respect and friendship she enjoyed. Her contact was certainly limited to a few well-to-do Muslims of Lucknow. Still much of her description could be applied to Indian Muslims in general. The anecdotes, she has given, make the book more interesting and lively. Crooke makes the following remark on this book.

Though her opinion on the life of Muslim ladies is to some extent open to criticism and must be taken to
... apply only to the exceptional society in which she moved, her account of the religious feasts and fasts, the description of their marriage ceremonies and that of the surroundings of native households are trustworthy and valuable. Some errors, not of much importance and probably largely due to her imperfect knowledge of the native language have been corrected in the notes of the present edition. The account in the text displays a bias in favour of the Shiah sect of Mussalmans, as contrasted with that of the Sunnis. 38

W. W. HUNTER

In 1871, an English official Sir William Hunter, Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India, published his controversial book The Indian Mussalmans. Although it was written as an apologia to the question mooted by Lord Mayo: "Are the Indian Mussalmans bound by their religion to rebel against the Queen," the book particularly describes the political aspects of the puritanic Wahabi revival among the Indian Muslims and how it served to give expression to the agonies of the British who had just lost an empire and political power. He criticized both the Government's anti-Muslim policies and the Muslim's anti-British feelings. His final plea was for a more lenient attitude on the Government side and especially by establishing and emphasizing educational facilities for Muslims.

Hunter's intention in writing this book is clear from the following words with which he has dedicated it to Brian Houghton Hodgson:

You, of all the scholars whom our service has produced, have most fully recognised the duty of studying the people. The greatest wrong that the English can do to their Asiatic subjects is not to understand them. The chronic peril which environs the British power in India is the gap between the rulers and the ruled. In these pages I have tried to bring out in clear relief the past history and present requirements of a persistently belligerent class of a class whom successive Governments have declared to be a source of permanent danger to the Indian Empire. 39
In the preface to the second edition (1872) Hunter claims that he had honestly tried to be objective as sincere as he could.

He writes:

To know the real truth about our position in India, seems to me to be the sole safeguard against chronic tropor on the one hand, and sudden panics on the other. Government granted me free access its archives on a subject in which it was known I had long taken a deep interest, and with regard to which it seemed well that the whole facts should be placed before the public. But it made no attempt to influence my views, nor is it in any way responsible for my conclusions. All that this book does is to collect the documents hitherto isolated in the various Departments of India, and out of these scattered links to put together a trustworthy narrative.

Hunter, who is known as 'not the best friend of Muslims' has tried to prove that India under the British rule is not a House of Strife (Dar-ul-Harb) but a Country of Islam (Dar-ul-Islam). To prove this position he takes the support of a forcibly written pamphlet of the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta. 40 Hunter writes about the book as follows:

It is a triumph of legal subtlety, for it contains two separate sets of syllogisms starting from contradictory premises, yet arriving at the same desirable conclusion. The Law Doctors of Northern Hindustan set out by tacitly assuming that India is a country of the enemy, and deduce therefrom the religious rebellion is uncalled for. The Calcutta Doctors declare India to be a country of Islam and conclude that religious rebellion is therefore unlawful. This result must be accepted as alike satisfactory to the well-to-do Muhammadans, whom it saves from the peril of contributing to the fanatic camp on our frontier, and gratifying to ourselves as proving that the Law and the Prophets can be utilised on the side of loyalty as well as on the side of sedition.

Hunter draws the attention of the readers to the same conclusion, by quoting two important decisions, that of the Mecca doctors and of Maulvi Abd-ul-Hakk. These affirm that India is a country of Islam and most carefully avoid drawing the inference that rebellion is therefore unlawful. 42 But Hunter premarks that according to strict Muhammadan law, the opposite conclusion would be correct, and the
Meccan Doctors knew well this when they gave their decision. If India were still de jure a Country of Islam, the Indian Muslims should feel obliged to rise against the British rulers and make it a country of Islam de facto. But Hunter points out that there is a class of Indian Muslims who would not draw this inference. "To them" says Hunter, "it will be a comfort that so respectable a body as the Muhammedan Society of Calcutta has formally declared, by the mouths of eminent Doctors of the Law, that India is still a country of the faithful, and that rebellion is therefore uncalled for." 43

According to Hunter, India passed from the status of Dar-ul-Islam to a Dar-ul-Harb by absolutely imperceptible gradations. In other words, the Muslim rule in India suffered a slow and natural death. So when the change has been finally, though gradually, accomplished, the position of the Muslims also has undergone some drastic changes. Taking into consideration all these factors Hunter draws the following conclusions of far reaching consequences to Indian Muslims:

The existing generation is not responsible for the change, and instead of being the owners of the country suddenly deprived of their rights and bound to regain them, they have become what is technically called mustamin, or seekers for protection. As such, they obtain from their English Rulers a certain amount of their civil and religious privileges (Aman). Not indeed their former complete status under Muhammadan Rule, but sufficient for the protection of their lives and property, and the safety of their souls. No interference is made with their private prayers or public worship, and their religious lands and foundations are respected.... The duty of waging war has thus disappeared... But (this) obligation continues only so long as we perform our share of the contract, and respect their rights and spiritual privileges. 44

There is no doubt that the Muslims under British rule had several genuine grievances. Hunter was certainly aware of them. The Muslims accused the British of having introduced a system of
education which left them unprovided for and thus landed them in
contempt and begging. Their old sources of wealth, mainly army,
administration of courts of law and that of the imperial taxes,
raising of a revenue by local cesses on marriages, births, harvest,
and every other incident of rural life, have been virtually closed
by the British rule. With regard to these complaints of the Muslims
Hunter makes the following justifications:

We shut the Musalman aristocracy out of the Army, because
we believed that their exclusion was necessary to our own
safety. We deprived them of their monopoly of the most lucra-
tive functions in the administration, because their depriv-
tion was essential to the welfare and just government of
the people. But these grounds, however good in themselves,
fail to convince an ancient nobility suffering under the blight
of British Rule.

As a result of this British policy the number of Muslims employed
in the public service went on growing weaker every year. Hunter has
proved this fact by making up a statistical table of the gazetted
appointments for which Englishmen, Muslims and Hindus are equally
eligible. It is to be remembered here that a century ago the
Muslims had monopolized all the important offices of the state. In
the words of Hunter, "the Hindus accepted with thanks such crumbs
as their former conquerors dropped from their table." But by the
year 1871, the proportion of Muslims to Hindus had fallen down to
less than one-seventh. Considering the number of Englishmen appointed
in the government service, Hunter points out that the proportion
of Muslims, who a century ago had the monopoly of government has
now fallen to less than one-twenty-third of the whole administra-
tive body. He describes the situation in Calcutta as follows: "there
is now scarcely a government office in Calcutta in which a Muhammadan
can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler
of inkpots, and mender of pens... The only secular profession open
to well-born Muhammadans is the law. This opinion of Hunter perfectly agrees with a view expressed in a Calcutta Persian paper Durbin of 14th July 1869, which says: "All sorts of employment, great and small, are being gradually snatched away from the Muhammadans and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus."

How comes it that the Indian Muslims were shut out from state service and from the recognized professions? Hunter has his own answers to this important question:

Our system of public instruction which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements and hateful to the religion of the Musalmans... The government schools fail to develop a class of Musalmans who can complete successfully at the university, or find an entrance into any of the professions. The same schools send forth every year a vast body of well read, ambitious and intellectual Hindu youths who... in after-life monopolize every avenue to wealth or distinction.

In his rather sympathetic and detailed analysis of the causes of the lack of interest among Muslims in education, Hunter pointed out that the British system of public instruction ignored the three most powerful instincts of the Indian Muslims. In the first place, education was imparted either in English or in any of the Indian languages with a neglect of Urdu, Arabic and Persian, a study of which languages is necessary for his holding a respectable position in life and for the performance of his religious duties. Secondly Hindu teachers were employed in the schools, to whom the Muslims hesitated to send their children thinking that such teachers are incapable of maintaining order among Muslim boys. Thirdly, the British system of education made no provision for the religious education of the Muslim youth. Hunter was convinced
that the Indian Muslims will never succeed in life or can hope to obtain a fair share of the state patronage until they fit themselves for it and they will not thus fit themselves until provision is made for their education in state owned public schools. So Hunter suggested to the British rulers that an efficient system of education, suitable for all classes of Muslim community should be organized at a very small charge to the state. It is not more money that is needed, much as a consideration of the special wants of the Muslims.

ARNO LD T.W.

T.W. Arnold, Professor of the Arabic University of London, published an important book entitled, The Preaching of Islam in 1896, in which he devoted one long chapter to the peaceful spread of Islam in India. This is a significant study of Islam in India since he is the first Christian scholar who has scientifically attempted to dispel the erroneous view that force was the main factor for the rapid spread of Islam in India.

Regarding the scientific character of the book Arnold writes in the preface to the first edition as follows:

As I can neither claim to be an authority nor a specialist on any of the periods of history dealt within this book, and as many of the events referred to therein have become matter for controversy, I have given full references to the sources consulted. I have myself suffered so much inconvenience and wasted so much time in hunting up references to books indicated in some obscure or unintelligible manner, that I would spare others a similar annoyance... Though this work is confessedly a record of missionary efforts and not a history of persecutions, I have endeavoured to be strictly impartial.

Like Buddhism and Christianity, Islam also is a missionary religion. It is this missionary zeal for the truth of their religion and the sincere desire to spread its message that has inspired
the Muslims to carry with them the message of Islam to the people of every land into which they have gone. Arnold himself puts the whole content of the book in the following one sentence: "It is the history of the birth of this missionary zeal, its inspiring forces and the modes of its activity that forms the subject of the following pages."56

In the view of Arnold the main factor for the rapid spread of Islam in the whole world is to be attributed to the works of the Muslims missionaries. He expresses this basic assumption as follows:

The spread of this faith (Islam) over so vast a portion of the globe (200 millions in 1896) is due to various causes, social, political and religious: but among these, one of the most powerful factors at work in the production of this stupendous result, has been the unremitted labours of Muslim missionaries, who, with the Prophet himself as their great example, have spent themselves for the conversion of unbelievers. The duty of missionary work is no after-thought in the history of Islam, but was enjoined on believers from the beginning.57

However, Arnold confesses, that from his study of the missionary activity of Islam, it has not always been possible to discover whether political, social, economic or purely religious motives have determined conversion, though occasional reference can be made to the operation of one or the other influence.58

It is with this basic assumption that Arnold tries to tackle the spread of Islam in India. At the very outset he points out that Muslim invasions of India and the foundation and growth of Muslim power in India have found many historians, but none has attempted up to his time to write a history of the spread of Islam in India.

The history of the proselytising movements and the social influences that brought about their conversion has hitherto
received very little attention, and most of the commonly accessible histories of the Muhammadans in India, whether written by European or by native authors, are mere chronicles of wars, campaigns and the achievements of princes, in which little mention of the religious life of the time finds a place, unless it has taken the form of fanaticism or intolerance. From the biographies of the Muslim saints, however, and from local traditions, something may be learned of the missionary work that was carried on quite independently of the political life of the country. 59

Arnold begins his exposition by showing the part played by the Muslim conquerors and rulers in the propagation of Islam in India. According to him, though from the fifteenth year after the death of Muhammad unto the eighteenth century (A.D.) a series of Muslim invaders and adventurers poured into India none of them was motivated by genuine zeal to propagate Islam in India; nor were they accompanied by missionaries or preachers. The author briefly touches upon the so-called "forced conversions" that took place under some Muslim conquerors like Mahmud of Ghazni, Timur etc., and the rulers like Aurangzeb, Haider Ali, Tipu Sultan etc. Then he stresses the propaganda activities carried out by Muslim missionaries in South India among the Mappilas, Ravuttans, Dudekulas etc. 60 Deccan too, was the scene of the successful labours of many Muslim missionaries. A similar influence was exercised by numerous communities of Muslim merchants and saints in the North Indian cities. In Bengal extensive conversions of lower castes occurred due to the activities of Muslim saints.

Regarding the propagandists of recent times Arnold gives us the following information:

Many Muhammadan preachers have adopted the methods of Christian missionaries, such as street preaching, tract distribution and other agencies.... Some of the numerous Anjumans that have of recent years sprung up in the chief centres of Mussalman life in India send missionaries to preach in bazars.... Much of the missionary zeal of the Indian Mussalmans is directed towards counteracting the
anti-Islamic tendencies of the instruction given by Christian missionaries and the preachers of Arya Samaj, and the efforts made are thus defensive rather than directly proselytising.61

The oppressiveness of the Hindu caste system is pointed as one of the major factors of conversion of low caste Hindus into Islam. It is the absence of class prejudices which constitutes the real strength of Islam in India and enables it to win so many converts from Hinduism.62 Of all the states and provinces of India (with the exception of Sind) Kashmir has the largest number of Muslims. Arnold attributes the reason for this to a long continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried out mainly by faqirs and dervishes, among whom were Ismailian preachers sent from Alamut.63

Murray Titus deserve the most distinguished place for his monumental and extensively informative book *Islam in India*, first published in 1930. Even today, it is acclaimed as the classical exposition of the religious history of Muslims in India. The book was originally written as a doctorate thesis for the Faculty of the Kennedy School of Missions, of the Hartford Seminary Foundation, Hartford, U.S.A. Titus says that this is the product of his nineteen years' stay in India.64 The publication of this book by the Christian Literature Society (C.L.S.), Park Town, Madras, indicates that the book is approved as being of the standard of scholarship required for the L.Th. Diploma of Serampore Theological College. There arose a wholly new situation for the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent with the partition of India and
the birth of Pakistan in August, 1947. This vivisection of India necessitated the author to revise the text, which he did in 1959, under a new title: Islam in India and Pakistan.

According to Titus nothing is more fascinating than the study of a people. But it is strange to observe that very little has ever been written about the Muslims of India. He gives a brief survey of the works done so far by Christians on Indian Muslims. Finally he remarks that nowhere is there to be found any comprehensive treatment of Indian Islam from the standpoint of religious history. "It is with the greatest diffidence, therefore, that this book has been attempted."

Titus has excluded in this book the treatment of manners, customs and the main theological outlines of Islam. The former have been left out because they could be found in great detail in the revised edition of Herklots' Islam in India, prepared by W. Crooke. The theological issues have been omitted, since those points are ably treated before by famous scholars like Margoliouth, Sell and many others. So Titus has concentrated mainly on the religious history of Islam in India: how it came, how it spread, how it divided and subdivided, how it has been affected by its environment and how it has reacted to modern conditions. Regarding the objectivity of the facts he has narrated, Titus writes in the preface of the first edition as follows:

While it has been my constant aim to treat this subject without bias and prejudice, and I hope not without some measure of success, yet it has been difficult at times to know just what testimony was the most reliable, and what conclusions would be the most just and fair. In all cases the attempt has been made to seek out the facts from purely Islamic sources, or from actual personal experience. If there has been failure to do justice to Indian Islam it has not been because of lack of desire...
Besides this major contribution Titus also wrote many scholarly articles on several aspects of Indian Islam in the *Muslim World* and in other journals of international reputation. For example, he contributed one article in the *Muslim World* (April, 1922, pp. 129) on "Mysticism and Saint Worship in India" in which he tried to indicate the main features of popular mysticism as it was found in those days in India. According to him the religious orders or fraternities are the outward organizations which keep Sufism alive among the masses of India and one encounters their lay members and leaders everywhere and on all occasions.

"Indian Muslims and Constitutional Progress" is the title of another essay Titus wrote in the *Muslim World* (October, 1932, pp. 374ff.). As a great visionary he says about Indian Muslims, who were opposed to the Congress movement, as follows:

> Moslem India is once again at the cross-roads of destiny. The era of communal renascence so vigorously initiated by S.S.A. Khan, is passing over into a period of larger political responsibility, in which communalism can at least flourish for a limited time. Communalism and Nationalism appear to be mutually incompatible ideas and if India is destined to become a true nation, then almost inevitably Islam in India by giving up communalism will in time gradually undergo changes of far reaching nature.

Titus contributed another article in the same vein in the *Muslim World* (January, 1941, pp. 14ff.) with the title "Muslim Dissensions in India". In this article he says that "at a time when the whole world is in the melting pot and India in the throes of a complete revolution, political, social and economic, it is interesting to note that the Muslim community in India, even in the face of tremendous disintegrating forces, is successfully trying to maintain its solidarity and integrity. In the growing
strength of the congress it sees the greatest menace to the political and cultural life of Islam. So the Muslim League has taken a new life with the avowed purpose of opposing the Hindu power of the Congress and for the preservation of the rights and privileges of the Muslim community.

SAMUEL LEE (1783-1852)

Samuel Lee, an England based Islamic scholar and apologist is not directly involved in the development of Islamic studies in India. Still his contribution in this field is considered significant since he is known as the vital link between Martyn and Pfander. As the qualified orientalist Islamic scholar of the G.M.S., who knew Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Persian and Hindustani, he taught at the College Islington and later at Cambridge (1819-1831).

Lee had an excellent grasp of the development of Christian-Muslim controversy from Jerome Xavier at Akbar's court (1580) to Henry Martyn (1781-1812). After translating Martyn's tracts and Muhammad Ruza's rejoinder from Persian into English, Lee wrote his own apology in Controversial Tracts on Christianity and Islam (1824). In the opinion of Vander Werff, revelation, reason, religious precepts and ethical obedience are the prime elements in Lee's apology. His rational argumentation proposed that the scientific approach of Locke must be applied to separate the historical from legend, tradition and fiction. Applying this criterion to Muhammad and the Muslim community he is convinced that the prophet failed by contradicting the prophets of the Old Testament and Jesus the Messiah. The Muslim community also went
wrong since it has mistakenly ascribed unproven authority to its founder and to the Quran. Since there are a lot of linguistic similarities between the Quran and the Syriac versions of the Bible, Lee called for Muslims and Christians to research as to Islam's debt to Syrian and Nestorian Christianity. Thus he helped to develop two approaches to Islam: the controversial apologetic and the academic. These two approaches had far reaching effects in India. Although Lee never served abroad he contributed substantially to scientific Islamic scholarship and to the apologetics of Pfander, John Wilson, T.V. French, W. Muir etc.  

PFANDER K.G. (1803-1865)

Karl Gottlieb Pfander, the author of the famous book Mīzan-al-Ḥaq (The Balance of Truth) is certainly the most important figure in the development of the apologetic approach to Muslims in the nineteenth century Indian scene. He had an exceptional gift for languages and a sure grasp of indigenous thought patterns. He spent sixteen years (1841-1857) in India mainly at Agra and Peshwar, where he publicly preached with courage and held disputations with Muslim religious leaders.

As Troll rightly observes "The public debates between Pfander and Muslim scholars and the literature they produced set the tones for decades." The most influential of his writings was undoubtedly the Mīzan-al-Ḥaq, whose German text saw many translations and publications. Its clear logic and the beautiful oriental style drew the attention and admirations of even Muslim scholars. Part I of this book is an exercise of apologetics justified by the application of modern research on the extant manuscripts of scriptures. Part II is a positive statement of the Christian
faith appealing to intellectual belief. His outright attack on the Quran, Muhammad and Islam in Part III was a tactical mistake even if he was convinced that it could be historically substantiated. The document relied too heavily on rational argument, reflecting the outlook of the ulama and the nineteenth century Europe and also on the inadequate European sources for Muslim history. Consequently it produced only an angry and defensive reaction in the Muslim community. However it is considered as the classic model of Christian apologetic works against the Muslims.73 Julius Richter, another German apologetic in the same field speaks of Mizan-al-Haq as follows: "It is the best Protestant work directed against Islam; it is still published and much real in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Hindustani and English and is almost indispensable to every missionary among Muslims.74

Miftah-ul-Asrar (The Key of Mysteries), Pfander's another short but important work, was written to present Jesus as the divine Saviour and also to explain the doctrine of Trinity to Muslim readers. The treatise Tariq-ul-Havat (The Way of Life) published in India concentrates on sin and redemption. He finds Muslim treatment of sin legalistic and the idea that millions are predestined for hell "unacceptable". The Tree of Life, a small tract written in Urdu describes Christian morality and life with the support of Biblical quotations. Remarks on the Nature of Muhammadanism gives an insight into Pfander's concern for honest scholarship. He admits that the true nature of Islam cannot be fully grasped by examining its literary documents alone. The traditions, a mixture of fiction and fact retold by Mullahs, exert more influence on the practice of the people than
the Quran. So he exhorted Christians to devote themselves to a deeper study of the Hadith. Pointing out the popular misconceptions about God, creation, sin, forgiveness, hell and paradise, he explains what the Gospels teach about each one of them. The concluding remarks reveal his personal feelings to Christian reader.

These extracts show clearly how foolish the Muhammadans have become, when, thinking themselves wise, they rejected the wisdom and the power of God revealed in the cross of Christ, and how little their own system could save them from sinking into the most appalling errors and the grossest superstition. It is true that in the Quran, as well as in their traditions, many a truth and many a good moral precept is contained... but all that is good and true in their religion, has been either literally, or according to the sense borrowed from the Jews and Christians, that is, from the Holy Scriptures. But as they did not receive the whole of divine truth and rejected Christ, this part, thus separated from the stock, from the tree of life, could neither actually enlighten nor save them.75

The controversial and apologetic approach initiated by Pfander is obviously under sharp criticism. As Troll points out these debates and controversial approach sowed the seed of enmity and hatred in the hearts of Indian Muslims. They began to suspect the missionary efforts of the Christians as a means to destroy Islam in India. Further development of Christian apologetics from 1850 onwards can be seen as admiration of, reaction to and modification of the work of Pfander. Because of the liberal reaction to rationalism and a growing appreciation of oriental culture and religion Pfander's works came under severe attack. By the end of the nineteenth century most evangelicals agreed that "argument and abuse" were out of place while insisting that a Christian apology was still needed.

FRENCH T.V. (1825-1891)

'Evangelism via education' was the policy followed by Thomas Valpy French. His greatest contribution to India as a C.M.S. missionary
was the founding of St. John’s College in Agra (1850) and that of St. John’s Divinity School in Lahore. He aroused interest in England for Muslim work and was instrumental in the birth of the Cambridge-Delhi mission. After his appointment as bishop of Lahore, he encouraged direct evangelism, schools for youth, Zemana missions and literary production by Indian nationals. At the age of 62 he resigned his office to tour the Near East and north Africa to issue a ringing call for missions to Muslims in Arabia. Finally he worked in Oman where he dies on May 14, 1891.

French is recognised first and foremost as an evangelist to Muslims. In the beginning he was influenced by Pfander and also made use of, at times, his controversial methods. But he was quick to realize that public debates generally produced little good. He was convinced that fiery clashes produced unnecessary hostile reactions while a sympathetic spirit was more conducive to effective communication. Christian literature could produce better results than noisy debates could achieve. By elementary preaching and warm friendship with Muslims he laid the foundation for this new approach. After the manner of Henry Martyn, French also used threshold discussions in small groups in which he expounded the Bible. Though we don’t have a record of his written works on Islam, French remains a major contributor to an apologetics as well as a sympathetic approach to Muslims.
LEFROY G.A. (1854-1919)

George A. Lefroy continued the apologetic-evangelistic approach to Islam initiated by French. He served with St. Stephen's college and the Delhi evangelistic programme (1879-1889), as bishop of Lahore and of Calcutta. After gaining a working knowledge of Urdu, Arabic, Quran and Muslim theology he spent many years in preaching to Muslims especially in the streets of the bazars. He also did not hesitate to enter into direct discussion with Muslim leaders. He writes about his approach as follows:

I have been meeting some Mahomedans in a much more intelligent and reasonable way...I must say they have been on the whole courteous and willing to understand which is to me a wholly new experience of them..... It is however, as you imagine, terrible work arguing on the Trinity and such like subjects in Hindostan.....Still I believe we must meet them on such ground and try to draw them on.....77

These discussions gradually became controversial in nature, sometimes assuming the debate pattern of Pfander. But Lefroy soon realized that a positive presentation of Christian doctrines is more beneficial and so he replaced polemics with proclamation. As he reached this stage of maturity he tried to remove certain misconceptions concerning Islam within the Church which acted as barriers to effective mission work. He has combined a sympathetic study of Islam with dedicated efforts to communicate the Gospel. In an address at the Cairo Conference (1906) Lefroy listed the following as the qualifications of an evangelist to Muslims.

A mastery of Arabic, Quran and Islam's theological classics; patience and fairness in discussion; a sympathetic attitude able to lead the Muslim from the truth he knows to Christ, the Truth; a readiness to discard the controversial method of past centuries; and a spirit of hope.78
Regarding the old attitude, literature, and approach of Christians towards Muslims he made a commendable remark:

Most of the older controversial literature on the Christian side is... very hard indeed, as though intended to confute the enemy than to win the disguised friend. Similarly much of our preaching seems to me rather as though we were hoping to convert men by throwing brickbats at them in the form of truth.79

It is to be noted here that by the turn of the nineteenth century much of the argumentative spirit in Christian-Muslim relationship in India had disappeared. Lefroy could witness the dawning of a new era in Christian apologetics and evangelism to Muslims which saw fuller development in Gairdner and his successors. As Vander Werff puts it "The Anglicans in India made a distinct contribution to the transition from a medieval to a modern Christian apologetic to Muslims."80

ALEXANDER DUFF (1806-1878)

Alexander Duff, the first official missionary of the Church of Scotland to India (1829) exercised a revolutionary influence on missions in India by his idea of evangelism via education. He contributed significantly to the development of an educational approach to Muslims in India. He held that education and evangelism must go together and it was essential to the growth and elevation of the indigenous Church. His target was nothing less than the penetration of the culture of India with the truths and spirit of the Christians faith. Duff was wise enough to sense that the educational approach avoided unnecessary antagonism. So he tried to present "useful knowledge" so closely integrated with the Christian faith as to undermine both native religious and new agnosticism. As Vander Werff observes, "his long-range goal was that the adherents of Hinduism and Islam be readied to accept the Christian faith."81
JOHN WILSON (1804–1875)

The educational theory of Duff was adopted and adapted by the succeeding generation of missionaries in India. John Wilson is one of the strongest proponents of this theory who worked with schools at Bombay. In his forty years of long service in India he befriended Hindus, Muslims, Parsis and in 1830s he held public discussions with leaders of other religions. His encounters with Muslims are of interests, especially his confrontation with Haji Muhammad Hashim, a Maulvi in Bombay. Haji Hashim, a great scholar in Islamic theology, challenged Wilson's attitude towards Muhammad in a pamphlet of considerable size. Wilson's response was a booklet: Reply to Hadisse Mahmed Hashim's Defence of the Islamic Faith (Bombay 1836) with twenty-one brief chapters criticizing the moral irregularities and shortcomings in Muhammad's Quran and private life. It had a blend of medieval polemics and scholarship and it received a wide circulation. 

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIANS

The Presbyterians of U.S.A. developed what may be called a Church oriented approach to Muslims in North India. They tried to establish and invigorate an Indian Church for action in the field. Avoiding open street or bazar preaching in the town, they shifted their programme to the quieter setting of a hall or the erected Church buildings. Extensive touring, preaching, tract and scripture distribution in the villages became a main channel for reaching the people. It is important to note that the first theological seminary at Allahabad (1872–1875) had a lecturer on Islam—J.M. Morrison.
The seminary at Saharanpur (1884) included two professors concerned with work for Muslims: E.M. Wherry and J.C.R. Ewing. Many of the candidates for the ministry were converts from Islam. The Punjab Missionary Conference (1862-63) held at Lahore is particularly significant, since it symbolizes the beginning of united Protestant efforts among Muslims and introduced themes which are relevant even today. Essays "On Hindoo and Mahommedan Controversy" reveal that most missionaries had little regard for controversy and public debates as methods for these breed hard hearts, bitterness and hatred. They were convinced that such controversies were against the spirit of the Gospel. Some criticized the method of Pfander while a few defended him.

At the first Decennial Missionary Conference at Allahabad (1872-1873) Imad-ul-din declared that preaching must (1) remove the doctrinal barriers surrounding the basic truths, e.g. the sonship and divinity of Christ, the Trinity, and the Bible as the word of God; (2) provide commentary to the Bible; and give a true account of Biblical history to those whose views are muddled. T.V. French suggested that preachers should avoid the recent wave of Muslim reaction and to probe to the heart by using the sufı writings to introduce listeners to an awareness of sin, repentance and the life of fellowship with God. He hoped for the rise of a group of Christian Fakirs. T.P. Hughes criticized bazaar preaching and proposed to meet the Muhammadans personally in his own tent or at their own homes.

In the Second Decennial Missionary Conference at Calcutta
(1882–1883) only one paper presented by E.M. Wherry directly dealt with Islam. He pointed out that fifty men such as Imad-ud-Din were working among Muslims by preaching and pen with remarkable success. He stressed the need for more trained workers in this field in the following words:

The present unpreparedness for this work is simply marvellous. The Mahomedans of India are a hopeful class for missionary effort....How much greater might be our success were we better prepared, and were we to adopt the best means at our disposal.... Let it be remembered that many nominal Muslims are dissatisfied with Islam.87

Wherry suggested some practical steps to facilitate the work among Indians Muslims. These certainly show a marked difference when compared with the older methods of the missionaries. Some of the measures proposed by Wherry are given below:

(1) Men must be specially set apart and educated for this work. The Arabic language should be studied immediately....(2) The missionary must not be a recluse. He must be able to mingle freely with the people. The people can best learn the Gospel by seeing it exemplified in the loving kindness, probity and holiness of the preacher.......(3) Controversy in public places should be avoided. What is wanted there is not so much debate, or assult on Mahomed and Islam, as clear statement of Gospel truth bearing on the practical side of religion.88

At the third Decennial Conference, held in Bombay (1892–1893) the treatment of mission to Muslims was completely left out. The reason for this notable omission was that the mass movements of low caste peoples into Christianity were absorbing a major proportion of energies in most regions. Again the late nineteenth century liberation was rather conciliatory towards monotheistic non-Christian religions. What was under concern was the attainment of civil rights for Muslim converts.

At the Fourth Decennial Missionary Conference at Madras (1902) a special plea was issued for increased effort to reach the
world's 250 million Muslims (62 Million in in India alone). "Not one sixtieth of them have ever been approached by a Christian missionary." A report on the Muslims in Bengal noted hopeful signs.

A change certainly has come over many of the Muhammadans. There was a time when they would not admit the wisdom of reading the Christian Scriptures, believing as they did that the Scripture has been repealed. But now many of them manifest a deep interest in the Bible.89

This Conference marked the end of an era in India regarding missions to Muslims. The next Missionary Conferences held at Cairo (1906), Edinburgh (1910), Lucknow (1911) envisaged a more advanced internationalized (ecumenical) Christian approach towards Islam. By this period the responsibility for mission was gradually shifted from the overseas agencies to the Indian Church. This change of authority and leadership met with some problems. As Vander Werff observes:

In the Churches of North there were hundreds and thousands of converts from Islam. While the patriarchal system had to go, these converts required disciplined training before they were ready to assume leadership of the national Church. This had direct bearing on the approaches made to Muslims and others. While some Indian evangelists retained an aggressive approach to Muslims, most sought a more attractive proclamation of the Gospel. While much of the literature for Muslims was written and distributed by nationals, overseas missions continued to supervise and support most of the 40 presses and 100 periodicals which existed in 1914. The combined efforts of Indian and foreign missionaries in behalf of orphans, lepers, zenanas, the hungry...gained the respect of many.90

By this time the Indian Church learned two important lessons:

(1) A Sympathetic, sensitive approach to non-Christian religions and the culture of the land was not contradictory to the objectives and efforts of Christ's mission. Some of the best examples for this could be found in the writings and work of John Wilson, J.N. Farquhar and E.M. Wherry. (2) It was also learned that people
are prone to move towards Christianity as social units and individuals. This observation is equally valid for Muslims as well as the depressed classes.

GAIRODER W. H. T. (1873-1928)

Neither did William Henry Temple Gairdner live in India as a missionary nor did he write specifically on any aspect of Indian Islam. Still he is mentioned here because he is considered as the best symbol of the evangelical concern of the Anglican Church for the Muslim World and also because of his great influence on the Christian missionaries who worked among the Indian Muslims. Vander Werff gives us the following image of Gairdner:

In him one finds reflected the personal compassion of Henry Martyn; the apologetics flowing from Pfander to Lefroy, the concern for the Indigenous Church evidenced by French and Clark; the scholarly literary labours of Tisdall; and more.

As a C.M.S. missionary he was assigned to work among students and others of the educated class of Moslems. He selected Cairo, the strategic intellectual centre of Islam, as his field of apostolate. Upon his departure he wrote to his father:

Cairo is my destination.....(It) is the centre of Islam 'par excellence'. It is to Islam that I go.....not to any particular phase of it. My ideal is to become a master of Arabic and perhaps to help in creating a Christian literature in that tongue; and thus to get at the heart of the problem of Islam.

Duncan B. Macdonald thinks of his achievements and contributions in the following terms:

As a missionary, theologian, author, linguist, Arabist, poet he has left a deep mark on our knowledge of Islam, of the technique of teaching the Arabic colloquial, and above all, on the method of interpreting Christianity to Moslem mind. As a missionary he believed in evangelism by speech and in print and in thoroughly understanding the ideas of those whose minds and hearts he strove to reach.
Christian missionaries, working among the Muslims of India, were very much influenced by the thought and writings of Gairdner. His radiating influence was deeply felt at Tambaram (Madras) Conference. In the person and gifts of Gairdner the Church made a noteworthy transition to a maturer twentieth century approach to Muslims.

Z. WEBER S.M. (1867-1952)

Samuel Marinus Zwemer is a faithful representative of the pioneering and maturing process of reformed missions to Muslims. His outstanding contribution in the field of Islamic studies is the starting of the world famous periodical "The Moslem World" in 1910, which has become a goldmine of information about Islam and Christian-Muslim relationship in the modern world. The aim of the periodical, as stated in the opening editorial, was to present a scientific study of Islam in English. He created an editorial staff and a list of eminent contributors. His own prodigious output included articles, editorials, surveys, pamphlets and some fifty books! Books were a passion with him, but people, especially the Muslims were his first love. He aroused a new interest in the Church to fulfill its God-given evangelistic obligation to Muslims.

He travelled many countries, including India to conduct conferences and courses on Islam. He organized an International Missionary Conference at Cairo in 1906 which was specially dedicated to promote missionary work among the Muslims of the world. This was followed by Y.M.C.A. Conferences, and the Lucknow Conference
(1911), a visit to India and China (1917) and extensive training tours in India (1924, 1927-28). These sessions were centred upon Christian Literature in Muslim Lands and how to carry the Gospel Message to the Moslem heart.

The two Missionary Conferences, of Cairo (1906) and Lucknow (1911) are considered to be the greatest achievements of Zwemer. Cairo obviously marked the beginning of a new era in the Christian Mission to Muslims. Among many other things, it thoroughly discussed the role of positive (not polemical) literature in this field and reminded the whole Church of its evangelistic obligation towards Muslims.

At the Lucknow Conference too, Zwemer was the leading spirit. In a pre-conference sermon he spoke of the duties of the Church as elder brother to the prodigal son, Islam. This application of the Biblical themes of Isaac-Ishmael, elder-prodigal, and our common need of the Father's mercy, influenced deeply the whole conference. There were papers and lengthy discussions of relevant and current issues such as Pan-Islamic movements, political changes and governmental attitudes towards missions, Islamic advances among pagan peoples, missionary training and literature and Islamic reform movements. Zwemer, surveying the sweep of world movements, provided factual data and realistic goals in the light of the situation. This stimulated the founding of four Islamic study centres: The Newman School of Islamic Studies (Jerusalem), The Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies (India), The School of Oriental Studies (Cairo) and the Missionaries to Muslim League (India).
MACDONALD D.B. (d.1943)

The name of Duncan B. Macdonald is to be specially mentioned here because of his successful attempts to provide the missionaries to Turkey and India with a sound and sympathetic understanding of Islam. During his theological training he realized that Arabic literature included forms that were similar to some of the Hebrew Sacred books. This prompted him to devote himself to the study of Arabic and the religion of Islam with the leading Orientalists at Berlin.

In 1892 he became a professor of Semitic literature in the Hartford Theological seminary. In those days Arabic and Islamic studies had no importance in American academic circles and in the seminaries. But Macdonald realized that the interest at Hartford in missions to Muslims provided reasons for courses on Islam. Seminarians planning to become missionaries in Turkey, India and elsewhere in the Orient needed and welcomed a detailed course on Islam to help equip them for future work. In 1903 his Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory was published, which won for him the recognition as a foremost Islamic scholar and teacher. But it was in the Encyclopedia of Islam that Macdonald exhibited the quality and technique of his scholarship most distinctively.

BEVAN JONES (d.1960)

In the person of Bevan Jones one could find a happy combination of scholar as well as an evangelist. He came to India as a missionary of the British Baptist Missionary Society and started working in Bengal. When the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies was
opened in Lahore in 1930 he was appointed as its first principal and he continued to lead it during the first eleven years of its existence (1930-1941). His greatness consisted in this that he did not regard the Muslims as a mere specimen in the academic study of Islam but he approached them as a people with brotherly concern and genuine scholarship.

At the news of his death, Bishop Subhan wrote about him in the *Bulletin* of H.M.I. as follows:

None would have been better fitted to be the first principal of an institution (H.M.S.I.S.) which was the first of its kind. He brought a wealth of experience which he gained by working a number of years among Muslims, chiefly in Dacca. He knew two major languages of the Muslims in India, Urdu and Bengali.

Bavan Jonas did not believe in the method of controversy. Bishop Subhan has reported that B. Jonas used to say that, as a sinner saved by grace, he sought to share that grace with Muslims. To him Islam had its origin in a misunderstanding of the claims of Christianity. Islam has perpetuated these misunderstandings and it is the duty of an evangelist to remove them. This is to be done not through disputations or by comparison of religions but through sympathetic and sincere study of both religions. It was for this purpose that he wrote his book, *Christianity Explained to Muslims*. After a long experience and deep study of the status of women in Islam, Bavan Jonas with the help of his wife, who was a noted social worker among Indian Muslim women, produced a remarkable book, named *Woman in Islam*.

Although Bavan Jonas was not at all inclined to enter into controversy with Muslims, he had to, at times, engage himself in disputing with the followers of Ghulam Ahmed of Qadian. Bevan's
book Christianity Explained to Muslims is precisely meant for the Ahmadiyas. Yet it is astonishing to read what Maulvi Muhammad Yaquab Khan, a prominent Ahmadiya leader in Lahore, wrote about Bevan Jones:

Christian Missionary Societies have some very fine specimens of Christianity, but Rev. Bevan Jones was a jewel among them. Personally if there was one man who made me respect Christianity — it was Bevan Jones. They could send no better ambassador of Christianity to the Muslim peoples. The new approach between the two great sister religions found its very early exponent in Bevan Jones, to which his book The People of the Mosque is a standing monument.104

In the view of Bishop Subhan, a close associate of Bevan Jones as members of the staff of H.M.S.I.S., the greatest contribution of Bevan Jones was the guidance and leadership he gave to the Henry Martyn School. The School would never have lasted so long without his able leadership. It is he who gave the school stability and when he left, on reaching the age of retirement, it was on a sound footing.105

The People of the Mosque

The book, a significant contribution from the pen of Bevan Jones, is now among the classics on the study of Islam. It was first published in Great Britain in October 1932 with a subtitle: An Introduction to the Study of Islam with Special Reference to India. In the preface the author admits that this introductory study has been done to meet a special need in India. So he claims that "there are features in the present book which are not to be found in any of the existing manuals."

The author writes about the relevance of this book as follows:
For some years past it has been felt that an up-to-date study book along these lines ought to be made available, in the vernaculars for Indian clergy, pastors, evangelists, teachers and others, since most of these are shut up to a meagre supply of books, which, if not altogether obsolete, are inadequate for the present day. The need is the more urgent because of the changing outlook among Indian Muslims. These more progressive leaders (among the Indian Muslims) deal drastically with many of the cherished traditions of Islam and interpret the Quran on a rationalistic basis. Meanwhile the orthodox, though professing to be shocked at their temerity, do not fail, when it suits their own purpose, to employ the arguments of these rationalists in their opposition to the preaching of Christianity. The average Indian evangelist is ill-equipped and unprepared to meet such a situation, so that it is precisely with a view to helping him, that the present volume is made to follow the line it does, more especially in the closing sections.

This book consisting of 337 pages (327+X) has been divided into five large sections which, in turn have been arranged into a number of short chapters, each with its own subdivisions. Section one deals with the Rise and Expansion of $\mu$ Islam; Section two, treats on the Four Foundations, Sunna and Fiqh; Section three concentrates on Faith and Practices of Islam, in which groups of Indian Muslims and the various Sufi Orders found in India are also briefly described. In Section four, 'Islam in India', since the Tenth Century, is given a detailed analysis, especially its historical as well as doctrinal development. In the final Section, Christianity and Islam, the author is a bit apologetic which could be justified by the fact that the book was prepared as a manual for the use of evangelists in India. The glossary, added as an appendix, is designed to serve the purpose of a working vocabulary of the more common Islamic terms in use in India.
Bowring L.B.

Lewin B. Bowring published in 1893 a book under the title *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan*, and the struggle with the Muslim powers of the South, in a series of books on the *Rulers of India*, edited by W.W. Hunter. The tone and the spirit in which the book was written is clear from the Preface itself:

The following sketch of the Musliman usurpation in Mysore is an attempt to present in a popular form the career of one of the most remarkable personages who have played their parts on the stage of Indian history, together with that of his equally remarkable son - the first distinguished by the energy, enterprise, and daring which enabled him to seize a throne, and the second by his bigotry, his hostility to the English, and the fateful obstinacy which cost him his crown and his life... The conflicting views of English, French and native authorities regarding Haidar Ali and his son make it difficult to form an absolutely correct estimate of their career....

However, the author claims that he has tried as accurately as possible to represent the vicissitudes of the Mysore kingdom during the thirty-eight years of its existence under Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. Bowring expresses his high appreciation for the Muslims of Mysore region in the following words: "... nowhere can be found a better type of true refinement and courtesy than the dignified and hospitable Muslim gentlemen."

As the title of the book indicates, the first part (pages 11-113), are devoted to describing the rise, conquests and the death of Haidar Ali. At the end of this part, the author has given a short commentary on Haidar's character and administration. According to Bowring, Haidar was a born soldier, an excellent rider, skillful alike with his sword and his gun. Cool and sagacious in war-time, he excelled in cavalry tactics. His most remarkable characteristic was the celerity with which he made forced marches on various occasions, always with successful results. His punishment for the
neglect of duty and for egregious plundering was the scourge, which he always applied with severity. But he gave handsome rewards to those who served him with fidelity. "He was entirely free from bigotry, being wholly indifferent to religious sentiments, and he cared not one jot what faith his officials followed so long as they obeyed his behests." Bowring makes the following final remarks about Haider:

Whatever defects may be justly attributed to Haider as a ruler, or in his private life, he was a bold, an original and an enterprising commander, skilful in tactics and fertile in resources, full of energy and never desponding in defect... Notwithstanding the severity of his internal rule, and the terror which he inspired, his name is always mentioned in Mysore with respect, if not with admiration.

The second part of the book is devoted to describe the life and the various invasions of Tipu Sultan. The author has made some important remarks about the character and administration of Tipu Sultan. In 1786 he assumed the title of Padshah or king, and in referring to his own person began to call himself 'the resplendent presence' and 'our prosperous person', while his army was denoted as the 'holy camp'. In the view of Bowring, the climax of his arrogance was reached when he ordered the 'Khutbah' in the mosque to be read in his own name instead of that of the Mughal Emperor. He had a rage for innovations, and was constantly changing the names of places and well established customs. These fanciful innovations, remarks Bowring, were the effect of mere caprice.

Bowring ridicules Tipu’s claim to universal knowledge. "It may be remarked that his pen was most prolific....He pronounced decided opinions on science, medicines, commerce, religious observances, engineering, military establishments and a host of abstruse matters with equal facility but with little real knowledge."
He showed his orthodoxy as a good Musalman in strictly prohibiting the sale of intoxicating drinks, though as a reasonable reformer, he restricted the use of it to the French soldiers in his service.

He was determined to exterminate, the English men from India and for this purpose he induced all true believers to join him. In the words of Bowring "he was resolved that the worthless and stiff-necked infidels (i.e. the English), who had openly raised the standard of unbelief, should be chastised by the hands of the hands of the faithful, and made either to acknowledge the true religion or to pay tribute." 113

Bowring has quoted abundantly Tipu's letters to show his ferocious and cruel character. For example in one of his letters, addressed to an officer in Coorg, he writes:

"You are to make a general attack on the Coorgs, and, having put to sword or made prisoners, the whole of them, both the slain and the prisoners with the women and children, are to be made Musalmans." 114

Thus, Bowring portrays him as a ruler, who, being urged on by religious bigotry, innate cruelty, and despotism, thought little of sacrificing thousands of lives to his ardent zeal, and revengeful feelings. He had no compunction in cutting the throats of the captives or even strangling and poisoning them. The English prisoners were specially selected as victims of his vengeance. Many of them, particularly young and good-looking boys, were forcibly circumcised and compelled to marry girls who had been captured in Coromandel districts.

From his youth upwards, Tipu, in the view of Bowring, was deficient in stability and straightforwardness. It was also asserted
by many who knew Tipu in later life that his understanding was at

times clipped over in a way that betrayed symptoms of mental aber-

ration. The distrust he showed towards his ablest officers was

considered a radical defect in Tipu's character. It naturally

led to his being taken in and deceived on all sides, his troops

alone remaining faithful to him, notwithstanding the perpetual

changes which he made in matters affecting their organization, dis-

cipline and pay. He rivalled Mahmud of Ghazni and even Nadir

Shah in matters of atrocities which he committed in the name of

religion. 115

JOHN A SUBHAN (1899–1977)

John A. Subhan was born in Calcutta in a Muslim family and

was given the name, Abdur –Subhan, the servant of the Holy One. At

the age of ten he studied the whole Quran by heart and then started

learning Arabic and Persian. Soon he was sent to Calcutta Madrassa

to study English. He was deeply interested in the study of Islamic

mysticism and read specially on magic and charms and on such beings

as jinn and angels.

By chance Abdur Subhan read the Gospels which impressed him

very much. As a consequence he became a Christian on July 7, 1912

in the Church of England. But later he was attracted to the Roman

Catholic Church which he left after four years and returned to the

communion of Protestant Church.

When the Methodist Church in India opened a new department

of Islamic Studies at the Bareilly Theological Seminary in 1925, Mr. John Subhan was appointed as its first head of the department.
He was transferred to Lahore in 1930 when the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies was inaugurated there. While the other staff members, Bevan Jones and L.E. Browne, lectured on Islam and Christianity from dogmatic and historical points of view, J.A. Subhan concentrated on Indian Islam especially its saints and the religious beliefs and practices. He edited the bimonthly Urdu journal *Ukhuwwat* with a view of explaining the Gospel message to the Muslims of India.\(^{116}\)

The most important contribution of Subhan in the field of Islamic Studies is his monumental work *Sufism, Its Saints and Shrines: An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with special Reference to India*. The author, at the very outset admits that his work claims no originality and no great research. "It is an effort to place before English readers in systematic form, the varied and extensive, though often hidden, material on the subject of Mysticism and saint worship in Islam, available in Urdu and Persian literature."\(^{117}\) His Muslim background, innate tendency towards mysticism, deep knowledge in Urdu and Persian all these helped the author to produce this marvellous book on Sufism in India.

This book, consisting of 412 pages, is divided into 20 small chapters, out of which six serve the purpose of a general background in studying the development of Sufism in India. Then the author describes in great detail such topics as the Introduction of Sufism into India, The Relation of Sufism to Indian thought, the Origin of Religious Orders, the Four Main Orders - Chishti, Qadiri, Suhrawardi and Naqshbandi orders - and their subdivisions and some other Minor Orders. The two appendices given at the end are very
useful and informative since they provide the reader with a long list of the principal saints of Indian Sufism, indicating the Order they belong to and also the principal anniversaries of the Saints' Urs in India, with the date on which the saints' death is observed.

WILLIAM C. (1916– )

Wilfred Cantwell Smith is Professor of the Comparative History of Religious and Chairman of the Committee on the Study of Religion at Harvard University. He has lived a fair part of his life in India and Pakistan and has travelled extensively throughout the Islamic world. He was born in Toronto in 1916. After his studies at Toronto and Cambridge he became a lecturer in Islamic History at Forman Christian College Lahore and Extension work Associate of Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies, Aligarh.

His greatest contribution to the studies of Indian Islam is his monumental book published in 1943 under the title Modern Islam in India. In the book, he seems to have confined himself to the material available in English and so naturally we cannot expect it to be a comprehensive treatment of Islam in the modern India. However it provides us with a great deal of useful and important information about the workings of the Muslim League, the "Two-nation theory", ideas of the prominent religio-political leaders of the Indian Muslim community, movements such as the khaskar movements, the Ahrar party, Khudai Khidmatgar etc. It is clear that Smith has strenuously laboured to collect the needed material for this volume and has amply supplemented his reading by contacts and interviews with the persons closely associated with the various
parties and movements, whose activities he describes.

In the view of Arthur Jeffery, the book is strongly pro-communist and bitterly anti-British. Since the author is pre-occupied only with the political dimension of Indian Islam in the modern period, he does not treat in detail the other important aspects of Indian Islam, such as the development of religious thoughts and movements, Sufi Orders, Studies in vernacular Muslim literature etc. The author is at his best when he describes the labours of Muslim leaders like Sir Sayyid, Amir Ali, movements like Khilafat and Pakistan and educational centres like Aligarh Hyderabad etc. 118

After the Second World War (1939-44) he continued his studies at Princeton University where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1948. He spent one more year at Lahore and was then appointed Professor of Comparative religion at McGill's University, Montreal. In 1957 his second famous book Islam in Modern History was published. Then in 1964 he was appointed Professor of World Religions at Harvard University. He continues his research and many of his articles are being published in the leading journals of the world. In 1961, a few essays of Smith have been published in a book from under the title "On Understanding Islam" 119

Jacques Waardenburg writes about W.C. Smith as follows:

He is interested in the themes connected with the relations between different religious communities, the rise of particular religious orientations and movements and specific problems with which Muslim communities have found themselves confronted in different historical situations, both in the past and in the recent times.
The Muslims of British India, written by Peter Hardy in 1972 is certainly a valuable contribution to the literature on the religious and political identity of Indian Muslims under the British rule. Using materials available in Urdu and Persian as well as in the British Indian Government's archives he has attempted a general history of the Muslims of India from 1857 to the independence of India in 1947. Hardy, relying on authentic resources, argues that the Mutiny (1857) did not produce the demise of Muslim fortunes which so many commentators have assumed was the case. He maintains:

...that all India generalizations must not be made on the basis only of certain groups in some areas. Economic and even political opportunities for post-1857 Muslims were substantial...There was substantial shift in landholding and leadership, "with those having a Mughal past losing to those with a British future", but in no sense were Indian Muslims destroyed as active participants in the Indian, political, religious and social balance.120

Hardy has given sufficient attention to the process by which Muslims came to terms with British India and yet how they kept their Muslim identity and evolved into a politically conscious community. The final three chapters describe the subsequent fluctuating history of Muslim politics and separatism. Hardy does not deny the role of British policy, in the growth of separatism, but he considers it as less casual than a number of historians would suggest. He has taken great care to show how the interplay of memories of past Muslim supremacy, Islamic religious aspirations and modern Muslim social and economic anxieties with the political needs of the alien ruling power gradually fostered a separate Muslim politics. He certainly admits the force of religion in the growth of political separatism among Indian Muslims. In this context the
opinion of C. Busch is worth quoting:

Although the first sections have the most to offer, the whole book is a useful review of Indian Muslim history....the book is a mine of factual information. If the result is too much a feeling of the inevitability of a Pakistan, and less than minimal understanding of the British and Hindu sides of the triangle, at least the purpose is served of better understanding of Indian Islam and the diversity which has proved such a source of strength.121

MILLER R.E.

Dr. Roland E. Miller is a Canadian missionary of the Lutheran Church. He holds an M.A. and Ph.D. degree in Islamic Studies, in addition to the M.Div. degree in theology. As a missionary he has successfully worked in various fields of social service, educational and literary activity. But he has become famous among the scholars of Islamic studies through his monumental work Mappila Muslims of Kerala. He has lived among the Mappilas since 1953 and his book on them certainly reflects his long years of personal acquaintance with them as well as deep knowledge of Islam in general. Since 1976 he has become a visiting scholar at Harvard University, attached to the Centre for the study of World Religions.122 Mappila Muslims of Kerala: Miller took a long span of more than fifteen years to prepare this book which was originally presented as his doctoral thesis to the Hartford Seminary Foundation. As pointed out in the preface this is the first English study on Mappilas by a knowledgeable authority. Miller has scholarly and sympathetically dealt with the whole story of the Mappilas, from their beginnings as the first Muslims in India, through a turbulent history, to their current involvement in the complex and explosive life of Kerala. He has successfully analysed how a traditionally conservative people
have reshaped their destiny through active involvement in politics, inter-religious relationship and mainly through educational institutions.

According to Miller, Mappilas are the "unknown Muslims" living in the coastal area of South-west India. "Apart from cursory reports, the Mappilas have been rarely noticed in scholarly writings, and when noticed, it has usually been in unflattering terms." A rare exception to this pattern is W. Logan's oft-quoted Malabar Manual first published in 1887, which still remains a valuable source of information for the study of Mappilas during that period. Even today this large group of Muslims, over four million, is only vaguely known to the outside world. In the view of Miller "Not only do Mappilas have to be discovered by the academy and by their nearest neighbours, but in a very real sense the Mappilas must also discover themselves." Miller expresses the purpose of this study in the following words:

The fog that surrounded the Mappilas is lifting....The Mappilas are a real enough people with a long history and an exciting present, both of which contains meanings for Muslims everywhere. Within the past few years a new awareness of the existence and significance of the Mappilas has developed within India.....(Their) activity in politics, education, and social uplift attracted the attention of other Indian Muslims..... The confusion of the determined Mappila effort to become a progressive community and at the same time to remain true to orthodox Islam has not made it easier for external observers to visualize the Mappila and his condition. To make the Mappilas known and to make them in terms of their significance as a changing Muslim community is the goal of all that follows in this presentation.

With this end in view, the well informed author has divided the whole book, consisting of 364 pages (XIV+350) into six chapters. The first chapter is meant to introduce the Mappila Muslims and their milieu. Chapter two describes the origin of Islam in Kerala.
more progressive. Whereas in the northern districts of Kerala, the numerical strength of the Mappiles enabled them to carry on ghetto-like existence which fostered defensiveness, perpetuated weaknesses, and retarded progress.

In the view of Miller, the primary importance of the Mappilas for the Muslim world is the demonstration that it is possible under the right circumstances for a Muslim community to make the necessary change. Within the fifty years of the final disaster in 1921, the Mappilas have achieved some remarkable changes and at the same time have, by and large, remained faithful Muslims. They are, therefore, recognised as a symbol of hope for other Muslims. 127

Regarding the noteworthy changes that have taken place in the Mappila community Miller makes the following observation:

It was not until the contextual elements of modern Kerala society, the new political possibilities the challenge of dynamic neighbours, the critique and action of communism, the influence of educators, the social activism of professional men, and the internal spirit of Islamic renewal all met and combined in a massive influence on Mappilas that the process of change was accelerated to significant proportions. 128

VICTOR COURTOIS (1907-1960)

Victor Courtois is the first Catholic, after the closure of the Jesuit mission at the Mughal court, who took a serious note of the Church's evangelistic obligation towards Muslims in India. Almost single handedly he has tried in teaching and writing to inform Christian leaders about Islam and to create in them an attitude of openness and appreciation towards Muslims. He devoted himself totally to reach out to Muslims in friendly relationship by participating in their cultural activities and through his widely
and the progress of the Muslim community to the early European period. In the third chapter, the development of the Mappila Muslims from the Mysorean interlude to the final revolt against the British power, is described. After examining the past heritages of the Mappila community, Miller tackles the current issues - political, social, economic, and educational - which they face today. This is done in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter rather elaborately treats the Islamic character of the responding community and its resources for change. By way of conclusion, in chapter six, Miller offers his observations on the significance of the Mappila experience. The bibliography and glossary given at the end of the book, will be certainly of great help to any one interested in the study of the Mappila Muslims of Kerala.

Some of the remarks Miller made on the significance of Mappila community are quite relevant. The fact, that the Mappilas were able to survive as a minority Islamic community under non-Muslim rule, itself is a matter of great significance. They adopted a policy of cooperation with their non-Muslim neighbours, carried on their business activities, prospered and increased. This history poses a challenge to the contention or feeling that Muslims must have a political power to be true to Islam, to be secure and to make progress in their social life. Secondly, the experience of Mappila Muslims reveals the minority psychology of a community. "A strong minority tends toward and is able to effect a sheltered existence."126 Whenever the Mappilas were numerically few, (e.g. Central Travancore and Cochin) they were compelled to relate in a more open way with their environment and in such areas the development was generally
more progressive. Whereas in the northern districts of Kerala, the numerical strength of the Mappilas enabled them to carry on a ghetto-like existence which fostered defensiveness, perpetuated weaknesses, and retarded progress.

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Curtois was born in Louvain on September 18, 1907. As a seminarian, in the Society of Jesus, he happened to read some books on Indian Islam, which fascinated him to dedicate himself to work among the Muslims of India. He came to India in 1931 and after teaching for one year in St. Xavier’s School, Calcutta, he left for Middle East to learn Arabic and to specialize in Islamic studies. After coming back to India he studied Urdu and further deepened his knowledge of Islam especially through his personal contacts with young Muslim students. Then he started teaching Islamic culture in St. Xavier’s College, Calcutta. He had many friends, belonging to the most influential and cultured circles. They loved and esteemed him so much that they made him the secretary and later the president of the “Calcutta Iran Society.” For this society he edited in 1951 *Al-Biruni Commemoration* Volume and in 1956 the famous *Aviceena Commemoration Volume*. He was invited quite often to speak at many cultural functions conducted in colleges and other institutions. In appreciation of his interest, scholarship and contribution to the Iran Society of Calcutta, he was presented with a silver medal by the Iranian government in 1959. Besides these activities he took up regular teaching on Islam in various Catholic seminaries of Kurseong, Ranchi, Poona, Allahabad etc. But his most significant contribution in the field of Islamic studies is his editing and writing of the *Notes on Islam*, for more than thirteen years.

Fr. Curtois was convinced that his foremost task was to make the Indian Church aware of its, hitherto neglected, apostolic duty towards the Muslims of India. In his own words “the missionaries
and ecclesiastical students feel the need of reliable information about the faith and the aspirations of those many Muslims with whom they daily come into contact." To meet this need he started publishing the Notes on Islam, the first issue of which appeared on September 25, 1946. The full title reads as follows: NOTES ON ISLAM: A Bulletin of Information about Islam with Special reference to India. From Volume I No2 (July 1947) onwards it carried the subtitle: A Help to Social Workers, Teachers and Missionaries for a Better Appraisal of Islamic Culture and Modern Movements. From January 1951 onwards the Notes became a bimonthly and then, from 1953 onwards, a quarterly. The subtitle then simply read: A Help to a Better appraisal of Islamic Culture. The main objective of the Notes, as the subtitle indicated, was to acquaint the reader with a basic knowledge of Islam, its beliefs and practices, with special reference to India. It deliberately avoided controversies and polemics, remaining expository in character. Following the example of the great philosopher and lay missionary Ramon Lull (1232-1315) Courtois also studied and presented Islam, showing not what separates Christians and Muslims but trying to discover what unites them. Thus the Notes tried to bring about mutual esteem and brotherly love between Muslims and non-Muslims. An increasing number of scholars and students of Islam, Muslims as well as non-Muslims, became its regular readers and won even an international recognition as indispensable companion for all those who wanted to understand Islam in its evolution in the Indian subcontinent from a Christian perspective. With the untimely death of Courtois in 1960 the Notes on Islam discontinued until it was revived by a group of Jesuit scholars in 1977 under a new title JAMI NOTES. His personal library,
a good collection of books on Islam, above two thousand in number, has been recently shifted to Vidyajyoti, Delhi.

Victor's Concept of Indian Islam

Besides numerous references and comments about the various aspects of Islam in India in his Notes on Islam, Courtois wrote an article in Clergy Monthly (July 1945) specifically on Islam in India. Some of the important points he touched upon are given below.

Courtois points out that the Muslim population of India according to the 1941 census was 94,389,000, i.e. one fourth of the total population. These Muslims belonging to various categories are found in every state province of India. Still, he remarks that:

inspite of their dispersion throughout the country, inspite of racial disparity and diversity of languages (they speak at least 15 languages), inspite of sharp political division, this enormous mass of men forms a compact block, amazingly homogeneous, where religion is concerned...(but) their philosophy of life ranges from extreme conservatism to ultra-liberalism.131

With this introduction he gives his picture of Indian Islam during the last hundred years. Leaving aside the purely political and puritanical movements, he has grouped it under four headings.

a) The liberal School of Aligarh

For many centuries the Muslims of India clung to their sacrosanct traditions. They led a very secluded life, largely owing to the lack of communication with the outside world and to relative peace at home. But this situation changed when Britishers became the rulers of India. The Hindus adapted themselves fairly easily to the new state of things, but the Muslims, who since the time of Babar had ruled Hindustan could not assimilate the foreign ideas,
culture and damnation. They even boycott English education and considered Muslim India as dar- ul-Harb. Such a policy of hatred and aloofness would have proved fatal to the Muslim community had not Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a man of vision and daring, tried to bring about a rapprochement between the ruling power and the Muslims. He spread Western culture and ways among the Muslims and preached tolerance and liberalism in religion. His educational policies found their culmination in the establishment of the K.A.O. College at Aligarh. In the religious sphere he advocated rationalism and rejected the superstitions that had crept into the Islamic system of life. In his review Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq Sir Sayyid defended Islam against the attacks levelled at it by Western writers. So he could be called, in the opinion of Courtois the founder of 'Modern Muslim Apologetics'.

b) The Cultural School:
The rationalistic and liberal approach of the Aligarh movement disturbed the conscience of many pious Muslims. Against this rationalism of Sir Sayyid, there arose a new movement, headed by Shibli Numani and Ameer Ali, which did not reject rationalism altogether but longed for something more constructive and more satisfying to the religious minded. For Numani (1857-1917) reason was only a handmaiden of religion, not its judge. He had great admiration for the ancient culture of Islam. So he tried to give a new splendour to the glorious past of Islam. He wrote as a devout Muslim and his works were highly prized by the Muslims. Ameer Ali was also an ardent admirer of Islamic culture. In his famous book \textit{Spirit of Islam} first published in 1922 he shows
"how grand Islam is, (not only was) how beautiful its message, how reasonable is its doctrine—how truly up-to-date. It offers the solution to the many problems of the day....Truly the Muslims ought to be proud of their faith and of their leader."132

c) The Activist School:

Iqbal tried to react against the blissful passivity of Indian Muslims. In vibrant verses he called to action. His concept of man, which was certainly influenced by Bergson and Nietzsche, was that of an ego that strives constantly to realize and perfect itself. He had many followers of all shades of thought, though few seem to have correctly understood him. According to Courtois he was a religious humanist. His disciples were more concerned with Islam as a community than with Islam as a religion.

d) The Missionary School:

There are (or were) a good many missionary organizations in India, such as the Crescent Society in Madras, the Jamiat Shubban al-Musliman of Bombay, the Servants of Islam of Lahore, the Anjuman-i-Tablí-chul Islam of Poona. But the most active and the best organized seem to be the Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isba'iat-i-Islam of Lahore and Qadian.

In conclusion Courtois makes the following remarks:

Indian Islam is passing through a severe crisis. The religious side of it has been of late much lost sight of because of political pre-occupation. The reforms however go on silently. But political and social problems have given a new turn to the movement, it tries to find a way between the extremes of capitalism and communism.133

Victor Courtois in another article titled "Islam and Conversion" has discussed all the important points of conversion with special
reference to India. After describing briefly the theological as well as the legal difficulties, in the way of conversion from Islam to Christianity, Courtois reminds the readers that in India "an apostate from Islam cannot be put to death, simply because of his apostasy nor is he deprived of his legal rights," since in India the Muslim law (Shariah) is not the law of the land. Still the status of a convert from Islam in India is pathetic and Courtois describes it as follows:

Whatever be the protection afforded by the law of British India to Muslim converts, the fact remains that conversion as a rule means excommunication from the Muslim fold and endless persecutions. The Muslim who wants to follow Christ must be ready to leave his father, mother, home, friends, all that he holds dear. He must be ready to hear the curse of his father and be considered as an ungrateful son. As to his inheritance, if he is entitled to it, he will not get it except perhaps through the court.  

Finally Courtois says that a convert from Islam is usually ostracized from his family or groups; at times his life is in danger and so he has to live in hiding lest he be kidnapped. He has no means to provide for his subsistence. Soon he becomes a burden to the one who has converted him and sympathy easily cools down. The neophyte soon gets discouraged. So Courtois pleads that conversion to Christianity should not be for a Muslim synonymous with total material ruin, misery and danger. They should be treated with sympathy and patience.

Al-Biruni, A Life Sketch:

Courtois has written a booklet of 42 pages on Al-Biruni, on the occasion of the "Al-Biruni Day" held by the Iran Society in March 1932 to commemorate the millenary of the great scholar's death. Al-Biruni (973-1048) was of Persian stock and he visited India in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni. In order to understand
India better he learned Sanskrit and read the Books of the Hindus.

He himself wrote a book on India to communicate to his compatriots and co-religionists his great admiration and respect for India.

Courtois writes of him as follows:

Al-Biruni has been said to be one of the greatest intellectuals that ever lived on earth...enamoured with truth he was interested in everything: history, chronology, geography, medicine, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy (etc.). But whatever subject he approached, he approached so with an open mind, a mind trained to scientific accuracy and thoroughness. ...The understanding with which he wrote about other people's religion, the method he followed to find out the truth would do honour to a student of comparative religion in our own days. In fact his contribution to the study of comparative study of religions is unique.136

S.V. BHAJJAN

S.V. Bhajan, the present director of the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies, is certainly one of the greatest Christian scholars of Islamic studies in India. He was born in 1924 in Shahabad, Bihar. After his graduation, he passed the Honours in Persian Examination in 1942 from the Punjab University, earning the title of Muhahri Fazil. Then he taught Urdu and Persian at the Mission High School, Raewind, Punjab, for two years. He took his Master's degree in Persian in 1954. In December 1954, in appreciation of his brilliant academic performance in Persian he was awarded the degree of Master of Oriental Learning by the Punjab University. For some time he was the editor of the Christian Urdu magazine Iman, published from Delhi. In 1956 he joined the Henry Martyn School of Islamic Studies, Aligarh.137 He was sent for higher training in Islamic Studies to the Hartford Seminary Foundation, U.S.A., from where he obtained a Master's degree in
Islamic Studies. Finally he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. by the University of Tehran (Iran) for his excellent thesis on "Sufiyan-i, Chistiya, der Hind" (Chishti Sufis of India) which was written in the Farsi language.

With his excellent academic background and broad outlook Bhajjan could give a new orientation to the H.M.I. He is the mastermind behind the dialogical approach which the H.M.I. has so successfully embarked upon in these years. Bhajjan is very much appreciated for his sympathetic attitude towards Muslims. Being a renowned Urdu poet under the pen name "Talib Shahabadi" Bhajjan is well known to the Urdu press. It is his deep knowledge of Urdu that distinguishes him among the other Christian scholars on Islam in India. He is well informed on what is written in Urdu about Christians and so is capable of clarifying some of the issues which the Urdu press occasionally raises. The greatest advantage of his Urdu background is, perhaps, that he can very easily converse with the Muslim religious leaders, who often do not know any other language except Urdu, and thus he obtains from them first hand information of the actual position of Indian Muslims.

Bhajjan has published many articles, most of them being the papers which he presented in several national and international seminars and symposia. He lectures on Islam to the students of various ecclesiastical institutions, guides many of them in their research projects and also actively participates in dialogue between Christians and Muslims.
DAVID T. LINDELL

Lindell is an American scholar who has been on the staff of H.M.I. for many years. He was its director for two years (1969-71) and now he is its associate director as well as the editor in-chief of the quarterly Bulletin published by the Institute. He has done a great deal of reading and writing on various aspects of Indian Islam. His special areas of interest are the sociological and mystical outlooks of Indian Muslims.

CHINNIAH T.I.

T. Isaac Chinniah is also a staff member of the H.M.I. He holds an M.Phil. degree in Islamic studies from Osmania University. Besides giving classes on Islam to various groups of Christians, writing articles related to the life and practices of Indian Muslims, he too makes good use of his knowledge in Urdu and Telugu to conduct dialogue between Christians and Muslims. His areas of research are Christian-Muslim relations and Islam in Andhra Pradesh.

GIASUDDIN ADELPHI

G. Adelphi is also on the staff of the H.M.I., but mainly works as the director of the H.M.I's North Indian Area Office, situated at Lucknow. He did his doctoral studies at the department of Arabic at Aligarh Muslim University. Being a Muslim convert he is well-informed of the faith and practices of Indian Muslims. He makes use of his Muslim background and deep knowledge of Urdu and Arabic to continue his research especially in the Quran.
commentaries written by Indian Muslim scholars. He is the editor
of Huma, the quarterly Urdu Bulletin of the H.M.I. and he also
conducts a correspondence course to help those Muslims who would
like to know more about Christianity. His scholarship and pleasant
character have already made him a friend of many good Muslim
scholars in India.

CHRISTIAN W. TROLL (1937–)

Troll is, perhaps, one of the most distinguished Christian
scholars in India today, in the field of Islamic studies. Even
Muslim scholars have accepted him as an outstanding authority in
matters connected with Indian Islam. Currently he is Professor
of Islamic Studies at Vidyajyoti, in Delhi, and a regular Visiting
Professor in many other seminaries in India.

Troll was born in Berlin in 1937. As a Jesuit scholastic he
received his training in Philosophy and Theology at the University
of Bonn and Tubingen, in Munich and in London. He holds a diploma
in Arabic from St. Joseph’s University (Beirut) and graduated
in Urdu from London University, the School of Oriental and African
Studies. For his doctoral dissertation he chose the theological
perspectives of the great Indian Muslim reformer, Sir Sayyid
Ahmad Khan.139

the title Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology.
This book has been acclaimed even by Muslim writers as the best
book ever written on Sir Sayyid in the English language. His
other publications include a study in German, on the presence of
medieval Christianity in China, Christian Muslim Relations in India:
A Critical Survey (Bangalore, 1981) and other scholarly articles on various aspects of Indian Islam, published in the leading journals of Islamic studies. But his most significant contribution in the field of research and publication is Islam in India Studies and Commentaries, a series of volumes on Indian Islam, the first volume of which he edited and published in 1982. (The second volume has already gone to the press) This series is a project of Vidyajyoti Institute of Religious Studies, Delhi, in collaboration with renowned scholars from all over the country. The aim of this new project is to help all those who would wish to focus on Islam in India. But more precisely this series aims at a scholarly presentation of distinctive religious-cultural aspects of Indo-Muslim life and thought, past and present. It hopes to mirror the various views and experiences of Muslims from the different regions of India in the hope of contributing to a greater awareness and understanding, prerequisites for harmonious living.

However, the chief endeavour of Troll in all his attempts in research and teaching is to contribute to a deeper understanding of religion in the modern world and to promote theological dialogue between the adherents of various religious traditions in India. In view of his deep scholarship and active involvement in Christian-Muslim dialogue, he has been appointed as a consultant at the Vatican Secretariat, for Non-Christian Religions, Rome.

PAUL JACKSON

Paul Jackson is an Australian Jesuit, now doing post doctoral research at Patna. Sufism is his field of special interest and the famous Khuda Baksh Library, Patna is his favourite workshop. Even during his priestly formation in the St. Mary's Seminary,
Jurseong, he began to prepare himself to reach out to Muslims by studying various aspects of Islam and making personal contacts. He did his master's degree in Medieval Indian History from Jamia Millia Islamia, Delhi, (1972-1974) and later he spent over a year in Shiraz, Iran, studying Persian. After returning to India he undertook doctoral research under the guidance of Syed Hasan Askari, into the life and teaching of Sheikh Sharafuddin Meneri for which he was awarded the doctoral degree by Patna University in 1980.

Jackson has translated a collection of letters of spiritual advice sent by Sharafuddin to his disciple Qazi Shamsudin of Chausa. It was published under the title Sharafuddin Meneri: The Hundred Letters, in the series "classics of Western spirituality, by Paulist Press (New York and London) 1980. It has been greeted appreciatively both by Muslim scholars and Orientalists.

Currently he is engaged in advanced research on the subject of "Sufism in Medieval Bihar". He is also a visiting professor in Islamics and Sufism in various ecclesiastical institutions of higher education in India. Several of his scholarly articles are being published in periodicals of international reputation. In appreciation of his research work and leadership in inter-religious dialogue and communal harmony programmes, he was presented with a scroll of honour by the citizens of Nalana District, in 1982.141

ANNEMARI SCHIMMEL

In the contemporary scene, Annemarie Schimmel is certainly one of the topmost Christian scholars on Islam in India. Her researches and writings on Indian Muslims are greatly appreciated even by Muslim scholars. Schimmel is Professor of Indo-Muslim Culture at Harvard University and is also associated with the
Centre for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard. She has published numerous books, articles and translations in German, Arabic and Turkish. In appreciation of her outstanding contribution to translations from Oriental languages, she was awarded the much coveted Friedrich-Ruckert Prize.


*Mystical Dimensions of Islam* presents a balanced historical treatment of the transnational phenomenon of Sufism through its different stages. Sufi psychology and Sufi orders are comprehensively explored. The main burden of the text, however, is Sufism as reflected in Islamic poetry and the author has scholarly examined the various aspects of mystical poetry in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sindhi, Punjabi and Pashto. She has very skilfully demonstrated how the Sufi ideals have permeated the daily life of Indian Muslims. Schimmel's long acquaintance with Turkey, Iran and the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent provides an unique emphasis to this study and the
author's personal knowledge of Sufi practice in these regions lends extraordinary relevance to her work.142

Schimmel's greatest contribution to the study of Indian Muslims is undoubtedly her monumental work: *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*. The main topics discussed in it are the following:

Advent and consolidation of Islam in the Subcontinent, growth of independent states such as Delhi, Malwa, Jampur, Kashmir, Bengal, the Deccan, Karnatic, Gujarat etc. Then she elaborately deals with the Age of the Great Mughals and the Indian Muslim's Life and Customs including the Sufi saints and mystical folk poetry. The period between 1707 and 1957 is treated under the heading 'India after Aurangzeb' and the period between 1857 and 1906 as the 'Age of Reform Movements'. The last period 'Age of Iqbal' begins from the partition of Bengal in 1905 to the partition of the Subcontinent in 1947.

Schimmel is certainly competent to deal with the above mentioned aspects of Indian Islam since she is thoroughly acquainted with the subject through her visit to India and friendship with the contemporary writers on Indian Islam. About her wide acquaintance with the Indian Muslims Schimmel writes as follows:

While preparing the bibliography for this handbook I discovered that I had personal friendly relations with almost every contemporary writer, so that not only their books and articles but meetings and correspondence with them had shaped my outlook and my understanding of the situation of the Muslims in India and Pakistan...(They have helped me to understand various facets of Islamic life in the Subcontinent—colleagues in the universities of India and Bangladesh and illiterate *fagirs* in Sind, progressive writers and tradition-bound housewives between Peshawar and Chittagong, keepers of saints' tombs in the United Provinces and inquisitive journalists, admirers of Iqbal in Lahore as in Aligarh—they all form part of my understanding of the Indo-Pakistan Islam, an understanding which may be at times very personal.143
Regarding the scope of Schimmel's latest book *Islam in India and Pakistan* the author herself writes as follows:

This book forms, in a certain sense, a companion volume to my contribution *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*... In collecting the material for this booklet, the problems connected with the compilation of a very brief, sketchy survey of Indo-Pakistani Islam proved even greater than the text volume. For to represent the manifold aspects of Indian Islam as it developed during a period of 1300 years in areas so different as Kashmir and Bengal, Sind and Tamil Nadu is next to impossible, all the more, as conflicting trends of adaptation to and separation from the culture of the Hindu neighbours have always shaped the history of Indian Islam... Thus, this volume is not more than a modest introduction to what appears to me as some particularly outstanding aspects of Islam in India and Pakistan as they manifest themselves in the life of the Muslims as well as in their art.14

**TERENCE FARIAS**

Terence Farias, born in Karnataka, holds a Masters degree from Karnataka University and a Diploma in Arabic and in Islamic Studies from St. Joseph's University in Beirut, Lebanon. He undertook his doctoral research on "Modern College Education and Muslim Faith and Practice: A Case Study in Bangalore" at the Department of Sociology at Aligarh Muslim University, for which he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. in 1982.

Since 1975 Terence is actively involved in the activities of the Islamic Studies Association (ISA) of which he was the Secretary for five years. He is also the editor of *Salaam*, the quarterly bulletin of ISA. Besides giving classes on Islam to the students of seminaries and other houses of Christian formation, he is invited to attend and to contribute papers to several national and international seminars and dialogue meetings. His learned articles, dealing with the various aspects of Indian Islam, are very much appreciated and welcomed by Christian and Muslim scholars. Recently,
on July 17, 1983, he has started the "Karnataka Islamic Studies Association," to promote understanding and co-operation between Christians and Muslims, particularly in the state of Karnataka, with the central office at Bangalore.145

NARITHOOKIL JAMES

James holds a Master's degree in Islamic Studies from Aligarh Muslim University. Then he went to McGill University for his further training where he took another Master's degree in Islamics and underwent several other courses related to Indian Islam. He has made an in-depth study of the attitude of the Church towards Muslims down the centuries in his M.A. thesis *Vatican II and Muslims*. On his return to India he became the president of the ISA for two years (1981-83). Now he is a Lecturer in Islamology at Dharmaram College, Bangalore. He also gives classes on Islam to the students of other ecclesiastical institutions, participates in dialogue programmes between Christians and Muslims, and contributes scholarly articles to various journals of international reputation.

LOURDU RAJ

After his ecclesiastical studies he spent one year at Hyderabad in learning Urdu, Arabic and other subjects related to Indian Muslims. Then he attended McGill University, Canada, for his specialisation in Islamics, from where he obtained a Master's degree in Islamic Studies. On his arrival in India in 1983, he was made the president of ISA. Now he is Lecturer of Islamology in Satyanilayam, Tamil Nadu.
ANDREAS D’SOUZA

A native of Karnataka, Andreas, was a student of the Pontifical Institute of Arab. Studies, Rome. On his return to India, he joined the Henry Martyn Institute of Islamic Studies as a teaching staff member for several years. Besides giving lectures and publishing research articles, he was particularly interested in organizing Christian-Muslim dialogues and seminars. Currently he is working on his doctoral thesis “The Concept of Revelation in the Writings of Indian Muslim Scholars” at McGill University, Canada.

ARATI SNOW

K. Arati Snow is a Catholic religious Sister belonging to the Society of the Sacred Heart. Having retired from active life, now she is living like a Sufi mystic at the Christa Prema Seva (C.P.S.) Ashram, Pune. A glance at her biodata will reveal how much she is interested and involved in Sufi mysticism, especially as it is reflected in the lives of Indian Muslims.

Arati graduated from Cambridge University with Arabic and Persian and continued postgraduate studies in Arabic and Persian at the American University in Cairo. She became a member of the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1940 and was on the staff of Sophia College, Bombay, as Professor and Vice-principal for many years. She has had a life-long interest in Sufism, a subject in which she has lectured at Jnana Deepa Vidya Peeth (J.D.V.), Pune, and elsewhere and collaborated with A.A.A. Fyzee in Bombay, in his translation of al-Hamadi’s Da’iin al-Islam from Arabic into English during the nineteen seventies. She is a member of the Department of Sufi Studies in the Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, Delhi.