■ Social Role of Women in the Works of Muslim Philosophers
■ Unconventional Gender Identities ■ Sexual Rights and
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CONTESTING BOUNDARIES AND PRODUCING THE NORM: GENDER-RELATED ISSUES IN ISLAMIC THEORY AND PRACTICE

Particularly in the last decades, due to the rapid development of theoretical perspectives across disciplines, the notion of gender has evolved into an umbrella term that today refers to a broad array of themes: from gender-defined social behaviour to sexual and reproductive rights and to matters related to control over one's body. Following major trends in the humanities and social sciences, also the field of Islamic studies has been contributing to the ongoing scholarly discussion on gender. Two recent volumes that focus specifically on gender issues in Muslim societies (Duderija et al., 2020; Howe, 2020) have marked the expansion of the field, away from dealing primarily with topics related to Muslim women and femininity to a cautious but firm engagement with a broader spectrum of gender-related themes.

The goal of the present issue of *Islamology* is to contribute to this advancement. Thereby, we do not aim to test the limits of scholarly and popular debates, as this is challenging to implement under the present conditions. However, we hope to draw the attention of our readers to several case studies selected for this issue in order to demonstrate the potential of a gender-based approach within Islamic studies to provide novel and valuable insights. All of these cases, albeit in various ways, contribute to established debates about gender relations in Muslim/Islamology scholarship. In particular, this special issue sheds light on Muslim debates about the political role of women (Tineke Melkebeek), heteronormative sexual ethics (Pernilla Myrne), and the negotiation of gender identities beyond man/woman categories in traditional Muslim societies (Sara Kuehn), in addition to questions of *halal* fertility services (Maria Vyatchina). The papers are complemented by a book review that, through an analysis of a recently published monograph on homosexuality in Islam, offers an introduction to the current academic debates on the topic (Laurance Janssen Lok). Two of our papers explore discourses of late antiquity and the early medieval period (Myrne; Melkebeek); one is bringing contemporary biographies into connection with practices of the early modern era (Kuehn); and two contributions discuss contemporary debates and practices (Vyatchina; Janssen Lok).

While the contributions cover vastly different topics, genres, eras, and regional contexts, several common themes resurface across all papers and bind them together, sometimes in surprising ways. First, the contributions to this special issue demonstrate that debates about gender relations are deeply ingrained in Islamic history. It would be a misconception to assume that the movement for Muslim women's social and sexual emancipation, as well as the liberalisation of public discourses on gender, is only a relatively new phenomenon, one stimulated or produced by Western debates. While patriarchal dispositions have been dominant in many Muslim societies, outstanding men like Ibn Rushd (d. 1198) also had the courage to challenge them. As Tineke Melkebeek shows in her contribution, when discussing the "ideal state", Ibn Rushd clearly condemned the exclusion of women from public life. It is true that when making statements in this direction, he was hiding behind Plato's *Republic* (the work he was commenting upon). However, he did not posit that the position of women should

be improved in increments, under the benevolent protection of men; rather, he asserted that women were, by nature, capable of being *rulers* of the polity, and to serve as its guardians. This claim was linked to a call for making education, in all its breadth, truly accessible to women. For Ibn Rushd, as long as women were restricted to breeding and housekeeping tasks, the city-state wasted its human resources. The pragmatic aspect of this emancipation agenda will probably remind the post-Soviet reader of more recent campaigns to draw women into the labour force, with the goal of increasing the nation's GDP.

As Tineke Melkebeek demonstrates, Ibn Rushd also held radical views about the most irreplaceable social function of women, namely that of giving birth to children. This topic, inherently linked to strict practices of regulation and control, reoccurs in several papers presented in this special issue. For instance, Maria Vyatchina, in her work, provides an analysis of how *halal* birth-giving procedures are commodified and gendered in present-day Tatarstan, an autonomous republic of the Russian Federation. On the one hand, her analysis shows that contemporary Muslim women claim increasingly more agency to obtain the comfort and support they need during labour; on the other, Vyatchina's contribution demonstrates that women's vulnerability throughout pregnancy contributes to their overall stigmatisation as the "weak" sex, a process that reduces their social and sexual roles to femininity, as caregivers and submissive partners.

But here again, the Muslim heritage is equivocal. Pernilla Myrne, in her paper about sexual etiquette in the Abbasid period, emphasises female vulnerability in the face of an Islamic law consensus that clearly privileges the male; at the same time Myrne's work demonstrates the complexity of attitudes towards female sexuality in Islamic works on ethics and health (some of which were modelled on books of originally Greek and Indian provenance). Myrne argues that although Abbasid society was clearly patriarchal, women's sexual pleasure and satisfaction were considered essential in medical and ethics literature, even if only for ensuring a strong family and the health of the offspring. Importantly, this debate was not marginal: some of the more women-friendly ideas on sexuality drew on inclusive interpretations of *hadith* material, and influenced, in turn, orthodox Islamic mainstream literature.

Sensitivities linked to the notions of "man" and "woman" have been cemented, challenged, and negotiated for centuries, and present-day debates seem to represent just another swirl. The multi-layered character of gender identities and their socially conditioned (if not constructed) nature become most visible when one looks at the margins or the marginalised. Those who do not identify with any of the two genders but, instead, put forth alternative conceptions that escape easy qualifications, straddle the conventional boundaries and simultaneously blur them. Sara Kuehn, in her paper, offers an in-depth inquiry into how in India, people of the "third sex" — *hijras* — negotiate their belonging to Islam as well as their roles within Muslim society. Hijras are a small group that nevertheless dares to be visible. As Kuehn demonstrates, in their "liminality", hijras occupy important roles as mediators and as providers of blessing, including for women to attain fertility. Their liminality is close to that of Sufi *faqir*s, who, in contact with hijras, equally embrace gender transformations (metaphorically and through clothing, as "Allah's brides"). During the yearly Sufi feasts of the Chishtiyya brotherhood, hijras occupy a central and respected role in the ritual. Kuehn's contribution skillfully intertwines her own fieldwork observations with historical models and the hijra theme in a very prominent Indian novel.

Like almost everywhere in the world, persons who accept gender identities beyond the conventional binary are an easy target for social ostracism and outright violence. The topic of both physical and mental violence, inevitably connected to pain, suffering, and trauma, reappears in all conversations initiated by the authors. In India, Muslim transgender persons are defenceless against police brutality, including rape, but they also engage in forms of self-humiliation and harm, in particular by undergoing castration. Pain, for some of the hijras, is a necessary stage in the path towards redemption, and is reflected upon in a Muslim language that is open to broader religious contexts on the Subcontinent.

A French-Algerian imam, Ludovic-Mohamed Zahed, in a book reviewed in the present issue by Laurance Janssen Lok, discusses findings of his longitudinal participant observation in communities of gay and transgender Muslims in France. These persons suffer not only from ethnic and religious discrimination by the larger French society but also from being excluded by their own minority communities — communities that meet any "non-traditional" sexual orientation with hostility. As a result, many gay Muslims either leave the fold of Islam, unable to maintain their religious and sexual identities simultaneously, or they are forced to silence themselves in order to evade a condemnation that often borders with rage. Needless to say, also the position of cis-gender women — whose gender identity matches the sex they were assigned at birth — continues to be precarious, as recent social movements, such as #MeToo, have vividly demonstrated. The problem of violence, harassment, and discrimination goes beyond Muslim communities, but it surely concerns them too, regardless of whether Muslims are a minority group, like in Russia, or constitute the dominant population.

Discussions on gender, unfortunately, have become one of the polarising factors that divide societies across multiple junction lines. In Russia and the Muslim world, challenging conventional gender norms is usually seen as a pernicious practice from "the West", the latter being imagined as a space of unlimited hedonism, individualism, and exaggerated emancipation of all kinds; at the same time progressive scholars and activists in Western Europe experience a post-socialist backlash of conservative thought from regimes in Eastern Europe but also at home. We hope that this special issue, while touching upon sensitive topics and evoking a number of loaded concepts, still succeeds in showing the beauty of cultural diversity.

Gulnaz Sibgatullina and Michael Kemper

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СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЙ ИСЛАМСКИЙ КОММЕНТАРИЙ НА «РЕСПУБЛИКУ» ПЛАТОНА: ВЗГЛЯДЫ ИБН РУШДА НА ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ И ПОТЕНЦИАЛ ЖЕНЩИН

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Статья исследует комментарий XII века, написанный Ибн Рушдом (Аверроэсом), на «Республику» Платона. Данный комментарий является единственной интерпретацией «Республики» с мусульманской точки зрения. Написанная около 375 г. до н.э., «Республика» Платона посвящена организации справедливого города-государства и содержит революционные для своего времени идеи о положении и качествах женщин – идеи, которые оставались неоднозначными и для периода, в котором жил Ибн Рушд. В научной литературе этот мусульманский философ известен прежде всего как наиболее уважаемый комментатор Аристотеля. Однако из-за отсутствия арабского перевода «Политики» Аристотеля Ибн Рушд обратился к политической теории его учителя и составил комментарий на «Республику» Платона. В своем комментарии Ибн Рушд берет на себя смелость проводить параллели между контекстом, описанным Платоном, и современным Ибн Рушду мусульманским обществом. Примечательно, что когда мусульманский философ отклоняется от текста, он делает это вовсе не в сторону более патриархальных, типичных для Аристотеля интерпретаций. Напротив, Ибн Рушд утверждает, что женщины способны быть правительницами и философами, что их качества не проявляются в полной мере из-за недоступности им образования, и что неучастие женщин в общественной жизни пагубно сказывается на процветании городов. Данная статья направлена на критический анализ утверждений Ибн Рушда о положении женщин, а также восприятия его комментария в научной литературе.

Ключевые слова: *Ибн Рушд, Аверроэс, женщины, Платон, Республика, Аристотель*

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THE MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC COMMENTARY ON PLATO'S REPUBLIC: IBN RUSHD'S PERSPECTIVE ON THE POSITION AND POTENTIAL OF WOMEN

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This paper investigates the twelfth-century commentary on Plato's Republic by the Andalusian Muslim philosopher Ibn Rushd (Averroes). Ibn Rushd is considered to be the only Muslim philosopher who commented on the Republic. Written around 375 BC, Plato's Republic discusses the order and character of a just city-state and contains revolutionary ideas on the position and qualities of women, which remained contested also in Ibn Rushd's time. This Muslim philosopher is primarily known as the

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most esteemed commentator of Aristotle. However, for the lack of an Arabic translation of Aristotle's Politics, Ibn Rushd commented on the political theory of Aristotle's teacher, i.e. Plato's Republic, instead. In his commentary, Ibn Rushd juxtaposes examples from Plato's context and those from contemporary Muslim societies. Notably, when he diverges from the text, he does not drift off toward more patriarchal, Aristotelian interpretations. On the contrary, he argues that women are capable of being rulers and philosophers, that their true competencies remain unknown as long as they are deprived of education, and that this situation is detrimental to the flourishing of the city. This article aims to critically analyse Ibn Rushd's statements on the position of women, as well as their reception in scholarly literature.

Keywords: *Ibn Rushd, Averroes, women, Plato, Republic, Aristotle*

How did the Andalusian philosopher Ibn Rushd (d. 594/1198) reflect on the ideas that Plato expressed in his *Republic* regarding the potential of women? The first part of the present contribution discusses Ibn Rushd's possible motivations for producing a commentary on Plato's work, and considers Ibn Rushd's body of thought and the methodological problems encountered when analysing Ibn Rushd's text. Ibn Rushd's reflections on the position of women as expressed in his commentary on Plato will be discussed in the second half of the paper, followed by concluding remarks.

Why did Ibn Rushd comment on the *Republic*?

Ibn Rushd is the only medieval Islamic philosopher who wrote a commentary on Plato's *Republic* (Butterworth, 1976, p. 575), the latter being a very influential Platonic dialogue (featuring Socrates) that deals with the topic of the ideal state. Ibn Rushd selected Plato's work because he could not get his hands on what would have been Ibn Rushd's first choice for commenting upon: Aristotle's *Politics*. Though many works of Greek philosophy and science had reached the medieval Islamic philosophers by virtue of a massive translation movement that took place between the years 750–1000,[2] it seems that the *Politics* was missing and that no Arabic translation was ever done.[3] As Ibn Rushd noted, the *Politics* had "not yet fallen into our hands", and therefore he decided to comment on Plato's work on political science instead (22.3-5).[4] Plato's *Republic* was the last work Ibn Rushd ever commented upon, probably because until late in his life he kept on hoping that Aristoles' *Politics* would surface (Black, 2011, p. 123).

Plato's Republic

Interestingly, Plato's *Republic* is one of the earliest works containing "feminist" thought (Vlastos, 1994; Ward, 1996). To be sure, the notion of "feminism" is complex, and to apply it to an ancient or medieval text is anachronistic. However, Plato's *Republic* is indeed known for its defiance of classical family and gender roles. An indication of how much this went against customary gender roles can be grasped from the fact that in the fifteenth century, the Italian humanist Leonardi Bruni was still unwilling to translate the *Republic* into Latin because he thought some of its aspects would be too disturbing to his Florentine audience (Bluestone, 1994, p. 110). But three centuries earlier, in twelfth-century al-Andalus, Ibn Rushd did not shy away from discussing this work in the form of a commentary and was open to reflect upon a range of political ideas that were most unconventional also for his time and culture.

The central questions in Plato's *Republic* are the nature of justice (*dikaiosúnē*) and the organisation of the just state that produces righteous citizens. For discussing the question of justice, Plato introduces Socrates as his main character, making him raise philosophical questions to his interlocutors. Their replies solicit more questions, leading to a Socratic dialogue. In the conversation, Socrates argues that the perfect, just state allows each person to do what he or she is best in. Most people belong to the class of artisans and farmers. Outstanding men join the military and become the "guardians" of the state. Because everything in the just state is harmonious and optimal, also women should occupy the positions to which they are best suited. The best women can become guardians and are even obliged to do so if being a guardian is what they excel at; this is the principle of justice (*Republic* 454e).[5] Needless to say, the idea of female guardians is quite remarkable, also in light of the fact that respectable Greek women used to live very secluded lives.

In the *Republic*, all guardians — male or female — participate in joint physical exercises (an activity carried out in the nude) (452b). Furthermore, there is sexual communism:

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2. For the Graeco-Arabic translation movement, see Gutas, 1998; Adamson, 2016.

3. The absence of the *Politics* in Arabic has been puzzling specialists for decades, see Brague, 1993; Leaman, 1997; Mahdi, 1991; Pines, 1975. According to Mahdi (1991), the *Politics* were hidden on purpose because of its contents. The problem with this assumption is that there are great similarities between the *Politics* and other Arabic sources such as al-Fārābī, al-ʿĀmirī and Miskawayh. Cf. Leaman, 1997.

4. All references to the commentary in this paper stem from Lerner's translation (Lerner, 1974).

5. Here and elsewhere in the text, we use the translation by Reeve (2004). The references indicate the Stephanus pages.

temporary marriages are arranged to stimulate new generations of pure guardian offspring (459e-460a). A rigged lottery is to ensure that the right pairs are formed and that the best women breed with the best men. No married guardians are to live privately together, and the marriage becomes annulled as soon as pregnancy occurs. The (healthy) offspring will be brought to special nurseries in order to be then raised by the state (460c). All family ties are disrupted in order to create unity and to avoid nepotism. This also means that children will not know who their parents are, nor will parents know the identity of their children (457d).

In this conversation with Socrates, the interlocutors arrive at these points in a quite natural manner, and every point is worked out in more detail. The topics of the *Republic* are not limited to the ones mentioned above, but these are the main revolutionary ideas in relation to the topic of women.

At any event, Ibn Rushd decided to interpret a work that must have been quite challenging also to his own cultural context in twelfth-century Al-Andalus. In this respect, already Rosenthal (1958, p. 191) and Urvoy (1998, p. 152) emphasised Ibn Rushd's courage. It should be noted that Ibn Rushd operated from a unique perspective. Coming from an influential Andalusian family, he enjoyed an extensive education that enabled him to develop his talents and excel in different disciplines. He combined several careers, serving as a philosopher, court physician and *qāḍī* of Córdoba and Seville. Already his father and grandfather had been respected *qāḍī*s, hence the nickname *al-ḥafīd*, "the grandson".

In the field of legal works, he wrote the *Bidāyat al-mujtahid wa nihāyat al-muqtaṣid* — a sizable summary that elaborates on views of different legal schools about particular topics. In this work, Ibn Rushd also lays out the basics of lawmaking for legal scholars to practice *ijtihād* (independent reasoning) in cases that have not yet been exhaustively discussed (Dutton, 1994, p. 191). He himself was also a qualified doctor and became court physician in 1182 after the passing of his friend Ibn Ṭufayl who held the position before him. Ibn Rushd contributed significantly to neuroscience, as he discovered the existence of Parkinson's disease and was the first to disclose that the retina — and not the lens — is the sensory part of the eye (Belen & Bolay, 2009, pp. 378-380). He composed the *Kitāb Kulliyyāt fī ṭ-ṭibb* (known in Latin as the *Colliget*), an encyclopaedia of medicine based on Aristotelian concepts. In addition, Ibn Rushd also compiled the works of Galen, wrote a commentary on Avicenna's *Qānūn fī ṭ-ṭibb*, and another on Aristotle´s biology. His contributions to medical knowledge and the transmission thereof are, however, overshadowed by his name as a philosopher.

With the Greeks, Ibn Rushd shared an appreciation of reason and of philosophy as the highest forms of human perfection. As Delgado puts it, "[t]he intention of the Cordovan thinker was to ascertain the truth, thus confirming his confidence in the ability of the human mind to comprehend the world" (Delgado, 2012, p. 328). Ibn Rushd wrote several works that touch upon philosophy and its relation to the law. In his *Kitāb Faṣl al-maqāl* ('On the Harmony of Religion and Philosophy', Hourani (1976)), he investigated the relationship between Islam and philosophy. He characterised "philosophy" as the activity of studying the world around us in order to come closer to its creator. To learn and make the proper observations, one needs to know logic and strategies of how to reason correctly. By this, Ibn Rushd meant an accurate interpretation of the works of the ancient Greeks. According to him, the encouragement for attaining knowledge is evident from the Qur'an: for example, verse 59:2 states that "Learn from this, all of you with insight!". For Ibn Rushd, practising philosophy is obligatory for believers who have the intellectual capacity to do so

(Hourani, 1976, p. 45), but it is forbidden for the majority who lack this capacity (Hourani, 1976, p. 145) — the danger being that philosophy would confuse them, and ultimately lead them into disbelief.

Philosophy might lead astray those who are poorly equipped or lack guidance, but this does not make philosophy negative in itself: for Ibn Rushd, to reject philosophy would be like withholding water from a thirsty person just because somebody else once choked on a sip of water (Hourani, 1976, p. 51).

Ibn Rushd fiercely defended the practice of philosophy, which before him experienced a heavy blow, in particular, from the theologian al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), author of *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*.[6] Ibn Rushd's response, titled *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* ("The Incoherence of the Incoherence"), is probably his most famous philosophical work, in which he defends the *falāsifa*, Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, and aims to show that the "real" Aristotle was not in conflict with the revelation.[7] In a nutshell, we can say that Ibn Rushd's philosophical project was to clear Aristotle's thought from the many layers of Neoplatonist interpretation that it had accumulated over the centuries, and to reconcile his philosophy with Islam.

In fact, Ibn Rushd became famous as *the* commentator on Aristotle. As he was an admirer of Aristotle, the Sultan Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf (r. 558–80/1163–84) ordered Ibn Rushd to write commentaries on Aristotle's works to clarify the Greek sage's stance on a wide range of topics. Taken together, Ibn Rushd produced 38 commentaries on Aristotle, of which most are lost in the Arabic original. Starting in the thirteenth century, many of his commentaries were translated into Hebrew and Latin and became of crucial importance for the study of Aristotle (Walzer, 1970, p. 27). In the Latin West, Ibn Rushd became known simply as "the commentator", or by his Latinized name: Averroes. The radical aspects of his thought helped to shape the philosophical curriculum in Western and Central Europe and made way for the development of modern philosophy (Leaman, 2002, p. 29).

His philosophy received no significant follow-up in the Arabic world. A few years before his death in 1198/594, Ibn Rushd was sent into exile to Lucena, a Jewish settlement nearby Córdoba. We do not know the particular circumstances that led to his exile: the available information suggests that Ibn Rushd's orthodoxy was called into question, and the Sultan might have dismissed him — despite Ibn Rushd being the Sultan's personal physician and friend — to keep the situation under control (Kukkonen, 2011, pp. 495-496). Urvoy argues that "Ibn Rushd was thus the victim of a political gesture, and was sacrificed by the Sultan in order to win over the masses" (Urvoy, 1991, p. 35). It has been suggested that Ibn Rushd's criticism of the state and the position of women therein in his commentary on the *Republic* aggravated the public doubt that was cast on him and led to his exile (Rosenthal 1953, p. 252). At any event, his expulsion was short, but while his honour was restored, he did not regain his former functions and titles (Urvoy, 1998, p. 186). Ibn Rushd was brought to the Sultan's court in Marrakesh, where he died a few months later. The story goes that a mule carried his remains back to Córdoba, balanced by the weight of his books.

6. Al-Ghazālī attacks the philosophers, Ibn Sīnā and al-Fārābī, on 20 points, three of which he considered especially problematic and heretic. These three points are that the philosophers, according to al-Ghazālī, believe in the eternity of the world, claim that God has no knowledge of particulars, and that there is no bodily resurrection after death. See *Tahāfut al-Falāsifa*, translated by Kamali (1958).

7. The fact that Ibn Rushd considered both the Qur'an and philosophy as the paths to the truth even when they might seem contradictory at first was later misunderstood as the "doctrine of double truth", meaning that something could be true in religion but false in philosophy, and vice versa. This is not what Ibn Rushd meant; he meant that there are different ways to attain the same, one truth. On the double truth doctrine, see Dales (1984).

ARISTOTLE'S COMMENTATOR ON PLATO'S REPUBLIC

W ith reference to topics of women and gender, the substitution of Aristotle for Plato is quite ironic and fascinating, as the two Greek sages' views on women, family and society do not align at all.

If in Plato's perfect city, not only guardians but all groups of citizens have no private households, Aristotle, in his *Politics*, deems a family to be the building block of the city (*Politics* I.3 1253b1-1253b23).[8] In general, Aristotle, as Plato's disciple, raises in his work many objections to the *Republic*. So, as Aristotle's most eminent commentator, could Ibn Rushd not have sensed that Aristotle would have had a different idea of the ideal city? It has been argued that Ibn Rushd must have been well aware of this (Mahdi, 1991, p. 16).[9]

Importantly, the absence of the *Politics* also implies that Ibn Rushd missed Aristotle's sexist characterisation of the female: "the relation of male to female is that of natural superior to natural inferior, and that of the ruler to the ruled" (*Politics* I.V 1254b12-15).

Aristotle further defines the female deliberative faculty as "akuron" [ἄκυρον], i.e., as lacking authority. He notoriously stated that "[t]he deliberative part of the soul is entirely missing from a slave; a woman has it but it lacks authority; a child has it but it is incompletely developed" (*Politics* I.XIII 1260a4-14). Markedly different is the view that Plato expresses in his *Republic*. In fact, the supposed "gender equality" between male and female *guardians* in Plato's *Republic* has sparked abundant scholarly attention for its feminism *avant la lettre* (Vlastos, 1994; Ward, 1996; Townsend, 2017).[10]

So what did Aristotle's commentator make of Plato's female guardians? Before moving on to this question, we must mention that the Arabic manuscript of Ibn Rushd's commentary on Plato's *Republic* did not survive. The text has only come down to us through Samuel ben Judah's translation into Hebrew, of which eight manuscripts have been preserved,[11] and two Latin translations based upon the Hebrew: one by Elia del Medigo from 1491 and one by Jacob Mantino ben Samuel (Mantinus) from 1539 (Lerner, 1974, p. vii; see, in particular, footnotes 1 and 2). Two English translations of Ibn Rushd's commentary on the *Republic* have been made from the Hebrew translations, one by Rosenthal in 1956 and the other by Lerner in 1974; in the present paper, we will follow Lerner's translation of the commentary.[12]

Another methodological problem lies in the uncertainty about which text Ibn Rushd actually held in his hands. It is unlikely that he had a complete Arabic translation of Plato's *Republic* at his disposal. At any event, not a single complete Platonic work in Arabic has been transmitted to us (Reisman, 2004, p. 269).[13]

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8. We rely on Reeve's translation of Aristotle's *Politics* for all citations; see Reeve (1998).

9. Mahdi (1991) explains that "He gave no indication that this substitution presented certain problems or that Plato's Republic might not agree with the spirit or letter of Aristotle's Politics - things he, as the most knowledgeable student of Aristotle's works, must have known. He read and commented on the Nicomachean Ethics, where he could find (in bk. 6) Aristotle's main discussion of practical and political science, and on the Rhetoric, where he could find Aristotle's classification of the regimes. He was in a position to form a clear idea of Aristotle's view of political science" (p. 16).

10. While Plato's account of women is important for this topic, the complexities of modern-day interpretations of whether Plato's though is feminist or not cannot be incorporated here.

11. For information on these manuscripts, see Rosenthal (1969, pp. 2-6).

12. The commentary has also been translated into other languages, including Spanish, Portuguese and German. The commentary has also been translated into Arabic twice, both appeared in the same year, see al-Ubaidi & al-Thahbi (1998) and Chahlane & al-Jabri (1998). On the attempt to reconstruct the text in Arabic, see also Benantar (2013).

13. For Plato in the Arabic tradition, see Gutas (2012). For the Graeco-Arabic translation movement, see Gutas (1998) and Adamson (2016).

Ibn Rushd's commentary omits the dialogical element and also the context described by Plato. Supposedly, the actual text that Ibn Rushd worked with gave no clues about the general structure of Plato's original text. Most likely, Ibn Rushd wrote his commentary on the basis of just a paraphrase of Plato's work. One such paraphrase had been produced by the philosopher-physician Galen (a text of which only two fragments have come down to us). It is possible that Ibn Rushd, in fact, relied on Galen's work, which was available to him in the form of an Arabic translation made by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (Walzer, 1951, p. 2).

Ibn Rushd states clearly that he does not intend to cover every part of the *Republic*, which consists of ten books. He only wishes to deal with the scientific arguments of the work and, therefore, disregards all dialectical issues. He leaves out book one, the first half of book two, and book ten. He deems these parts unnecessary "for this science" and only briefly states what "these stories" are about (105.12). He takes the liberty of eliminating certain parts of the *Republic* and of diverging from others. Particularly notable is his deviation from Plato's text on the topic of women, where he does not simply comment on the text but also adds his own examples. Importantly, Ibn Rushd does not drift off into a more patriarchal, Aristotelian direction. On the contrary: he states that female rulers and philosophers are possible (53.24-27) and that women's competence is unknown because they do not get the necessary education (54.5-8). He judges this situation as detrimental to the flourishing of the city, and identifies it as one of the causes of the city's poverty (54.10-11).

The role of women in the Ideal State

The fragment on women is located in the chapter that Ibn Rushd called the "First Treatise"; it is there that he discusses Plato's/Socrates' striking proposal for guardian women, as presented in Book V of Plato's *Republic*. The context of the fragment is, according to Ibn Rushd's introductory statement, "the inquiry concerning how they [the guardians] copulate, the upbringing of their children, and the manner of their procreation" (52.26-29), that is, as understood by Plato/Socrates. Ibn Rushd does not always make clear when he is merely paraphrasing the text and when he adds his own reflections, but it is generally assumed that when he starts with the words "we say" he is speaking for himself,[14] while the words "he says" are used to introduce Plato's opinion (Lerner, 1974, p. xvi).

Ibn Rushd starts by saying that in order to preserve the guardian nature, the guardians must copulate with women that have a similar nature and training (52.29-53.1). In Book V of the *Republic*, the concept of "nature" is a central matter because the just state consists of everyone doing what he or she does best, i.e. functions according to his or her *nature*. At first, Socrates says that different natures must have different pursuits and that men and women have different natures (453 e). Here, "nature" indicates something that is in accordance with the body's biological sex, of which there are two: male and female.

Further on, however, the meaning of "nature" changes as Socrates says that a male and a female whose *souls* are suited for medicine have the same *nature* (454d). This time, "nature" is associated with what is not bodily visible: inner qualities, not dependent on whether a person

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14. Lerner notes that "we" is not only used as a "*pluralis maiestatis*" but "may also mean something like "we moderns" (35.12, 18-19) or "we investigators" (53.19, 29) or "we adherents of the *sharī 'a*" (63.3; 66.15) or "us Muslims" (66.22; 81.4) or "us men" (72.8) or "we Andalusians" (66.21, 97.6), or "we Córdobans" (84.22; 96.24)." He adds that this list is not exhaustive, see Lerner (1974, p. xvi).

is male or female. According to this view, there could be male and female guardians because a guardian nature can be present in either of the sexes.[15]

Ibn Rushd deems the question of male and female natures important for political science and adopts this matter in his commentary. He states that it is "[a subject] fit for investigation whether there exist among women natures resembling the natures of each and every class of citizens — and in particular the guardians — or whether women's natures are distinguished from men's natures" (53.3-4).

Just like Plato, Ibn Rushd recognises that women are generally better at some tasks. Plato mentions cooking and weaving; Ibn Rushd points out that women are better at performing music. And just like Plato, Ibn Rushd adds that even though women excel at some tasks, they are generally weaker and should be given "less recondite" tasks (53.15-19).[16] The interpretation of this important fragment hinges on the kind of task that Ibn Rushd has in mind. Does he mean that they are physically weaker (smaller bones, less muscle mass) or that they are weaker in a metaphorical sense, i.e., intellectually?

According to Catarina Belo, he means "merely physical strength, not intellectual ability" (Belo, 2009, p. 8). Belo argues that the difference in strength is the only difference between the genders that Ibn Rushd perceives (p. 11), and that they are "undoubtedly equal and identical" intellectually (p. 10). She further states that "[e]ven the physical differences between men and women do not ultimately detract from that essential identity between the genders, since women, like men, are fully rational" (p. 20).

The meaning of "essential identity", however, is far from obvious (analogous to the concept of "nature" that was mentioned before). "Full rationality" is also rather problematic: in *Faṣl al-Maqāl*, Ibn Rushd argues that philosophy is obligatory for those who are intellectually capable of exercising it and forbidden for those who have a weaker rational faculty, all the while we can assume that for Ibn Rushd, both groups have an equal "essential identity" as humans (Hourani, 1976).

In this context, it might be worth recalling that according to Aristotle, not all humans are equal intellectually: the rational part in the soul is entirely missing in slaves; it is present in women where it however "lacks authority" (it is "akuron"); and it is also present in children,[17] but in them it is not yet matured (*Politics* I.XIII 1260a4-14).[18]

Ibn Rushd did not read this quote from the *Politics*, but it is an idea present throughout Aristotelian ethics and throughout Greek philosophy. As Ayubi has shown, the notion that women are deficient in rationality is also present in Islamic ethical texts (Ayubi, 2019, pp. 76, 103-104). This categorisation is also maintained in Islamic law; besides being Muslim, one must be male and *bāligh* (must have attained *bulūgh*, the age of puberty) to qualify for guardianship (as Ibn Rushd himself noted in his *Bidāyat al-mujtahid*, p. 13), although officially documented opinions do not capture informal dynamics of authority and agency in the household and society.

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15. It might be interesting to note that this view opposes Plato´s antropogenesis in the *Timaeus*, which was written after the *Republic* and was very very well known in Arabic philosophy (Gutas, 2012). Ibn Rushd was familiar with this dialogue as well (Badawi, 1978, pp. 62-63). The *Timaeus* explains that women first came into being as reincarnated men that had led a cowardly, unrighteous life (Timaeus 90e-91a). In this view, being a woman is the opposite of a cover of one's inner qualities: it is the very visible mark of moral inferiority, the punishment for cowardice.

16. The statement that women are weaker in almost everything is often repeated in the *Republic* (451d-e, 455d, 455e, 456a, 457a-b).

17. We can assume that Aristotle means male children here.

18. Many scholars discussed this quote from the *Politics* and attempted to interpret and elucidate what Aristotle might mean by declaring female reason as "lacking authority". Cf. e.g., Horowitz, 1976; Mayhew, 2004; Fortenbaugh, 2006; Stauffer, 2008; Connell, 2016; Leunissen, 2017; Melkebeek, 2016, 2020.

Bauer points out that there probably was more room for discussion in philosophical texts, as opposed to juridical works that deal with the subject of women (Bauer, 2010, p. 10). Ibn Rushd seems to seize this opportunity for debate with both hands. He does not consider everyone capable of practising philosophy, not even all Muslim adult men. He reserves this possibility for specific, outstanding men, and he observes that there exist extraordinary women, too. From this point, he concludes that it is not impossible that there can be female philosophers and rulers (53.24-27). He also hints at the issue of women being eligible for becoming *imāma* and says that some laws denied women to be priests, whereas others rejected this restriction (53.24-29). He does not elaborate, nor does he share his own opinion, but his position on female philosophers and rulers makes the reader assume that Ibn Rushd does deem some women fit for religious leadership. However, as *Belo and* al-Jābirī *h*ave observed, Ibn Rushd is careful in any case to make sure that his philosophical commentary is not averse to Islamic law (al-Jābirī, 1995, p. 141; Belo, 2009, p. 13).

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

I T seems that Al-Andalus had a reasonably women-friendly climate compared to other parts of Europe that were under Roman law. Medieval Andalusian women had more rights in some cases than formally specified in the *sharī a*, for instance, regarding marriage contracts (Coope, 2013, p. 79). Some women were also involved (directly or indirectly) in political affairs and administration and were educated in various sciences (Sidik, Sidek, Arshad & Bakar, 2013). The emancipated status of some women could have facilitated further discussion on the social position and rights of all women. Also, some women's participation in intellectual tasks could have demonstrated to men that the former could excel in other things besides household management and childcare. Ibn Rushd says that the competence of women is unknown due to the fact that they are "placed at the service of their husbands and confined to procreation, upbringing and suckling" (54.6-8). He adds that this is why women in "these cities" (the cities of his time) are often like plants (54.8-10). He possibly uses this term because of the Aristotelian concept of a "plant soul" that is occupied with three things only: nourishment, growth, and reproduction.

Ibn Rushd discusses the negative effects of denying women the opportunity to develop their skills and competencies, and says that this situation is damaging to the city. Women's unemployment places a burden upon the men, which leads to the cities' poverty (54.10-11). Rosenthal observes that Ibn Rushd "openly attacks their [the members of the Muslim community] way of life as the result of the official attitude. It is clear that Plato's ideas must have drawn Averroes' attention to the wastage of human labour so detrimental to the State, and led him to advocate a reversal of orthodox Muslim policy. It is the more surprising that this realistic criticism of the position of women in Islam and its bad effect on the economic health of the nation should have gone unnoticed [...]." (Rosenthal, 1953, p. 252). Rosenthal's astonishment about scholarly disregard of this aspect of the commentary dates from 1953. With the rise of feminist projects in the past decades, it becomes increasingly unthinkable *not* to notice how progressive Ibn Rushd's remarks were in the twelfth century.

As Butterworth (1985, p. 26) argues, Ibn Rushd "berates his fellow citizens for the role they ascribe to women and points to the evils such a policy engenders". Butterworth also stresses that Ibn Rushd wanted the reader to know that he is speaking for himself: "To underline that he is speaking in his own name, Averroes frequently employs the first person plural and

points to the evils existing in the cities of his day because of the way women´s capacities are understood." (p. 39).

The liberty Ibn Rushd takes in deviating from the text and transcending his role of a mere commentator on Plato may indicate that the position of women was meaningful to him personally (Schirilla, 1996, p. 139). Belo (2009) says that "[t]he contribution of women to society is necessary for the advancement of the state. Most clear and noteworthy is Averroes' condemnation of the relegation of women's role to procreation since they become thereby a burden on society" (p. 11). She also states that "He urges society, in particular his Muslim contemporaries, to allow women a greater role in public affairs, for the benefit of the entire state" (p. 20).

And indeed, Ibn Rushd's blaming the city for not maximising women's employment can also be interpreted as a concern exclusively about the wastage of human labour, and his insistence on advantages for the state if women are drawn fully into economic life. The assertion that women could fulfil other roles for the good of the city does not necessarily entail raising their status.

Druart observes that Ibn Rushd follows al-Fārābī in neglecting those who are not "useful" to the city (Druart, 2003, p. 106). Also Lerner suggests that in Ibn Rushd's commentary, "the implications for the chronically ill — whether in body or in soul — are quickly drawn, though with a certain ambiguity as to whether killing or suicide is indicated (37.15-38.18)" (Lerner, 1974, p. xix). This implies Ibn Rushd saw no need to care for people with chronic defects, as they would never attain complete virtue and be fully *just*. Going further into this direction Ibn Rushd deems it to be the physician's task to distinguish chronic defects from curable ones. People with chronic defects who wish to live their lives while not being productive are called "idlers" by Ibn Rushd. He adds that some people think they should be killed, and others think they should be spared (38.13-17). As in the question of female priesthood, Ibn Rushd is cautious about disclosing his own opinion.[19]

Besides criticising his own society, Ibn Rushd also inserts another example to make his point, albeit a strange one: he says that from the inhabitants of the "City of Women", some women are fit to participate in guardian tasks (53.19-24). To be sure, no mention is made of any "City of Women" in Plato's *Republic*. Lerner considers this example as "evidence to show that women can hold their own in war" (Lerner, 1974, p. xix). This is certainly an unexpected piece of evidence, even more so because Ibn Rushd explicitly said he intended to only deal with scientific arguments, not with "stories". He doesn't say that some women from, say, Córdoba, are fit for warfare, but women from the City of Women apparently are. It is puzzling that Ibn Rushd adds this kind of example: a fictitious place where there are no men, presumably far beyond the borders of al-Andalus and even beyond the Islamic world. Obviously, this "City of Women" is a reference to a mythical realm, functioning as a contrast to the situation of his own city. Again, we wonder whether Ibn Rushd wanted to express something that could not be articulated more clearly.

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19. In Medieval Islamic (political) philosophy, an obscurity in formulations is frequently maintained on purpose. The *falāsifa* were often working under unsympathetic conditions and had to be careful to present their views as perfectly in line with Islam (Leaman, 2002, p. 210) (this type of thoughtfulness was of course not limited to Islamic philosophers specifically, cf. Siger of Brabant or Boethius of Dacia, the so-called "Latin Averroists"). It follows that the philosophers were skilled in writing their texts in such a way as to appease the ignorant, but to enable the dedicated, persistent reader to get across a layer of orthodoxy and to receive the real message and intentions. This "esoteric interpretation" or "esoteric hermeneutics" has been developed by Leo Strauss (Drury, 1985; Parens, 2016).

In conclusion of his discussion of Plato's views on the guardians, Ibn Rushd repeats that it is evident that if women and men are to perform the same tasks as guardians, they are selected because of their similar natures and should receive the same training (54.14-18).

Concluding remarks on Ibn Rushd's statements concerning women

NO trace of Aristotle's notoriously discriminating views on women is to be detected in Ibn Rushd's commentary on Plato. Discussing the *Republic*, Ibn Rushd takes the liberty to deviate from Plato's text — while commenting upon the *Republic* or on a summary of it — and inserts a few notable statements. Ibn Rushd says a lot more than any reader could expect, and claims that we cannot really assess the potential of women as long as women do not fully participate in social life and do not work as men in the cities of his time. He is remarkably outspoken about the effects of excluding women from education and work; he goes as far as to say that, in such a way, they become a burden to men and the city's welfare. At the same time, Ibn Rushd treads carefully, for instance, when he brings up the question of female priesthood or mentions possible attitudes towards disabled people, refraining from giving his own judgment. As for the functions that women could fulfil, Ibn Rushd shows no hesitation and unequivocally states that capable rulers and philosophers can live among the female kind.

Several scholars have claimed that Ibn Rushd "agrees" with Plato, as if some unequivocal, clearly pronounced statement is the object of his approval. Some side notes have to be made about the proto-feminist thought in Plato's *Republic*. The elite women that Plato imagines do away with their femininity in several respects in order to join the guardian class, and they are selected as guardians precisely for their similarity to men (Price, 1997, p. 167; Buchan, 1999, p. 80). In this light scholars have argued, among other things, that the *Republic* does not elevate the status of the female, that the best woman does not surpass the level of the second-best man, and that typically female skills like cooking and weaving are ridiculed.[20] Much of the discussion about feminism in Plato essentially boils down to the question of what constitutes feminism (Sheppard, 2009, pp. 74-75). Therefore, the point of view that Ibn Rushd "agrees fully with the Platonic thesis of gender equality" (Urvoy, 1998, p. 152) is problematic and unsatisfactory.

Ibn Rushd can be credited for his open-mindedness and courage, regardless of whether he agreed or disagreed with the ideas that Plato put into Socrates' mouth. After all, the notion of female guardians was shocking even to Plato's fellow Athenians, and the *Republic*'s contents were shunned by other scholars even centuries after Ibn Rushd freely discussed them in his commentaries.

Ibn Rushd's professional versatility — philosopher, medical doctor, and jurist — allowed him to develop a dynamic perspective on the gender question as well as on political organisation in general. This includes an insistence on the vital role of the specialist: at one point, he says that it is the physician's task to discern whether someone is "chronically defective" or not, and thus whether someone could be of use to the city or not. His main argument for the education of women can be interpreted in this sense, too, as an expression of his concern for the

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20. Socrates puts it this way: "Do you know of anything practiced by human beings, then, at which the male sex is not superior to the female in all those ways? Or must we make a long story of it by discussing weaving and the preparation of baked and boiled food - the very pursuits in which the female sex is thought to excel, and in which its defeat would expose it to the greatest ridicule of all?" (*Republic*, 455c-d; also, Blair, 2017, p. 85; Sissa, 2002, p. 99).

waste of labour force inherent to half of the city's population. Possibly, Ibn Rushd's perspective on the position and potential of women was also influenced by his medical profession or motivated by his experiences as a *qāḍī*.

The issue of women is not the centrepiece of the commentary, although it draws increasingly more attention because *we* attach great value to it. Several scholars have interpreted Ibn Rushd's statements as expressing a certain political agenda, arguing that he wanted the community to discover women's talents or that he felt strongly about improving women's lives (ʿAṭīyah, 1996; Harhash, 2014, 2016). But we know nothing of Ibn Rushd's motivations, and any further judgment must be suspended. Leaman (1997, p. 199) even accuses certain scholars of trying to manipulate Ibn Rushd's language in favour of the conclusion that he was an early feminist.[21]

The uncertainty about Ibn Rushd's underlying motivations and influences does not detract from the value of his reflections on the possibilities for women. If the progressive principle of similar education for people with similar skills — regardless of sex — had been turned into policy, the history of women (of Al-Andalus, at least) might have been very different.

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21. Leaman speaks of "the clever ways in which Butterworth, Lerner and Rosenthal all seek to manipulate the forms of language in which he expressed himself" (Leaman, 1997, p.199).

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ГЕНДЕРНЫЕ И СЕКСУАЛЬНЫЕ ПРАВА В РАННЕМ ИСЛАМЕ

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Когда ранние исламские юристы излагали законы о браке, произошла кодификация гендерной модели супружеских прав и обязанностей, которая наделила мужчин бо́льшими привилегиями, нежели женщин. Аналогичное развитие произошло и в отношении сексуальных прав, поскольку идея сексуального удовлетворения женщин получила лишь второстепенное значение. Специалисты этого периода исламской истории утверждают, что гендерные идеологии, преобладавшие в раннем аббасидском обществе, которые позволили андроцентрическое определение ислама, следует рассматривать как главную причину создания такого неравенства в системе института брака. Однако гендерные идеологии Аббасидов, вопреки распространенным представлениям, не были однородными. Данная статья обсуждает две основные тенденции в понимании женской сексуальности, существовавшие в ранний период Аббасидской империи. Первая, андроцентрическая, тенденция преследует в первую очередь обеспечение сексуального удовлетворения мужчин. Эта тенденция была противоположна другому подходу, который в большей мере учитывал потребности женщин. Этот подход развивался в ряде литературных жанров, включая медицинскую, популярную, просветительскую литературу и труды по этике. Такого рода работы подчеркивали важность женского сексуального здоровья и продвигали идею женского удовольствия как необходимого элемента крепкого брака и супружеского счастья. Как видно из источников, проанализированных в данной статье, некоторые аспекты этого более благоприятного для женщин подхода к сексуальности были приняты во внимание в более поздних юридических заключениях, направленных на исправление явных ситуаций неравенства в социальном институте брака.

Ключевые слова: *сексуальные права, женщины, брак, империя Аббасидов, хадисы, медицина*

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GENDER AND SEXUAL RIGHTS IN EARLY ISLAM

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When early Islamic jurists outlined the marriage law, they codified a gendered model of conjugal rights and duties that privileged men over women. A similar development also took place regarding sexual rights as women's pleasure and sexual gratification became secondary to those of men. Specialists in this period of Islamic history have argued that the gender ideologies prevalent in the early Abbasid society, which enabled an androcentric definition of Islam, should be seen as the primary cause for the inequality within the Islamic marriage system. This paper aims to show that Abbasid gender ideologies, contrary to popular descriptions, were not homogenous. Two major trends in understanding female sexuality during the early Abbasid period will be discussed. The first, androcentric trend that focused primarily on male sexual gratification was in conflict with a more women-friendly attitude; the latter was advocated in a number of literary genres, including medical handbooks, popular stories, educational and ethics literature. These works accentuated the importance of female sexual health and favoured female pleasure as a necessary element for mutual sexual satisfaction and marital happiness. The paper illustrates that some aspects from this more women-friendly approach to sexuality were adopted in later legal opinions that sought to correct the most visible cases of inequality in the social institution of marriage.

Keywords: *Sexual rights, women, marriage, Abbasid empire, ḥadīth, medicine*

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INTRODUCTION: ABBASID SOCIETY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

When discussing women's sexual rights in Islam, many scholars and activists have pointed out the crucial role of Abbasid society, especially the first centuries of Abbasid rule (750 — c. 950 CE), in formalising what came to be regarded as 'permitted' and 'prohibited' in Muslims' marital life. It was during this period that Islam became the majority religion in many of the regions governed by Muslim rulers. Moreover, the early Abbasid era witnessed the end of the formative period of Islamic law and brought about the classical period of *tafsīr* tradition and early canonisation of Sunni and Shiʿi *ḥadīth* traditions. As Islamic

law gradually became formalised in the Abbasid empire, mores and values of its society influenced individual agents, such as jurists selecting *ḥadīth*s and Qur'an interpretations for legal guidance. Egyptian-American scholar Leila Ahmed, in her seminal book *Women and Gender in Islam* (1992) that analyses the roots of gender inequality in the Islamic legal system, argues that the gender ideology of the Abbasid society enabled an androcentric definition of Islam, as Abbasid legal authorities "interpreted the religion as intending to institute androcentric laws and an androcentric vision in all Muslim societies through time" (p. 67). These androcentric laws allowed men an easy divorce, sexual access to four wives and an unlimited number of slave concubines (and for Shi'i men, also an unlimited number of temporary wives); whereas Muslim women had to be compliant and (almost) constantly sexually available. According to Ahmed, the gender ideology in Abbasid society, especially among its dominant urban classes, was the product of an unfortunate combination of misogynist attitudes and practices that existed in the area before the Islamic conquests and the enormous wealth and slaves that were brought in by the conquests. Slavery existed worldwide at the time, but due to its riches, the Abbasid empire became a leading market for the slave trade. Moreover, concubinage with slave women was considered legal and became the standard practice for affluent men. This context enabled rich men to keep large harems with numerous slave concubines, in line with earlier practices among Persian elites (pp. 83-87).

Ahmed was not the first scholar to emphasise the detrimental impact of the Abbasid slave system on the rights of free Muslim women. The pioneering scholar of Arab women's history, Nabia Abbott, argued in her book on Abbasid imperial women that "the trio of polygamy, concubinage, and seclusion of women" under the early Abbasids resulted in circumscribed lives for free-born women and had a degenerative effect on upper-class men (Abbott, 1946, p. 8). According to her, these social phenomena brought about a decline in social and moral standards — a process that had begun already in the early Umayyad caliphate, when the normalisation of slave concubinage and large harems among the elite jeopardised the dignity of free Arab women. Ahmed, who builds on Abbott's scholarship, adds that the access to slave concubines during the Abbasid era was a contributing factor to gender discrimination in the emerging legal system. Men became used to this kind of relationship with women in which they were, by definition, masters; the result was a blurring of the categories of 'woman' and 'slave' (Ahmed, 1992, pp. 85, 86). The Moroccan feminist Fatima Mernissi also suggested that the sexual mores of Abbasid high society in general and the institution of slave concubinage, in particular, had a long-standing impact on women's rights in Islam. Free Arab women in the early Islamic community and the Umayyad caliphate were, in Mernissi's view, independent and they often exerted political influence. However, women's political position changed profoundly during the Abbasid era due to the emergence of influential royal concubines: "From this point on, on the political stage, women were no longer anything but courtesans" (Mernissi, 1996, p. 84).

In her study on marriage and slavery in early Islam, the American scholar Kecia Ali (2010) examined Abbasid legal texts on marriage and argued that they constructed an idea of marriage as a form of ownership. Many legal terms in marriage law were taken from the semantic field of commercial transactions, and the same terminology was used for signifying both the process of buying a slave and marrying a woman. For example, the term *milk* ('ownership') is used both for ownership of slaves and for a man's authority over a woman after paying the dowry, which gives him *milk* over his wife's sexual capacity. It was the *milk* over a woman that made sex with her lawful, whether she was a wife or a slave concubine (Ali, 2010).

In my book, *Female Sexuality in the Early Medieval Islamic World* (2020), I set out to investigate theories about and attitudes towards female sexuality in a broader range of literary works produced in the ninth and tenth centuries (the third and fourth *hijrī* centuries). I argue that the 'gender ideology' of the Abbasid empire was not a homogenous but complex phenomenon and that there were conflicting views on women's sexual rights. In fact, the androcentric focus on male sexual gratification, demonstrated by the asymmetrical division of legal rights and duties in regard to sexual pleasure and satisfaction, was in contest with a more women-friendly attitude to sexuality in other disciplines. In this article, I discuss two major tendencies regarding attitudes towards female sexuality during this period. Both these tendencies can be labelled as Islamic in the sense that their advocates were Muslims (or they wrote for Muslim patrons), and they, likely, believed that their writings were in line with Islamic norms. The first tendency is the above-mentioned predisposition towards androcentric interpretations of authoritative texts, predominantly represented by jurisprudence, which disregarded women's need for intimacy and focused primarily on that of men. The other tendency, to the contrary, accentuated the importance of female sexual health and promoted female pleasure as a necessary element for mutual sexual satisfaction and marital happiness. This second tendency was represented by a broader range of texts, including medical handbooks, belles-lettres, ethical-educational anthologies, and manuals that targeted the upper classes and were written by scholars and writers active in the imperial court. Therefore, this second tendency seems to represent an equally if not more influential gender ideology among the Abbasid elite in the period under discussion.

ABBASID MEDICAL DISCOURSE ON SEXUALITY

AS the legal principles regulating sexuality and marriage were taking their definite shape, the Abbasid caliphs initiated an extraordinary translation movement. This movement instigated the development of natural sciences, medicine, and philosophy in the Islamic world. A systematic Islamic medicine based on Greek medical science took form, and Islamic physicians embraced medical theories that circulated in the area since late Antiquity, such as ideas on sex differences and reproduction. One of the prominent theories of this kind in the field of sexuality was the emphasis on sexual health and pleasure. Following their Greek predecessors, writers of Islamic medical handbooks discussed reproductive health and connections between sexual activity and general health; these handbooks were full of suggested medical treatments for sexual dysfunctions and recipes for aphrodisiacs. Muslim physicians believed that abstinence could cause health problems and that sexual health was a central element impacting the general state of the human body. It was generally considered that sexual intercourse with moderation was necessary for good physical and mental health (Myrne, 2020, pp. 34-37).

One of the ideas inherited from Greek medicine and natural philosophy was the two-seed theory, which maintained that both men and women emitted sperms and that these sperms had to mingle in order for a child to be conceived. The theory was contested in Greek natural philosophy, but Islamic physicians in the Abbasid caliphate seemed to have adopted it unanimously. The theory was also accepted by Islamic jurists, which had an impact on purity laws. For example, the mandatory full-body ritual purification (*ghuzl*) after nocturnal emission (*iḥtilām*), that is, ejaculation other than during intercourse, was also applied to women and supported by *ḥadīth*s included in all canonical collections. Notably, according to this theory, women's orgasm was essential for procreation. Medical authors' interest in sexual

medicine in general and acceptance of the two-seed idea, in particular, fostered a focus on female sexuality. Most medical handbooks devoted a section to gynaecology and women's reproductive health. Women were believed to face higher risks of contracting dangerous diseases if they abstained from sexual intercourse. One such disease, mentioned by all early Islamic physicians, was uterine suffocation (Myrne, 2020, pp. 28-31). This illness was believed to be caused either by dangerous vapours produced by the dammed-up semen or by an upward womb contraction, which blocked the respiratory tract and caused suffocation. Female bodies were, therefore, seen as more vulnerable to consequences of sexual abstinence than male bodies.

The unanimous acceptance of the two-seed theory led physicians to emphasise the importance of mutual sexual pleasure, as both partners had to ejaculate sperms in order for conception to take place, preferably simultaneously. Regular sexual intercourse was also seen as the best way to prevent diseases in women caused by dammed-up semen. Therefore, al-Rāzī (d. 925 or 932), a prominent Islamic medical author from the early period, among others, gave advice to men on how to stimulate their female partner and how to recognise the signs of her reaching climax (Myrne, 2020, p. 34). Intercourse was seen as particularly beneficial for women's health in other circumstances as well. For example, some physicians claimed that intercourse was essential during pregnancy in order to keep the body temperature balanced and avoid miscarriage. Al-Rāzī, in particular, recommended intercourse for pregnant women approaching their delivery date, arguing that the resulting moist would facilitate childbirth (Myrne, 2020, p. 29).

THE FOCUS ON WOMEN'S PLEASURE IN LITERARY WORKS

AS we have seen above, the medical theory that enjoyed widespread application in the ninth and tenth centuries, emphasised the importance of sexual gratification for physical and mental health: physicians even advised men on how to ensure their wives' pleasure. These kinds of ideas were taken up also by literary works of the period. Although Abbasid society was clearly patriarchal — marriages were male-dominated, and women were supposed to obey their husbands — Abbasid belletrist and popular literature was rich with stories and anecdotes favouring female sexual pleasure: for instance, according to popular Arabic accounts, sexual intercourse is the best means of reconciliation between spouses (Myrne, 2010, pp. 152-153). Such stories were often gathered in *adab* compendia (ethical-educational and entertaining anthologies).

There was also a recurrent idea that women, by nature, had more sexual desire than men. Hypersexual women featured in many popular stories and literary traditions, many of which suggested that sexual abstinence could cause madness in women. This idea was most likely inherited from the works produced in Late Antiquity. One particular saying that circulated in Arabic-language literature claimed that if the sexual desire was divided into ten parts, then women enjoyed nine of the ten and men only one.[1] A similar idea was transmitted through

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1. The idea was probably borrowed from Greek mythology. In Greek sources, it was attributed to prophet Tiresias, who lived as a woman for seven years. This Greek myth is found in *Bibliotheca*, attributed to Pseudo-Apollodorous, probably written in the first or second century CE (Myrne, 2020, pp. 57-59). A similar story from India of the same historical period introduced a man who was transformed into a woman against his will but preferred to maintain his feminine nature when given a chance to become a man again. More information on the story is available in *Anushasana Parva*, the thirteenth book of *Mahabharata*. Cf. Dhand, 2008, p. 139. In Muslim literature, the story has a Persian pre-Islamic origin and features a wise woman called Bunyāndukht, who gives advice on sex and shares her expertise. Cf. Ibn al-Nadīm, 2014; Ibn Naṣr, 2019.

a *ḥadīth* that circulated in at least two versions, in the Sunni and Shiʿi traditions. The Andalusian Māliki scholar Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853) quoted a *ḥadīth* saying that God created ten parts of *shahwa* (sexual desire) and then embedded nine parts into women and one part — into men (cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, 1992, p. 183). The Twelver Shiʿi scholar al-Kulaynī (d. 939-940) devoted a section to women's nine shares of sexual desire in his *ḥadīth* collection *Kitāb al-Kāfī*. He quoted the same *ḥadīth* as Ibn Ḥabīb but attributed it to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (d. 661), adding that God gave women bashfulness, which made it possible for them to control their desire: "God created ten parts of *shahwa*, and then made nine parts in women and one part in men. Had God not given them bashfulness in proportion to their sexual appetite, every man would have nine women clinging to him" (cf. al-Kulaynī, 1981, p. 338-339; also, Myrne, 2020, p. 58).

The notion of a hypersexual woman borders to misogyny, not the least because it presupposes that women are ruled by their bodily appetites. On the other hand, this notion obliges men to take women's desires into account. From the tenth century onwards, a specific literary genre took shape that advised men on sexual matters. It combined medical knowledge with a description of various techniques, philosophy and theology with poetry and amusing anecdotes. The works in this genre formed Islamic sexual ethics in the broadest sense, aiming at enlightening the reader and teaching him (and sometimes her) good marital behaviour and sexual etiquette. The oldest extant work in this genre, *Encyclopaedia of Pleasure* (*Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha*), advocates mutual satisfaction as a core ingredient in an affectionate relationship and a necessity for a happy marriage. The work was probably written in the ninth century by a certain ʿAlī ibn Naṣr. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about the author, except that he was a *kātib*, a secretary, perhaps, in the Buyid administration.[2] He relied on ninth-century courtly Arabic literature, scientific and erotic texts, written in or translated to Arabic from Greek, Syriac, Persian, and Sanskrit. Drawing on various sources, the author argued that a loving and happy marriage could only be achieved if the wife was sexually gratified, which was the husband's responsibility. Like most scholars of his time, he acknowledged the two-seed theory, but, according to him, the mingling of the two sperms was necessary not only for conceiving a child but also for maintaining a loving and harmonious relationship. Consequently, he instructed his male readers on how to achieve simultaneous orgasm with their wives. Alī ibn Naṣr suggested that a man should seek women's love and know how to please them; but that he should never force himself upon a woman but instead endeavour to make her desire him (Myrne 2020, p. 34-35). ʿAlī ibn Naṣr recognised this code of behaviour as part of Islamic sexual ethics. According to him, God granted women a greater share of desire so that they submitted to their husband's sexual advances. Thus, reproduction depended on women's readiness to have intercourse; coercion was not an option. Women's enthusiasm was also seen as a prerequisite for male sexual pleasure: because free women were expected to be bashful, authors of erotic manuals instructed men on how to recognise signs of arousal (Myrne, 2020, p. 34).

Predictably, lustful women were often featured in erotic literature, but not only there: an ideal woman was described as passionate and lascivious across many genres and disciplines (Myrne, 2020, pp. 36, 64, 82-85). Such an image was also endorsed in *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* texts that directed women to see only their husbands as an object of lust; bashfulness and endurance were supposed to be women's instruments of controlling their excessive sexual appetite. According to a *ḥadīth* attributed by al-Kulaynī to the Prophet, an ideal woman is chaste

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2. Like most works in this genre, *Jawāmiʿ al-Ladhdha* by ʿAlī ibn Naṣr lacks a critical edition. The best available edition is that of ʿAbdallāh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Sūdānī (2019). For more on the issues related to women in this book, see Myrne, 2020, Ch. 2.

(ʿafīfa) but lustful (ghalima) towards her husband (al-Kulaynī, 1981, p. 324); a similar saying is attributed to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib by the ninth-century author Ibn Qutayba (cf. Ibn Qutayba, 1930, pp. 2, 4). Female companions in Paradise, described in Qur'anic exegesis, are imagined in a similar way. According to the sources quoted by al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) in his famous *tafsīr*, female companions of a righteous Muslim in Paradise, whether they are earthly wives transformed to young virgins or houris, will love and obey their husband, feel sexual attraction to him and act affectionately towards him (cf. al-Ṭabarī, 2001, pp. 323-328).[3]

Ḥadīth and tafsīr literature on women's pleasure

Although sources recognised this lustfulness in women, this knowledge did not necessarily result in advocating their right to pleasure. The main body of *ḥadīth* literature produced in the early Abbasid period focuses primarily on men's pleasure (to be discussed further). Only occasionally was there a mention of the need to seek women's or partners' mutual satisfaction. For instance, one early *ḥadīth*, quoted by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 827), drew attention to women's sexual needs. According to al-Ṣanʿānī, the Prophet Muḥammad instructed, "When the man has intercourse with his wife he should give her dowry [*mahr*], and if he accomplishes his, but she has not accomplished her want, he should not hurry her" (al-Ṣanʿānī, 1970, p. 194). The *ḥadīth* instructs that the husband is not only obliged to give the wife monetary compensation after consummation of the marriage, but he should also see to her sexual satisfaction. The meaning is even more apparent in a later rendering of the *ḥadīth*, found in the collections of the tenth-century scholars Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī (cf. Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī, 1989, p. 208-209) and Ibn ʿAdī (cf. Ibn ʿAdī, n.d., p. 150). After "he should not hurry her", they add, "until she accomplishes her want", and, Ibn ʿAdī continues, "like he wants to accomplish his want". With this addition, the *ḥadīth* puts together the payment of *mahr* and the wife's sexual gratification and clarifies that both are her conjugal right.

As pointed out by Karen Bauer (2007), a few Qur'an commentators, drawing on verse 2:228, concluded that women had equal rights to intimacy and sex. The phrase *lahunna mithlu 'lladhī ʿalayhinna* ("And women shall have rights similar to the rights against them")[4] meant, according to them, that both men and women had the same rights to sexual gratification in marriage (Bauer 2007, pp. 63-64). Al-Shāfiʿī, as quoted by al-Naysābūrī (d. 1065), added that free wives had their right not only to sex but also to receive it promptly and without the husband's complaint (as much as men had the right to ask the same from their wives); a similar interpretation is offered by philologist and Qur'an interpreter al-Zajjāj (d. 923) (Bauer, 2007, 58-106).

However, these offered explanations are in contradiction to the dominant reading of this verse, which suggests that women have rights but not of the same kind as men do. This tendency to interpret this excerpt in a way unfavourable to women was prompted by the subsequent phrase to verse 2:228: *wa-lil-rijāl ʿalayhinna darajatun* ("but men have a degree (of advantage) over them"), which was understood as a legitimisation of male domination in marriage.

A discursive shift towards privileging men's right to pleasure could also be recognised in the widely-accepted interpretation of verse 2:223 (at least in the reading of its first part): *nisāʾukum ḥarthun lakum fa-ʾtū ḥarthakum ʾannā shiʾtum* ("Your wives are as a tilth unto

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3. More on the topic of female companions, see Rustomji, 2009.
4. Translation of Qur'anic verses into English here and elsewhere in the paper draws on the work by ʿAbdullāh Yūsuf ʿAlī. Cf. https://quran.com/. Accessed November 11, 2021.

you; so approach your tilth when or how ye will"). According to the early *tafsīr* by Muqātil ibn Sulaymān (d. 767), a clash of sexual norms between the Jews and the newly arrived Muslims in Yathrib was the motive behind the revelation of verse 2:223 (cf. Ibn Sulaymān, 1975, p. 192). When the Muslims settled down in Medina, they were told by the local Jewish inhabitants that the only permitted sex position was the man-on-top position with the woman lying on her back. Muslims complained about this to the Prophet, for they were used to having more freedom in sexual matters. Then came the revelation of the verse and gave Muslims permission to have sex the way they wished, as long as it was vaginal. Muqātil's interpretation is, above all, a polemic against the Jews; he presents Islam as a more sex-positive religion than Judaism, with more lenient rules for marital relations. Implicitly, this interpretation is also favourable for women because, at least in theory, they might also enjoy varied sex life.

However, later interpretations of this verse ensured that the freedom regarding when and how to engage in intercourse was given to men only. Dominant readings of this excerpt moved towards an invalidation of women's consent; they also legitimised sexual coercion under the premise that men's gain in sexual enjoyment was women's loss. Some interpretations from the latter half of the ninth century onwards granted a man the right to choose a sex position if his wife refused to consent to his sexual wishes. Hence, a man was given the right to have sex with his wife the way he wanted, even if this happened while his wife explicitly refused to engage in the act (Myrne, 2020, pp. 73-77). Such discriminatory explanations became widespread, and in the tradition-based exegesis by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/ 1505), as many as 36 *ḥadīth*s out of 101 discuss situations when one or several women oppose their husband's sexual behaviour. This interpretational shift made women obliged to submit to their husband's sexual wishes, even when they felt aversion.

Early legal discourse on sexual rights

The first part of the discussion presented in this paper has shown that literary and medical work produced in the early Abbasid period did recognise women's rights to pleasure, sexual desire and marital happiness. Yet as early jurists outlined the marriage law according to a gendered division of conjugal rights, they disregarded traditions that favoured women's sexual gratification. Instead, the juridical norm shifted the focus to men's right to pleasure and sexual satisfaction, grounding their legislation on selected *ḥadīth*s and *tafsīr*. In doing so, they ignored the medical advice on female seed — that severe diseases could be caused by the withholding of female orgasm —despite the overall acceptance of the two-seed theory. Out of the two commitments mentioned in the *ḥadīth* quoted by ʿAbd al-Razzāq above — paying the dowry after consummation of the marriage and seeking the wife's pleasure — only the first one became obligatory. The payment had to take place within a year, but according to the majority of early jurists, men were not legally required to have intimate relations with their wives after that. Although juridical prescriptions admitted that women might have sexual needs, they stated that wives had no legal claim to sex. Muslim wives had the right to financial support as long as they obeyed their husbands, which meant that women had to be always sexually available and did not leave the house without their husband's permission. The wife was legally prohibited from rejecting her husband or doing anything that forbad sexual intercourse, such as performing a voluntary fast (Ali, 2010, p. 95). Moreover, polygyny was legalised as the norm and slave concubinage — endorsed, which further enhanced men's sexual privilege.

A husband's sexual claims on his wife were supported by a number of ḥadīths that were later added to canonical collections. According to these ḥadīths, women were required to submit to their husband's sexual demands in all circumstances, even those that were not most convenient for having intercourse: for instance, when women were cooking or sitting on a camel's saddle (Myrne, 2020, pp. 72-73). The legal term for the husband's sexual claim on his wife was istimtāʿ, meaning 'enjoyment' or istimtāʿ bihā 'derive pleasure from her' (Ali, 2010, p. 71). Implicit in this legal term was his right to have sex with her in a way that gave him pleasure. The term acquired this meaning through the opinions of authoritative scholars who maintained that pleasing and obeying her husband were a women's obligation; wives, for instance, were required to ensure they always looked beautiful and attractive in their husbands' presence. According to Shiʿi scholar al-Kulaynī, a man had the right to demand from his wife that she wore pleasant perfume and put on her most beautiful clothes; women were supposed to appear before their husbands in such a way early in the morning, as well as late in the evening (cf. al-Kulaynī, 1981, p. 508). Karen Bauer also provides an example of philologist and Qur'an interpreter al-Wāḥidī (d. 468/1076) from Nishapur, who saw as signs of wifely disobedience not only a refusal to sexual intercourse but also inattention to things that enhanced a man's sexual experience (Bauer, 2007, p. 162). By and large, sexual coercion in marriage was not prohibited, but, ideally, a woman was expected to submit to her husband willingly and even happily. Some scholars acknowledged that this was not easy to achieve. Al-Ṭabarī, for instance, admitted that men could not command their wives to love them, even if they wished that; women were legally bound only to obey them (Bauer, 2007, p. 162).

Despite this close attention to men's rights, Muslim jurists were not unaware of women's needs for intimacy. They stipulated that a wife had the right to companionship and that a husband had to divide his time equally between his free wives. A slave concubine could not make such a claim, and her master could spend as much (or as little) time with her as he wished, even if it meant relegating less time for his free wives. The claim to companionship did not necessarily mean sexual relations, and a husband did not have to treat multiple wives fairly in regard to sex. Yet, not all jurists were unanimous in this matter. Whereas al-Shāfiʿī (d. 820) denied a wife any claims to intimate relations, Mālikī jurists acknowledged that total deprivation of sexual intimacy could harm her, and could therefore become a ground for divorce (Ali, 2010, pp. 118-119). Thus, it was not so much a woman's natural desire that grounded her right to intimacy, but a possibility of harm being inflicted, caused by sexual deprivation. The kind of harm, which remained undefined, had to be evaluated individually. Jurists did not negotiate a minimum frequency for a husband to have sexual relations with his wife. As a result, women had little legal support if they wanted to escape a sexless marriage; and when they did have reasonable grounds for a court appeal, their requests had to be processed on a case-by-case basis.

We can assume that Muslim jurists regarded a husband's sexual intimacy with his wives as an issue of moral duty. However, as long as only men's rights were legally valid and endorsed, the resulting inequality was blatant. The asymmetric division of sexual rights and responsibilities in early Islamic legal discourse affects the overall institute of marriage. Some jurists, despite the majority consensus, however, made some concessions to accommodate women's non-material needs: eventually, in a number of legal schools, a wife was given the right to have conjugal relations with her husband at least once within a fixed period, commonly every fourth month (Ali, 2010). Another example of a concession to women's rights is a legal discussion around a common method of contraception through withdrawal (coitus interruptus).

If early jurists justified the practice primarily by arguing that men had the right to engage in sexual relations with their slaves without necessarily begetting children, in the debates of the later period, a woman's right to pleasure was placed higher: a husband was legally required to get permission from his wife before withdrawing, for free women could claim their right to have children and experience satisfaction of their sexual desire. Such a view was, for instance, advocated by twelfth-century Ḥanafī jurist al-Kāsānī (cf. al-Kāsānī, 2003, p. 334) and Ḥanbalī jurist Ibn Qudāma (d. 1223). The latter wrote that the practice of *coitus interruptus* with free wives was *makrūh* (a disliked but not forbidden act) because it resulted in less progeny and "cut the pleasure of a woman" (cf. Ibn Qudāma, 1997, p. 228). Shāfiʿī jurist al-Shīrāzī (d. 1083), to the contrary, maintained that a man did not need his wives' consent, because free women had only the right to pleasure (which they still could experience), but not to children (cf. al-Shīrāzī, 1992, p. 235).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The discussion presented in the paper shows that in the early period of Islam, several major assumptions constituted the based for safeguarding women's sexual satisfaction in marriage: ideas borrowed from medical discourse about possible health risks connected to sexual abstinence; a popular notion of women possessing higher (or a bigger share of) libido than men; and requirements postulated in ethics literature that it was a husband's duty to satisfy his wives' sexual desires. Legal discourse, as long as it recognised the notion of female seed, implicitly suggested that women were particularly vulnerable to health risks caused by sexual deprivation. However, the dominant voice among early Islamic jurists advocated a gendered model of conjugal rights and duties. As a result, men were given practically exclusive rights to sexual satisfaction, whereas women could by law claim means of material support. Such a division of rights was grounded in interpretations of a number of selected *ḥadīth*s that privileged men, in general, whereas other traditions that could be seen as promoting mutual pleasure were disregarded. This development was remarkable considering the weight that was put on women's sexual appetite and desire in the early Islamic world. Also, there were examples from other patriarchal societies, where legislators handled women's need for sexual satisfaction without necessarily challenging the gender hierarchy: in Jewish law, for instance, a wife's duty was to manage the household, not to be sexually available; it also prohibited sexual coercion and allowed a wife to claim regular sex if she desired it (Biale, 1984; Boyarin, 1993).

The question is: why did Islamic jurists opt for such an asymmetric distribution of conjugal rights and duties? This probably happened because the legal community was strictly homosocial, i.e. male-dominated, and it provided responses to 'social illnesses' from a clearly androcentric perspective. In order to confront the presumably 'loose' morals in Abbasid urban centres, early Islamic law standardised marital behaviour that minimised risks of engaging in extramarital sex. A wife was restricted from going out on her own and, usually, had few chances to do so. A man, who could move freely, was believed to face many temptations, for instance, through the accessibility of courtesans and possibilities to engage in relations with slaves of both genders. It is against this background that we should understand the jurists' appeal to Muslim wives to be sexually attractive and make efforts to seduce their husbands.

The outcome, which was obviously disadvantageous for women, drew on a combination of two systems, i.e., two different conceptions of sexual rights. As Azam (2015) identified

them, these systems were specific to the Near East in the period of the Late Antiquity. The first system — the "proprietary conception" — regarded a woman's sexuality as a commodity that belonged to the male kin or her husband. When a woman was married off, the groom typically paid a bridewealth to her father or other male kin. The bridewealth was the price for her sexual, and thereby reproductive, capacity. According to the second conception, which Azam labelled as the "theocentric conception", sexuality was governed by divine law. Each individual, regardless of gender, was seen as a moral agent accountable to God for their actions. Consequently, a woman, not her kin, was the 'owner' of her sexuality, as she was responsible in front of God for what she did with it. The theocentric conception came to the Near East with the early monotheistic religions and was later embraced by Islam.

The classical Islamic schools of law adopted a mix of both conceptions. A woman was regarded as an individual moral subject, but she could not contract a marriage herself; her father or another close male relative had to be her guardian and marry her off.[5] If she was a virgin, her consent was not needed, which meant that her father could legally marry her off against her will. Dowry and maintenance were understood as monetary compensation, in accordance with the proprietary conception, for a husband's exclusive right to a woman's sexual capacity and progeny. However, the compensation had to be paid to the woman and not her male kin. The husband's maintenance of his wife during the marriage — paying for food, clothes, and other needs in accordance with her social standing — was obligatory only as long as she was sexually available to him. For the early jurists, maintenance was linked to the wife's sexual availability, that is, her willingness to submit to sex. According to the early legal texts, the wife was not obliged to do household chores, and the husband could not withdraw his maintenance if she refused to do cleaning and cooking duties.

The proprietary conception of female sexuality is most evident in regard to female slaves: the idea of ownership gave a man the legal right to sexual intercourse with his slave if she was unmarried. Even if the slave was married, the owner had some property rights to her sexual capacity. The owner, for instance, had the right to marry her off without her consent; the dowry became then the owner's property (Ali, 2010, pp. 40, 67). The slave masters also had property rights to any child born in the marriages that included their female slave, regardless of whether the father was their slave or not. Perhaps it was precisely the analogy between marriage and slavery that made Islamic jurists often completely ignore women's needs and desires. The dominant perception was that upon receiving the monetary compensation, dowry and maintenance, women had traded their sexual capacity and had no longer a say over it (Ali, 2010).

Clearly, the system produced by this analogy could be barely tolerated by free Muslim women. Therefore, we see that some later jurists slightly moderated the most blatant inequalities: for example, women were given the legal right to intercourse at least once every fourth month. The fact that legal discourse changed over time shows that it adapted to a prevailing sense of justice in society, in this case, to more women-friendly ideas that were promoted in medical and ethical discourses. However, the marriage system, with its gendered distribution of rights and duties, remained hierarchical. Whereas men's right to sexual pleasure was safeguarded in legal literature, religious scholars who acknowledged women's needs for intimacy had to rely on non-legal discourses. For instance, when al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) in his

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5. The jurists did not unanimously agree on this matter; however, the majority of the Ḥanafi school authorised women to marry without guardians (Ali, 2010, pp. 41-42).

Iḥyāʾ instructed men to ensure that their wives were satisfied, he was probably influenced by ideas on the importance of female sexual satisfaction promoted in medical discourse, as well as, indirectly, by the advice gathered in a tenth-century manual of sexual etiquette and medicine, the *Encyclopaedia of Pleasure* (Myrne, 2020, pp. 86-87). A *ḥadīth* cited by al-Ghazālī, which contains a similar message, was not quoted in the previous extant *ḥadīth* compendia. While the *Encyclopaedia of Pleasure* was directed to cultured bureaucrats in the urban centres of the Abbasid empire, the advice in *Iḥyāʾ* was modified to suit a broader and more pious readership. Elements considered un-Islamic — such as homosexual desire and extramarital love, which were tolerated in the world of the *Encyclopaedia of Pleasure* — were obviously eliminated in *Iḥyāʾ*. Some centuries later, the Shāfiʿī scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) relied explicitly on the *Encyclopaedia of Pleasure* in his works on matrimonial sexual relations (Myrne, 2018). Like al-Ghazālī, he erased all references to extramarital sexual relationships (including homosexual ones); but unlike the predecessor, he did not dissuade sexual excess as long as the activities remained within legal bounds. The first part of his marriage manual *al-Wishāḥ fī fawāʾid al-nikāḥ* focuses solely on men's right to indulge in sexual pleasure (including with slave concubines) based on *ḥadīth*s and opinions advocated by religious authorities. The latter part of the book that relies on the *Encyclopaedia of Pleasure*, medicine and belletrist literature, treats, among other things, women's needs for pleasure and provides advice on how to satisfy them.

Though scattered across various sources, these examples illustrate the enduring need in Muslim societies to look beyond legal norms rooted in a particular historical setting when addressing people's needs and concerns. They also show that what I have labelled as a "women-friendly attitude" in some (Arab-Islamic) discourses was a living tradition. Early Abbasid sources were reused and adapted to new readerships, but the main idea remained the same: marital happiness was not possible without taking the needs of both partners into account.

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«ВО ВСЯКОМ СЛУЧАЕ, МЫ СУФИИ»: ФОРМИРОВАНИЕ ДУХОВНОЙ ИДЕНТИЧНОСТИ СРЕДИ ХИДЖР В ЮЖНОЙ АЗИИ

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Являясь своего рода «безопасными пространствами», суфийские святыни на Индийском субконтиненте, как правило, открыты и для тех, кто не отождествляет себя с традиционными гендерными категориями. Могила (даргах) Аджмера Шарифа в городе Аджмер (Раджастан) на севере Индии является одной из таких святынь и известна своей особой «инклюзивностью». Здесь принимают всех паломников, включая представителей так называемого «третьего пола». Хиджры, известные также как киннары, не следуют социально определяемым, бинарным гендерным определениям. Маргинализированные и часто подвергающиеся социальной стигматизации, люди «третьего пола» естественным образом тянутся к пороговым пространствам, таким как суфийские святыни, которые поощряют преодоление социально-религиозных границ. В этой статье исследуются некоторые типологические аспекты традиционных суфийских ритуалов и верований, которые делают их особенно инклюзивными по отношению к хиджрам. Статья также анализирует то, как хиджры, в свою очередь, изменяют конфигурацию суфийских религиозных верований с целью преодолеть противоречие между лиминальностью собственного жизненного опыта и бинарностью общества («дунья») вокруг них. Помимо данных, собранных во время полевых исследований на 808-м фестивале Урс в 2020 году, в статье также используется опыт вымышленного героя Анджума из второго романа Арундати Роя «Министерство наивысшего счастья» (2017), а также история Моны Ахмед (1937–2017), самой известной хиджры Дели, ставшей источником вдохновения для романа Роя.

Ключевые слова: *Хиджры, киннары, трансгендеры, суфизм, даргах Аджмера Шарифа, фестиваль Урс, Южная Азия, Мона Ахмед, Арундати Рой*

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'IN ANY CASE WE ARE SUFIS': THE CREATION OF HIJRA SPIRITUAL IDENTITY IN SOUTH ASIA

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Providing spiritual 'safe spaces', the Sufi shrine-world throughout the Indian Subcontinent is generally open to those who do not identify with conventional gender categories. Ajmer Sharif Shrine (dargāh) *in the northern Indian town of Ajmer in Rajasthan is renowned for being particularly 'inclusive'. It accepts all pilgrims without discrimination, including the so-called 'third gender', often referred to as hijras or kinnars, terms that transgress the socially-defined binary gender divide. Marginalized, and often socially stigmatized, these groups are naturally drawn towards liminal spaces such as Sufi dargāhs which encourage the transcendence of socio-religious boundaries. This paper explores certain typological aspects of traditional Sufi ritual and belief that make it particularly receptive to hijras, and the way in which hijras in turn appropriate and reconfigure Sufi religious belief to negotiate the tension between the liminality of their lived experience and the exclusive duality of the society around them. As well as utilizing fieldwork undertaken at the 808th* ʿurs *festival in 2020, the paper also draws upon the experiences of the fictional protagonist Anjum of Arundhati Roy's second novel* The Ministry of Utmost Happiness, *together with those of Mona Ahmed (1937–2017), the inspiration behind Roy's novel and the most famous hijra of Delhi.*

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PROLOGUE

The *Ministry of Utmost Happiness,* the second novel of India's most celebrated writer and social activist Arundhati Roy, begins by depicting the birth of Aftab, later known as Anjum, one of the novel's protagonists. It was the happiest time of Jahanara Begum's life when the midwife announced that after three daughters she had finally given birth to a baby boy. But when she later unswaddled the baby "she discovered, nestling underneath his boy-parts, a

small, unformed, but undoubtedly girl-part." Jahanara's world view is challenged for the first time in her life. She is terrified at the sight of her biologically intersex baby but thinks "that maybe the girl-part will close up, disappear." "But," the story continues, "month after month, year after year, it remains stubbornly there, and as the boy, Aftab, grows he becomes unmistakably girly."

Aftab's mother realizes that there are only two words to describe her child: "[i]n Urdu, the only language she knew," as Roy contends, "all things, not just living things but all things—carpets, clothes, books, pens, musical instruments—had a gender. Everything was either masculine or feminine, man or woman. Everything except her baby. Yes of course she knew there was a word for those like him—Hijra. Two words actually, Hijra and Kinnar.[1] But two words do not make a language. Was it possible to live outside language?" (Roy, 2017, p. 8). She is inwardly terrified of how her child will be able to exist outside language in contemporary Indian society.

Jahanara Begum instinctively seeks solace at the blood-red-colored shrine (*dargāh*,[2] lit. 'threshold') of the Sufi saint Hazrat Muḥammad Saʿīd Sarmad Shahīd (d. 1661), an antinomian dervish of Judeo-Persian background who converted to Islam. She later learns all about Sarmad: he followed the love of his life, the Hindu boy Abhai Chand, to Delhi. He believed in the tolerant and broad-minded teachings of Sufism, the Islamic mystical tradition, an approach that was influenced by the humanistic concept of ontological monism, the essential 'oneness of all existence' *(waḥdat al-wujūd),* a metaphysical doctrine that finds expression on the worldly plane in the unity of all humankind. Under the influence of divine love, Sarmad broke free from all religious conventions proscribed by Islam. Like other *faqīr*s, he had a reputation for provocative, socially deviant behavior directed against normative religious doctrines. Born out of the intensity of mystical love (*ʿishq*), which renders one incapable of functioning in mainstream society, he lived stark naked in a society that strictly prohibited nudity. Sarmad defied the last Mughal emperor Awrangzīb (1658–1707), who sentenced him to death for apostasy and, according to local lore, when beheaded, he picked up his severed head which continued to recite his poems on the eastern stairs of the Jama Masjid in Old Delhi (just a few steps from his *dargāh*).[3] In an interview Roy states that she sees Sarmad as "the one who is the blasphemer among the believers, the believer among blasphemers, the person who doesn't allow majoritarianism to shut out the possibility of something else" (Lalloo et al., 2018). Then as now Muslims, Hindus and others come to pay their respects to the "insubordinate spirit" of this 'friend of God' (Roy 2017, p. 10). Jahanara Begum also brings her son to the *dargāh*: "This is my son, Aftab," she whispered to Sarmad, "I've brought him here to you. Look after him. And teach me how to love him" (Roy 2017, p. 11).

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1. Throughout South Asia, those who identify themselves as 'neither male nor female' are often placed in an ambiguous category, known in Hindi-Urdu by the umbrella term 'hijra' and in Punjabi as 'khusra'. These terms transgress the socially-defined binary gender divide. But some prefer to call themselves 'kinnar', referring to mythological beings present in the Vedas, often depicted as half-bird, half-woman creatures, renowned for their dance, song and poetry. In addition, they are also known as 'khwaja sara', a Mughal term recently reclaimed by Pakistani hijras. Despite some overlap between these labels and 'intersex' or 'trans*' (generally male-to-female, or MtF, experience) in 'Western' LGBTQ+ terminology, these Western concepts of gender/sexuality cannot easily be transposed into South Asian contexts and vice versa (Roen, 2001, p. 255; Roy, 2016, pp. 412–432; Towle and Morgan, 2006). During the past three decades, the governments of India (1994), Pakistan (2009), and Bangladesh (2014) have legally recognized hijra/khusra as a so-called 'third gender', but in relation to and within the female-male binary; rights-based procedures for their recognition still need to be implemented.

2. Unless otherwise indicated, words in italics are Arabic terms and names, which are also used in Hindi-Urdu. Transliteration follows the system used in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, third edition (Fleet et al., 2016). Modern personal names are spelled according to the most common usage. Hindi-Urdu terms are rendered according to the romanization of The National Library at Kolkata.

3. For a discussion of the motif of the beheaded saint, see Ernst, 2006, pp. 328–341; also the poetry of Sultan Bahu (d. 1691) in *Death before Dying*, trans. Elias, 1998.

When later in his teens Aftab chooses to leave his biological family and becomes identified socially as Anjum, her/is[4] very characterization ruptures the traditional construct of the patriarchal heterosexual cisgendered who are pigeon-holed by marriage and procreation. It is assumed that when Roy designed her protagonist Aftab-Anjum, she was inspired by the life of a 'real transgender', namely the hijra icon Mona (the latter being her/is hijra name; Ahmed was her/is given name, 1937–2017).[5]

Mona Ahmed and Aftab-Anjum share the same backstory of someone who is "of everybody and nobody, of everything and nothing" (Roy 2017, p. 4), a place where gender classifications of 'he' or 'she' are rendered null and void.[6] Aftab-Anjum's departure from the dominant and privileged sphere of masculinity (which signified power, honor, and status) and her/is acquisition of feminine traits (signifying submission and subordination) invariably incurs social scorn, forcing her/im to relinquish her/is family of origin, inheritance, and normative worldly ties. S/he takes up residence with a hijra community in a place called Khwabgah ('House of Dreams') in Shahjahanabad (a low-income Muslim neighborhood in Old Delhi). Her/is new home presents a social organization distinct from the rest of society (referred to as Duniya, the earthly concerns and possessions of the temporal, lived-in world). It is a cultural family based on reconstructed kinship networks (Hindi-Urdu *gharāṇā*) and ritual practices not based on blood ties. Their household contains hijras (often stigmatized as 'eunuchs' in literature)[7] from Hindu, Muslim, and Christian backgrounds as well as members from different caste groups (Roy, 2017, p. 21; cf. Nanda, 1990; Reddy, 2005; Jaffrey, 1997) who all live defiantly outside traditional South Asian social structures and do not adhere to the associated conventional and rigid social roles.

Just as Jahanara Begum is drawn to Sarmad's numinous presence at his *dargāh*, many members of hijra communities not only hold a deep reverence for the teachings of Sufism, but also practice and

Figure 1. Photograph of Mona Ahmed. Screenshot from Thakur and Khatoon, 2011–12 [Documentary Film] on YouTube

4. Following Adnan Hossain (2012), I use 's/he', 'her/is', 'her/imself' to reflect hijra gender performativity "beyond the binary."

5. The volume *Myself, Mona Ahmed* (2001) comprises both a visual chronicle of Mona's life, with a focus on her motherhood (and loss thereof), and her choice of living in a graveyard, as well as her correspondence with the book's Swiss publisher Walter Keller.

6. Fieldwork observations have shown that hijra gender identity and sexuality are *not* synonymous; "[u]nlike sex," argues David Halperin, "sexuality is a cultural production" (1989, p. 257) whereas 'gender' is performative (Butler, 1999, p. 185) referring to practice and social recognition. Cf. Kugle, 2010, p. 239.

7. Even though they were slaves, the majority of whom had been forcibly castrated, they are revered as mediators who cross boundaries. Eunuchs still are guardians of tombs and shrines, including the holy sites of Islam in Mecca and Medina, because they are believed to be undistracted by sexual desire and uninfected by ritual impurity and to be able to navigate both the male and female realms. It is noteworthy that these eunuchs inhabited and still inhabit an in-between position—they were legally and socially of neither gender (Bashir, 2007, pp. 144–146; Hinchy, 2017, especially ch. 6).

experience them at the affective level. So much that hijra/kinnar/transgender activist Laxmi Narayan Tripathi, born in 1978 into an orthodox Brahmin family in Maharashtra, states:

> In any case we are Sufis—what do we have to do with religion? Rasool-Allah's [the Messenger of God's] khauf-e-ilahi [fear of God] is also ingrained in me—even if I am a Brahmin ka bacha ['Brahmin child']. Just because I wear a sari and a bindi, how does anyone know whether I have accepted Islam or not? We don't make a show of it. But the majority of all our gaddis ['seats'] are Islamic. All our gaddis had accepted Islam. This is a very big step (Sumbul, 2016).

While aspects of unconventional hijra socio-religious milieux dynamically engage with both Hindu and Muslim features and constantly reconfigure themselves along new contours, both in relation to self and other, Laxmi's bold statement relates to the fact that hijra transgression of socially-constructed gender boundaries overlaps with that of *antinomian* Sufi circles and the marginality implicit in dervishhood.[8] Many hijras refer to people other than themselves as *duniyadar* (people of the mundane world). This detachment from the *duniya* (*dunyā*; 'world') fosters the activation of a 'spiritual gender performance', which is creatively endorsed by Sufi spiritual concepts and their inherent disjunctions "beyond the binary" (Haq Hussaini, 2012) of patriarchal South Asian social structures and conventional social roles. This affords an alternative space, an interworld, which in both Sufi and hijra understanding can be conceptualized as *barzakh*. Interestingly, it is at just this kind of liminal and indeterminate space that Homi K. Bhabha (b. 1949) posits hybridity,[9] where acts of "translation and negotiation" occur and which he refers to as the "third space" (Bhabha 1996). Against this background, this study examines the multiple convergences between Sufi and hijra conceptualizations in a South Asian context. In so doing it intends to add a further piece to the dynamic and complex mosaic of hijra spiritual identity/ies.

My argument is based on preliminary field observations during the 808th *ʿurs* festival (March–February 2020) of the hijra patron saint Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī (d. 1236) at the Dargāh Sharif in the Indian town of Ajmer in the northwestern state of Rajasthan, combined with an analysis of archival, historical, and documentary materials. It is also informed by milestones in the life of Roy's trailblazing character, Anjum, in her second novel *Ministry* which follows in the footsteps of Mona Ahmed, Delhi's most renowned hijra.

Pilgrimage to Ajmer Sharif *Dargāh*

While some hijras like Laxmi Narayan Tripathi are born into well-to-do, upper caste families, most hijras belong to lower classes/castes, socially marginalized and economically disadvantaged. They are thus naturally drawn towards liminal spaces such as Sufi *dargāh*s at which both social and religious boundaries are generally conflated. Providing spiritual 'safe havens', the Sufi shrine world throughout the Indian subcontinent is generally open to those who do not identify with conventional gender categories. In Foucault's terms (1986, p. 24), these Sufi *dargāh*s serve as "something like counter-sites ... within the culture, [that] are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted." Ajmer Sharif Dargāh is known to be particularly 'inclusive' and is not organized on divisions of gender, religion, or caste. Unlike some other Sufi *dargāh*s in the subcontinent, women are allowed to enter

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8. The present paper builds on earlier studies that discuss the relationship between Sufi concepts and hijra spirituality, especially Naqvi and Mujtaba, 1997; Kugle, 2007; Jaffer, 2017.

9. In this study 'hybridity' is understood as 'syncretic' in the sense promoted in postcolonial theory, such as in the work of Homi Bhabha. See also Burke, 2009; Ackermann, 2012, pp. 5–25.

and to pay their respects to the saint's tomb in the inner shrine and to touch his cenotaph.[10] My respondents told me that while at some *dargāh*s hijras have to perform the pilgrimage (*ziyārāt*)[11] in male clothing (such as during the *ḥajj* pilgrimage to Mecca), they can freely visit Ajmer Sharif Dargāh in female dress. This *dargāh* thus serves as a bridge between differences, and offers a platform for the so-called Ganga-Jamuni Tehzeeb (Hindi-Urdu for 'Ganges-Yamuna Culture') which, in defiance of the strictures of contemporary religious orthodoxy, encourages a fusion of Hindu and Muslim religio-cultural elements to promote a feeling of mystic oneness of all religions.[12] It is here at Ajmer Sharif Dargāh that social norms are temporarily suspended. All pilgrims are accepted. There is no discrimination.

For those excluded from most forms of public life, such as the hijra community, the opportunity to engage in collective experiences through Sufi shrines is extremely significant. Like Anjum in Roy's *Ministry* and Mona Ahmed, most hijras in South Asia participate in the pilgrimage to Ajmer Sharif Dargāh, where their presence has for centuries been part of local tradition (Tripathi, 2015, pp. 78, 98, 153). Particularly significant is the *ʿurs* (lit. 'marriage', 'nuptial') held to commemorate the death of the thirteenth-century Sufi saint Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī, known as Khwāja Sa[h]ab ('Respected Master'), who is particularly revered by them. From across the subcontinent hijras are deeply attached to the saint. Celebrating his (re-)union with God at death, the *ʿurs* festival and marriage feast revolves around his resting place, the oldest tomb of the Chishtī Sufi Order in South Asia, which is attended by hijras from all over the subcontinent and beyond. Attending the *ʿurs* during the first six days of Rajab, the seventh month of the Islamic calendar, is seen by many as a substitute for the *ḥajj*, the sacred pilgrimage to the Kaʿba in Mecca.

I interviewed ten respondents at the *ʿurs*, most of whom came from Delhi and three from Mumbai. Six wanted to be referred to as kinnars and four as hijras. Six out of ten identified as transgender. Some of the hijras I encountered looked stunning, like Bollywood actresses. At the Khwāja's *ʿurs* the largest number of hijras from the subcontinent gather every year. I was told that at least 3.000 hijras attended the 808th *ʿurs* in 2020 during which they also held a grand assembly (Hindi-Urdu *mahāpaṇchāyat*).[13] Ajmer Sharif serves as *gaddi*, the place or seat where hijras meet from all over India and beyond and where they forge new or nurture existing ties, discuss new policies and formulate solutions to social problems. Just as they do not commit to any particular gender, most hijras, in the opinion of my informants, do not follow a particular religion. They are, however, especially attracted by the Khwāja's teachings on compassion and love of God, his service to humanity, and his concern for the poor and the marginalized. For all those I interviewed their pilgrimage to Ajmer Sharif Dargāh and participation in the annual *ʿurs* lies at the very heart of their identity.[14] As my informants told me, because the revered Sufi saint, known by the epithet Gharīb Nawāz ('Benefactor of the

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10. This custom has always been in place and is contrary to the information given in Mathieu Boisvert (2020, p. 111), which states that "women are banned from entering the Ajmer *dargāh*," and that there is a dress code according to which hijras can only enter if they "cover their head" and remove "the bracelets, the *bindī*, and all that." This is not the case, even in the tomb of the saint, as I could observe during my fieldwork in March 2020 which postdates Boisvert's publication.

11. On the controversy surrounding the practice of *ziyārāt* to Sufi tombs in Islam, see Bigelow, 2010, pp. 164–170.

12. Tehzeeb literally means 'manners' (Safvi, 2014). The Turnerian paradigm of 'communitas' emphasizes how pilgrimages often blur religious, ethnic and class boundaries and instead create a sense of communality among the pilgrims (Turner, 1969; Bigelow 2010; Albera and Couroucli, 2012; for a more cautious position see van der Veer, 1994, pp. 196–211).

13. At least 500.000 pilgrims are estimated to attend the annual *ʿurs* at Ajmer Sharif Dargāh which is taken as evidence of the enormous 'spiritual power' of this sacred place.

14. Aside from Hajji Malang Baba Dargāh, an important hijra Sufi pilgrimage site at Kandivali East, Mumbai (Tripathi, 2015, p. 107; its importance for the hijra community still awaits scholarly investigation), see Boivert (2020) for a brief description of other, non-Sufi hijra pilgrimage sites, including the important temple of Bahucharā Mātā at Becharaji, Gujarat, the temple of the Goddess Yellammā at Saundatti, Karnataka, and the cult of Aravan at Koovagam, Tamil Nadu. On Bahucharā Mātā, see also Sheikh, 2010, pp. 84–99; Tripathi, 2015, p. 177.

Poor'), is the one who transmits to them the sacred power to bless people, he thereby validates what my interlocutors called their "privileged status in Islam."

During the Khwāja's *'urs* hijras also gather to offer sacred silk cloth (Hindi-Urdu *chādar*) as votive offerings to his *sanctum sanctorum*. The 'wedding' processions of dancing hijras' exaltantly whirling their long hair, swaying their hips, and gesturing seductively underline the link between marriage, sexuality and death. Accompanied by beating drums (Hindi-Urdu *dholak*) they bear the pious offering and slowly proceed towards the *dargāh*. By means of such performances, hijras not only enact their chosen gender but nurture spiritual qualities. Their processions are also seen as an offering in connection with a *mannat* (Hindi-Urdu, 'vow for fulfilment of wishes') uttered in prayers of supplication. The colorful silken *chādar*s inscribed with Quranic verses are spread out and held in such a way that other pilgrims can throw money and other offerings into them. People passing by respectfully lift the *chādar* with their right hand up to their eyes and lips to send their prayers to the saint. It is said that the wishes of those who offer the *chādar* are fulfilled by God.

Figure 2. Hijra procession towards Ajmer Sharif Dargāh during the 808th 'urs in 2020.
Photo © Sara Kuehn

It is of great significance for the hijra community that they are the first to perform the *chādar*-laying ceremony, the central ritual of the *'urs*. During the ceremony the sheet of cloth is removed that covers the cenotaph which marks the Khwāja's tomb in the small inner shrine at the center of the *dargāh*. The sepulchral monument represents the marriage bed on which the divine union will (again) be consummated. It also symbolizes the bride in relation to God, the Khwāja. On this day, the intimate inner nucleus serves as the bridal chamber. Layer upon layer of silk coverings are slowly removed until the symbolic unveiling of the bride has been completed and the cenotaph uncovered. The ritual culminates in rubbing the 'naked' stone with red sandalwood paste, signifying the consummation of the spiritual wedding. The hijras are the ones who (re)cover the divine couple with the first layer of new silk cloth, the *chādar*. While in their daily lives they make a living by conferring efficacious

blessings to new-born (especially male) babies and the bridegroom at wedding ceremonies, their blessing of the Khwāja's 'nuptial bed' — on which the intrinsically procreative divine union is consummated on the death anniversary — is categorically different: it is a ritually and so socially indispensable act. Vaibhav Saria recorded a local tradition which stipulates that unless a hijra places the first *chādar* on the Khwāja's cenotaph, "the stove will not catch fire, nobody will be able to make the fire burn for the feast" (Saria, 2021, p. 39).[15] It reflects the ancient Indian notion that woman is the hearth, while man is the fire (Chāndogya Upaniṣad 5, pp. 4-8; Knipe 1972) and so this creation, alluded to by the notion of the "feast," will only happen when fire ignites the hearth. This is brought about when the hijra transfers her/is procreative *baraka* ('blessedness', 'spiritual power') by laying the *chādar* onto the Khwāja's spiritually alive body. The performance of a crucial ritual act during the *ʿurs* thus attributes an important role socially, culturally, and spiritually to the otherwise marginalized hijra community (Saria, 2021, p. 40).

Besides offering *chādar*s, hijras make generous *nazrana/shukrana* (Hindi-Urdu 'offerings'/'thanksgiving') to the saint. These include sandalwood paste, rose and jasmine flowers, perfumes, incense, gold, silver,[16] and, above all, cash. Some hijras reputedly offer up to their entire annual earnings. During the *ʿurs* they provide free food (Hindi-Urdu *langar*) to pilgrims and offer scholarships to orphans to come and study at institutions such as the Sufi Saint School, an interfaith project associated with Ajmer Sharif Dargāh.

Queer rights activist Lesley Esteves visited the Khwāja's *dargāh* in October 2014 in the company of a hijra pseudonymously named Nagma, a survivor of a custodial gang rape at Ajmer Police Station during the 2012 *ʿurs*. Two years later s/he and her/is *chelā*s (Hindi-Urdu 'disciples') went for a court hearing at Ajmer. In his pilgrimage journal Esteves expresses his amazement that when Nagma and her/is *chelā*s arrived to offer a *chādar*, a *khādim*, or hereditary caretaker of the shrine, who received them at the *dargāh* respectfully asked: "Should I treat you as a *mard* ('man') or an *aurat* ('woman')?" Since Esteves, although born female, identifies with the male gender, a pink *safa* (turban) was tied around his head (instead of a purple *dupatta*, or shawl; Esteves, 2014).[17] He was filled with wonder, given that such respectful demeanor vis-à-vis his gender identity is rarely encountered outside the *dargāh*.

FAQĪRĪ-HIJRA PARALLELS

IN their self-understanding as dervishes or faqīrs—an identification confirmed by all respondents — hijras creatively appropriate and re-deploy Sufi discourse to help legitimize their alternative lifestyle, to make sense of their social position in spiritual terms, and also to acquire spiritual power (Jaffer, 2017). The *faqīr*s are frequently intertwined with sub-orders of institutional Sufi communities such as the Chishtī-Qalandarī Sufi group who accommodate a *faqīr* mode of socially deviant piety. Often they are attached to the socio-religious fabric of Sufi *dargāh*s such as Ajmer Sharif, although some lead an itinerant lifestyle. Hijras and *faqīr*s generally converge only at Sufi centers (especially during festivals such as the *ʿurs* at Ajmer Sharif Dargāh). Even so, the uncanny resemblance between hijras

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15. Saria (2021, p. 39) notes that hijras are the first to perform the *chādar*-laying ceremony after breaking the Ramaḍān fast on 1 Shawwāl during the *ʿīd al-fiṭr festival*; however, according to my informants this takes place at the occasion of the *ʿurs* festival.

16. At the 2013 *ʿurs*, the hijra community offered 7.5 kg of silver to the Ajmer Sharif Dargāh (Singh, 2014).

17. FtM ('Female to Male') individuals are usually not referred to as hijras (Tripathi, 2015, p. 173).

and *faqīr*s (often referred to as *malang*s)[18] provides an inspiring framework through which hijras seek to affirm their spiritual identity.

This is buttressed by the fact that *faqīr-malang* mysticism embraces an antinomian vision of selfhood and gender identity which resists dominant patriarchal models. As a result, androgyny and *gender-transgression*, which includes religious cross-dressing, can be observed among some of these dervishes. Some *faqīr*s communicate this aesthetically (permanently or for a period of time) by dressing in women's clothes and wearing jewelry, a religious performance which has the capacity to deconstruct gender (Digby, 1984, p. 65; Karamustafa, 1994; Basu, 1994, pp. 13, 22, 138, 193–206; Ernst and Lawrence, 2002; Jaffer, 2017).

Like these dervishes, hijras adopt an asocial lifestyle in that they exist outside the traditional kinship structure of the family (and caste; cf. Das, 1977, p. 45, for the complementary case of Hindu ascetics, or *sannyāsī*s) and embrace the perils of the unknown in which detachment and renunciation are both material and spiritual. They thereby tap into the long history of reverence for ascetic renunciation in both Islamic and non-Islamic traditions in South Asia, in which sacrifice is portrayed as an extraordinary and superhuman achievement only made possible by intense spiritual passion.

The concomitant practice of sexual abstinence and celibacy as a demonstration of the ascetic rejection of the Duniya is also held in high regard by certain schools of Sufi thought. Antinomian Sufis, such as the Ḥaydarī *faqīr*s, engaged in painful rituals of corporal modification, such as passing iron rings through their penises, a physical expression of abandonment of the Duniya and rejection of society's claims on their minds and bodies. To indicate their deliberate renunciation of sexual pleasure and gratification, some even castrated themselves to ensure that they do not break their vows (Digby, 1984, p. 65; Bashir, 2007, pp. 135, 143).[19] Hijras too, in order to 'ensure' complete bodily asceticism, sometimes submit to an important ritual act of bodily transformation,[20] seen as a central rite of passage into the hijra community: ritual castration[21] (Hindi-Urdu *nirvāṇ*, lit. 'to blow out', a spiritual awakening, separation from the Duniya; Cohen, 1995; Nanda, 1990, pp. 28–29, 118; Reddy, 2005, p. 94; Tripathi, 2015, pp. 156–157, 175–176; for colonial accounts see Preston, 1987, pp. 375). This life-altering change reinforces their femininity, while at the same time reducing sexual desire and libido. Mona Ahmed, on whose overall life story Roy's protagonist Anjum is modelled, underwent voluntary castration in a back-room surgery in Belapur, a small village near Mumbai. In the late fifties, sexual reassignment surgery was illegal in India. No anesthetic was used when all Mona's "private parts" were removed. "I hated all those male genitalia," s/he said. "Afterwards I felt an enormous sense of liberation ... But at the time all I could think of was the pain." At the same time, although s/he wanted to be 'female', the ritual operation physiologically clearly marks a person as hijra. S/he had not been prepared for the finality of the *nirvāṇ* but there was "no going back" (Butalia, 2011; Sing 2001, pp. 50–52).

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18. Both *faqīr* and *malang* are fluid umbrella terms of non-conformist antinomian dervish groups characterized as *bī sharʿ* (outside religious law).

19. Even so, renunciation need not entail celibacy. Cf. the work by Kristin Hanssen (2018) and Lisa I. Knight (2014) on the Bāul Muslim faqirism of West Bengal and Bangladesh whose followers encourage synthesis between Hindu and Muslim devotions.

20. Not all hijras perform the surgery. Some of my Muslim-born respondents mentioned that they believe that Islam forbids them from altering their God-given gender. But Mona Ahmed, for instance, who was born Muslim, decided to undergo ritual castration. Cf. Hossain 2012.

21. Castration is associated with the mother goddess Bahucharā Mātā. She is viewed as a patroness and protectress of the hijra community, who herself achieved deification through self-mutilation and self-sacrifice (according to one story, she sacrifices her femininity by cutting off her breast and offering it to thieves in place of her virtue). http://bahucharajitemple.org/. Accessed September 25, 2021. Cf. Sheikh, 2010, pp. 84–99.

Associated with transformation, metamorphosis, fertility, and empowerment, this paradox of emasculating oneself in order to be healed or 'redeemed' is actualized through the ritual of sacred pain, the *nirvāṇ* ceremony. In such a religiously framed context, pain is experienced as meaningful and empowering. Indeed, the operation positions hijras as supernatural beings who undergo sacrifice to assume 'sacred powers'. The *nirvāṇ* ceremony has been likened to the principle Sufi task of subduing the lower self (or 'soul', *nafs*; Naqvi and Mujtaba, 1997, p. 264; Frembgen, 2011, p. 61). The lowest form of the soul is the *anima bruta* or 'commanding soul,' encapsulating the negative qualities of the lower soul (*nafs ammāra*; Qurʾan 12:53) that find symbolic expression in the battle between soul and body. In Sufi discipline, *nafs* is understood as desire, especially sexual desire. The term *nafs* can in fact refer to the male genitalia. In this way the *hijra nirvāṇ* is a physical demonstration of sacrifice and spiritual devotion (Naqvi and Mujtaba, 1997, p. 264): the "chosen pain of asceticism is thus the instrument of combat, the weapon used against one's own soul" (Glucklich, 2001, p. 24).

The *guru-chelā* ('teacher-student') relationship of hijra communities likewise shares many features with the fundamental Sufi concept of the master-disciple relation between the *pīr* (alternatively, *murshid* or *shaykh*) and the *murīd* ('seeker'). Both 'systems' impart knowledge and reflect the importance of following the mystical quest, or rather the process, as a road taken, and the journey on which, as mentioned earlier, the prospective disciple embarks to cultivate and to train her/is soul under the guidance of a spiritual master. Just like in Sufi practice, the novice renounces her/is former identity and places her/imself into the hands of the new master. New entrants into the hijra community thus acknowledge in ritual form their submission to the authority of their *guru*, the most senior hijra of the 'nuclear' hijra family, confirming their separation from mainstream social structures and the entrance into a liminal state. Not only in hijra but also in Sufi contexts "disciples were stripped of their previous identities and accustomed gender roles" (Malamud, 1996, p. 331). Just as in the hijra world where the *guru* serves as substitute for the biological parents (mother or father, or both) and sometimes as symbolic lover or husband, the *pīr* in Indian Sufism takes the place of a father, mother, lover, husband and bride (Malamud, 1996, pp. 316–317; Bashir, 2011, pp. 136–137). In both Sufi and hijra communities, becoming a disciple is thus often referred to as 'spiritual birth'.

In a rite of passage known as *rīt* (Hindi; cf. Reddy, 2005, p. 154; Tripathi, 2015, pp. 42, 158–160, 175), hijra novices transition from a male gender to that of a hijra in the course of which a complex web of social and economic ties between the initiated, or *chelā* ('disciple'), and a *guru* is established.[22] The new recruit then adopts (in most cases) a Muslim female name and receives new female clothes and other female gender signifiers. This too is clearly analogous to the *pīr-murīd*, or spiritual master-novice bond in Sufism, a fundamentally hierarchical relationship in which the guide is also seen as the adept's "bride-dresser" (Malamud, 1996, p. 324). During the spiritual initiation ceremony in Sufism, a pact (*bayʿa*) is made in which the disciple submits to his or her master and pledges absolute loyalty. The *murīd* is invested with a cloak (*khirqa*) and other items of clothing and in turn presents a gift to his master.

Pīrs/gurus mentor and instruct their *murīds/chelās in situ* in the respective knowledge traditions of centuries-old performative practices. Foremost of these practices for hijras is *badhāī*. The Hindi-Urdu term alludes to rituals of transition and regeneration (such as births, circumcisions, weddings), in which hijras play an important role. Their ritual per-

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22. In the past hijras probably used *pir* or *murshid* and *guru* as well as *murid* and *chelā* interchangeably (Hinchy, 2017, p. 150). At the same time, the terms *guru* and *chelā* are also used in a Sufi context (Ewing, 1984, p. 367).

formances—most of which have recently been curtailed due to the Covid-19 pandemic—are perceived as auspicious blessings of male fertility and financial prosperity for patrons, granted in exchange for material offerings. Some hijras also perform healing for a wide array of illnesses. Conversely, by uttering wrathful curses they can inspire fear in those who question their sacred power and who show disrespect, for instance, by withholding payments. The fear of punishment forces (some) wrongdoers into submission (Pfeffer, 1995, p. 31). Both *pīr*s and *guru*s transmit their authority to their disciples who in turn become the next link in the chain. They also protect their *murīd*s/*chelā*s from dangers and temptations both within and outside the community. Most hijras in India live in groups organized into seven 'houses' or 'schools' (*gharāṇā*s), the founders of which are all said to have been Muslims (Nanda, 1984). Some hijras also trace back the complex social structure of the *gharāṇā*—based on discipleship lineages with an extensive set of rituals, duties and obligations — to Sufi *silsila*s ('chain of spiritual masters').[23] Even though there seem to be no written records of hijra '*silsila*s', some *guru*s began to keep records of the succession of *guru*s and *chelā*s in "hijrotic books" (Rushdie 2008, p. 115). While some individual hijras travel a lot, *hijra* households have their own topographically designated areas, or 'ritual jurisdiction', in which they collect alms at traffic-lights and on trains, an occupation they share with those wandering renunciant *faqīr*s who also beg for their living. By thus transposing and realigning such Sufi practices, hijras appropriate (aspects of) the legitimacy of Sufi saints and *dargāh*s to valorize their distinct gender identity and their own alternative social organization.

BRIDE MYSTICISM AND MOTHERHOOD

IN line with the 'bride mysticism' that lies at the heart of the Khwāja's *'urs* is the creative act in which all male dervishes strive to be united with the (male) divine beloved. To realize this vital goal, they adopt a female gender to assume the inverted role of a 'bride of God' (Schimmel, 1979, pp. 136–139; Kugle, 2007; Frembgen, 2008).[24] Just as in South Asian society the relationship of a wife to her husband is conceptualized as one of submission, surrender, and dedication, a male seeker of the Sufi path expresses his subservient devotion to an all-powerful (male) God by dressing as a woman, symbolically expressing his relationship with God as a marital relationship. As God's bride or wife, the soul of a departed Sufi is believed to depart for its eternal abode, the house of the divine groom or husband. Here too the ultimate goal is spiritual union of the human soul with the divine (from the Persian *shab-e-urusi*, 'night of union' celebrated during the *'urs*), the consummation of the divine marriage. In this conceptualization—to use the words of Scott Kugle (2007, p. 121) — "men become saints by tapping 'feminine' qualities that are normally hidden or repressed in men."

Like these dervishes, whose androgynous, gender-fluid behavior has historically contributed to their spiritual charisma, hijras similarly defy convention by conflating masculine and

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23. The correspondence between Islamic Sufi and devotional Hindu *bhakti* expressions are seen in the *guru-śiṣya* relationship of *bhakti* ('devotion') to the *guru* and which extends from the expression of *bhakti* to the ego-destroying principle of *prapatti* ('self-surrender'). Cf. the Sufi principle of the training of the *nafs* discussed below.

24. One model for a temporary gender transformation is the famous mystic poet Amīr Khusraw (d. 1325). He sung for his Chishtī Sufi master, Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ (d. 1325; who himself refused to marry or raise children, see Kugle, 2020, p. 237) from Delhi, in a woman's voice just like a bride longing for her bridegroom. The fifteenth-century Sufi Shaykh Musa (d. 1449) of Ahmedabad, Gujarat, who adopted the sobriquet 'Sadā Suhāg' ('eternal bride'), is an example of a permanent androgynous lifestyle caused by a profound spiritual experience in a state of androgyny. Up until today, his devotees of the Suhāgī branch of the Suhrawardiyya, who cross-dress in the red dress of a bride and observe celibacy, are closely associated with castes of transsexuals and transvestites (Frembgen, 2008, pp. 73–4, 100–1, 135–6; Kugle, 2007, ch. 4).

feminine characteristics. In Sufi devotional tradition this is reflected in the synergy of the two opposing but complementary spiritual principles of *jamāl* ('beauty', 'beneficence') and *jalāl* ('power', 'wrath'), both qualities of the most *perfect* being, God. Hence Sufis refer to *kamāl* ('perfection') when discussing *jamāl* and *jalāl*, often seen as a 'gender complementarity' of the divine attributes or Names of God (*asmāʾ-i ilāhī*) within the divine unity. This transcends 'male' and 'female' by articulating an ideal of complementary perfection through the merging of opposites. This perfect symmetry is attained in the ultimate goal of all Sufis, the obliteration of the soul or individual self within the divine (*fanāʾ fi 'llāh*), a simultaneous cessation of being and absorption into the essence of the Absolute (the divine reality) (cf. Shaikh, 2012, pp. 173–175, 219).

In striving for this goal, the practitioner sees her/imself as an embodiment of *barzakh*, which signifies, in both Sufi and hijra understanding, an interworld that separates two things (in this case male and female sex or gender) while at the same time, paradoxically, serving to unify them as a 'spiritual gender identity' (Jaffer, 2017, pp. 175, 182–183; Hussaini, 2012; Hamzić, 2016, p. 272). In her novel Roy explains this paradoxical fusion by drawing upon two archetypal love stories, Layla and Majnun, the famous Sufi allegory of mystical love, and Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet:

> Long ago a man who knew English told her [Anjum] that her name written backwards (in English) spelled Majnu. In the English version of the story of Laila and Majnu, he said, Majnu was called Romeo and Laila was Juliet. She found that hilarious. "You mean I've made a khichdi ['hotchpotch'] of their story?" she asked. "What will they do when they find that Laila may actually be Majnu and Romi was really Juli?" The next time he saw her, the Man Who Knew English said he'd made a mistake. Her name spelled backwards would be Mujna, which wasn't a name and meant nothing at all. To this she said, "It doesn't matter. I'm all of them, I'm Romi and Juli, I'm Laila and Majnu. And Mujna, why not? Who says my name is Anjum? I'm not Anjum, I'm Anjuman [Hindi-Urdu; 'gathering']. I'm a mehfil [from the Arabic word maḥfil], I'm a gathering. Of everybody and nobody, of everything and nothing. Is there anyone else you would like to invite? Everyone's invited" (Roy, 2017, p. 4).

According to Chishtī tradition, God's attributes are divided into two complementary sets: those related to *jamāl* and those related to *jalāl* (Behl, 2012, p. 77). Self-cultivation of particular interior qualities such as *jamāl* and *jalāl* is also attained through bodily practices (cf. Mahmood, 2005; Hirschkind, 2006). This training of the soul (*nafs*) can release certain capacities which are reflected in both Sufi and hijra conceptualizations of the body. During the *qawwālī* Sufi musical performances performed during the *ʿurs*, hijras along with other devotees revel in the multivalent expressiveness of the compositions. This pious commemoration is also seen as an offering in connection with a *mannat* uttered in prayers of supplication. Members of the audience may fall into a spiritual state of trance (*ḥāl*; lit. 'state'), sometimes referred to as the 'unveiling of the bride' by God, their ecstatic gestures/signs (Hindi-Urdu *mast*) embodying a sense of being enraptured by the divine. This ecstasy liberates the followers from social convention and gives sanction to exaggerated and even lewd or camp behavior redolent of the *faqīrs*, notorious for their unruly behavior and haranguing of people.

Since in Sufi belief creation as a whole is a manifestation of the divine attributes, *jamāl* and *jalāl*, it is characterized by these two opposing poles of beauty and power, respectively incorporating beneficent and awe-inspiring emotional states. The depiction of the divine be-

loved as equally beautiful and awe-inspiring, merciful and cruel, is reflected in an allegorical verse by the celebrated Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ al-Saʿdī (d. 1235) about an encounter between a mystic and God, in which the mystic declares passionate love for and surrender to a tempting (male) divine butcher:

> *I said to a butcher: "I love you, but oh how you cut and kill me!" He said: "That's my business, so you scold me?" He bent to kiss my foot to win me, but he wanted my slaughter, so he breathed on me, to skin me* (Homerin, 2001, p. 55).

The powerful image of the divine as a butcher is further elucidated by a verse attributed to the eighteenth-century Qādirī Sufi poet Syed ʿAbdullāh Shāh (d. 1758), known by his poetic alias Bullhe Shāh—who cross-dressed and danced and sang in public in front of his *pīr* Shāh ʿInāyat to convince him of his devotion:

> *The lover is the goat and the beloved is the butcher.*
> *Saying "Me, me," it is slaughtered.*
> *The more it says "Me, me," the deader it is*[25]
> (Bullhe Shāh, 2015, poem 58, p. 107).

It is worth noting that renowned Sufi singers, or *qawwāl*s, like Abida Parveen, the Waddali Brothers, and Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, have sung *qawwālī*s from the compositions of Bullhe Shāh, which contend that gender does not limit access to the divine (Dalrymple, 2005).

Along with the spiritual marriage of a male dervish's soul with the divine, in Sufism the act of spiritual parturition is of central importance. Female procreative power is symbolically appropriated by male spiritual guides who give birth to their own progeny. This is achieved through the training of the adepts' souls, followed by the rite of initiation. The *guru-chelā* relationship has a similar spiritual dimension. Yet at the same time, 'physical' procreation is also much desired, as reflected in the hijra founding myth of a hijra who was a true disciple of Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī when he first arrived in India. There are many different versions of this story, all revolving around the fact that, even though as hijra s/he was incapable of conception, s/he desperately wanted children of her/is own. So s/he went to Ajmer Baba and begged him to grant her/im the power to conceive (Sinha, 2013; Reddy, 2005, pp. 134–135; Hall, 1995, pp. 48–50; Nanda, 1990, p. 19).[26] Through the intercession of the saint s/he finally became pregnant. But after ten months s/he was still unable to give birth, not having a vagina, and her/is stomach became more and more distended, the pain more and more intense. Finally, her/is stomach burst apart, and both s/he and her/is baby died. All my respondents, in addition to paying their respects to Ajmer Sharif Dargāh, also took the time to visit her/is tomb, located a few kilometers south of the *dargāh*.

This aetiological tale problematizes the status of hijras by underlining the fact that giving birth is restricted to women. Yet many hijras, including Mona Ahmed (or Roy's Anjum, 2017, pp. 30–44), yearn to experience motherhood. "Why," s/he once mused [...], "do people think motherhood can only be biological?" Mona's desire was so intense that during her/is *ḥajj* pilgrimage s/he prayed for a child. Her/is wish was miraculously granted, if only for a few years. In 1990, Mona Ahmed's *guru* permitted her/is to adopt a baby daughter, Ayesha, whose mother had died during childbirth (cf. Sinha, 2013). In order to become a mother

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25. The Punjabi words *main, main* ('me, me'), are onomatopoeic representations of the goat's bleating. Cf. Bullhe Shāh, 2015, poems 5, p. 11, and 105, p. 183.

26. Cf. the hijra celebration of *sinni*, a Sufi-identified religious practice commemorating Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī in Bangladesh (Hossein, 2012, pp. 508–510).

Mona visits pediatricians and midwives who teach her how to care for and bring up the child. Ayesha became the center of Mona's existence. "I distributed sweets in the neighborhood and recited the *azaan* [Muslim prayer] in her ears," Mona writes in a letter to her/is Swiss publisher Walter Keller, "I wanted to give her all the world's happiness." For Ayesha's early birthdays, the proud mother hosts lavish three-day long parties, inviting hijras from across the subcontinent. Until the age of six Ayesha was raised by Mona (Singh, 2001, pp. 12, 83–85).

Figure 3. Mona Ahmed holding the book Myself Mona Ahmed *and looking at a photo of herself with her daughter Ayesha. Screenshot from Thakur and Khatoon, 2011–12 [Documentary Film] on YouTube*

Being a mother through adoption is not, however, an option available to many hijras. Most hijras continue to bestow their *baraka* (power of blessing in the widest sense) on expecting mothers or women with offspring. Popular legend has it that there lives a hijra at Ajmer Sharif Dargāh who in a *faqīr* way is a *sadā suhāganī* ('eternal bride') saint. The sobriquet intimates that on the spiritual level, hijras such as her/im are likened to dervishes that "are male seekers of God who cross-dress as 'true brides' (*sadā suhāgan*) of God" (Frembgen, 2008, pp. 100–101; cf. Kugle, 2007, pp. 208–209; see, for example, Sultan Bahu, 1998, p. 75). When pilgrims ask for this *sadā suhāganī* hijra, the *khādim*, or shrine custodian, guides them to the 'bride of God'. Saria recorded the following exchange between the supplicants and the hijra:

> "*Suhaagan, we don't have a child, please ask the khwaja to bless us with a girl or boy, whichever they want. ... the suhaagan will then start to implore Allah, Ya Allah, look, this woman has come, asking for a child. It's been so long since she's married, why haven't you given her a child? She will become very passionate in her pleadings. She is very beautiful, more beautiful than women. She will not leave till it becomes Allah's wish to give the woman a child. She will remove her jewelry and break her bangles in josh [sic], asking Allah, Tell me, are you going to give a child or not? Finally, Allah will change his mind and say, Go, girl, go home. In nine months you will have a child in your lap*" (Saria, 2021, p. 39).

While most hijras bless pregnant mothers or women with children, this 'bride of God' (a time-honored bestower of fertility her/himself) transmits — by invoking the Khwāja's intercession — her/is life-giving force of male procreative energy to heal infertility and bless a woman with offspring. Children born through her/is *baraka* are presented to the *dargāh* along with *shukrana*. According to my informants there is, moreover, a tree in the *dargāh* compound that grows little berries, which they called Maji. Eating the fruit is said to make one's wish come true and to bless hijras with 'motherhood'.

Figure 4. Hijras in front of Ajmer Sharif Dargāh during the 808th ʿurs in 2020. Photo © Sara Kuehn

Targets of violence

While hijras are respected and even revered within the *dargāh*, they are at risk of violence, harassment, and abuse based on the discriminatory ideology of cisgenderism in the Duniya.[27] Without access to basic human rights, hijras are frequent victims of police brutality in addition to being vulnerable to sexual assault on the streets (cf. Tripathi, 2015, pp. 53–57).[28] This was experienced by 24-year-old Nagma and her/is group of *chelā*s when they visited Ajmer Sharif Dargāh to offer a *chādar* at the ʿurs in June 2012. When police stopped their auto rickshaw near Ajmer Gate to demand a bribe from the driver, the police officer sexually assaulted Nagma, and when her/is *chelā*s came to her/is defense all were arrested and detained at the Dargāh Police Station. While Nagma and her/is *chelā*s identify with women, their hijra status meant that they did not have that protection under law. While in police custody they were violently assaulted, brutally gang raped (recorded on police mobile phones), and all their money was stolen. Conversely, government doctors who medically examined them to collect evidence of the rapes and the jail guards were almost

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27. On "[t]he long history of criminalising Hijras," see Hinchy (2019).

28. Hijras face similar discrimination, stigmatization, and abuse in Pakistan. Cf. the 2009 hijra demonstration outside the Taxila police station in Rawalpindi District, Pakistan, during which *guru* Almas Bobby gathered with over one hundred hijras to protest against ongoing police violence (Pamment, 2019).

reverential towards them because they — like most Indians—believe that their sexual status is linked to divinity and that they have special powers to cause misfortune. When they went back to Ajmer two months later to give their statements and record their appearance in court on the assault charge, patterns of discrimination and mistreatment were repeated. They were assaulted and intimidated and told that "none of them should dare to come back to Ajmer, and to miss the further dates of the court hearings" (Press Statement, 2014; Singh, 2014). Even though the medical report confirmed injuries, the rape case continues to drag on. Nagma had to undergo treatment for depression, questioning why s/he had to go through such extreme brutality. Yet, in spite of this traumatic experience in Ajmer itself, not far from the Dargāh Sharif, s/he still continues to visit the *dargāh* to pay her/is respects to her/is patron saint.

Here we might add that after her/is pilgrimage to Ajmer Sharif Dargāh, Roy's protagonist Anjum visits Ahmedabad — perhaps to visit the temple of the mother goddess Bahucharā Mātā in the Gujarati village Becharaji, Mehsana district, 140 km northwest of Ahmedabad. S/he did not, however, reach her/is destination. On her/is way s/he fell victim to the anti-Muslim pogrom of 2002 by vigilante *H*indutva mobs, abetted by the Gujarat police, and barely escaped with her/is life.[29] S/he is spared only because, when encountered by a mob, s/he is identified as a hijra. It is this identity that saves her/im. S/he is the only survivor because, according to Hindu superstition, "killing hijras brings bad luck," while letting her/im live might bless the fanatics with good fortune. Anjum discovers that the "Indo-Pak" war of gender — that s/he is subjected to and which plays upon her/is body and in her/is heart — is "Butcher's Luck" (Roy, 2017, p. 23), and would have meant certain death for the Muslim in her/im. Beyond this sad fact in the Indian Hindu context, hijras continue to be the targets of serious violence by the Muslim majority in Pakistan, as Laxmi Narayan Tripathi laments in an interview given in Pakistan in March 2016:

> [W]hen I see the condition of the khawaja saras in Pakistan,
> I feel like crying. So many of them have been murdered. Even last month
> one of them was shot here. The situation of the hijra is no better in India,
> but nobody has the guts to kill us (Sumbul, 2016).

'Our lives are living graveyards'

S hattered to the core, Anjum sheds her/is brightly colored clothing for a more masculine Pathan suit (Roy, 2017, p. 39). S/he decides to leave the Khwabgah, harbor of dreams, to completely forsake the social and material world of the Duniya, and instead to dwell in a graveyard (Roy, 2017, pp. 57–91). This abnegation of worldly ties is echoed by the Lahori *guru* Ashee Butt who likens hijra life to being "buried in living graveyards" (Pamment, 2019, p. 306). By doing so, Anjum rejects a public system that recognizes her/im only for her/is symbolic value. Even so, although s/he decides to abandon the organized, publicly recognized hijra community, s/he continues to "stubbornly insist on calling herself a Hijra".[30]

Through Anjum, Roy distinguishes between the individualized experience of gender alterity and the political distortion of sacred symbols. Her/is deep trauma leads Anjum to perform a living death by living alone in a graveyard in which — as s/he answers the mu-

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29. Narendra Modi, then Chief Minister of Gujarat, leader of the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and current Prime Minister of India, is accused of fueling the Hindutva tide and initiating and condoning the 2002 Gujarat pogrom.

30. It is noteworthy that, unlike Anjum, Saeeda, a younger resident of the Khwabgah who is educated and speaks English, refers to herself as a "transperson" and employs denominations such as cis-Man and FtM ('Female to Male') or MtF ('Male to Female'). Cf. Roy, 2017, p. 38.

nicipal authorities who argue that s/he is "strictly prohibited from living in the graveyard" — s/he "wasn't living ... she was dying in it." In doing so s/he takes up a time-honored dervish practice of acquiring an intimacy with death by living in cemeteries, as spiritual preparation for the final return to God by renouncing conventional social and material ties to the world. Likewise, for Mona Ahmed, as we will soon see, the graveyard becomes, paradoxically, a space for living. This tradition is reflected in one of the most popular Sufi *ḥadīth*s, containing the imperative 'die before you die!' (*mūtū qabla an tamūtū*), implying a metaphorical death to the cares and concerns of the material world, or Duniya, by reigning in the desires of the self prior to physical death. To achieve 'death before dying' to attain spiritual union with the divine beloved (Karamustafa 1994, pp. 21, 41).

Roy's Anjum was dead to the world while still living in it — s/he "...lived in the graveyard like a tree. At dawn she saw the crows off and welcomed the bats home" (Roy, 2017, p. 3). The graveyard eventually turns into Jannat (Paradise) Guesthouse, Jannat Funeral Services and an animal shelter, and ultimately a place of refuge offering the possibility of perfect happiness. At the end, Anjum's graveyard home comes to function as a multifaith sanctuary of *qubūri* ('grave dwellers') where — protected from the restrictions and oppression of the Duniya — a "gathering" (*maḥfil*) of "fall[en] people" develops. When asked if she was implying that the ideal of perfect happiness could be found only in the company of the dead, Roy vehemently retorts:

> It is the opposite. In that space of the dead, the border between life and death is also being challenged. It is not a submission to death. They are standing their ground and living their lives (Jayaschandran, 2017).

Mona Ahmed, Anjum's real life model, did not experience the horrors of the Gujarat programs her/imself. S/he was expelled from the tightly controlled network of her/is *gharāṇā* of famous Old Delhi hijras when her/is *guru* grew jealous and so critical of the growing

Figure 5. Mona Ahmed at her living quarters at Mehnediya graveyard. Instagram post, 2020

affection between her/im and her/is adopted daughter, feeling that it undermined her/is authority. Despite Mona's hard-fought efforts to keep her/is daughter, s/he did not succeed. No *chelā* dares to go against her/is *guru*'s authority, the undisputed head of the household. While s/he was on pilgrimage to Ajmer Sharif Dargāh, her/is *guru* moved the hijra household to another city, effectively cutting her/im out. Her adopted daughter was taken to Pakistan. The *guru*'s punitive actions may also have been influenced by the fact that, by fulfilling her ambition of motherhood through adoption, Mona had inverted the hijra custom of castration and celibacy as mark of dissociation from mainstream society's claim on their bodies. By becoming a mother, by feeling that she was "now a complete woman" (Singh, 2001, p. 83), in the eyes of her/is guru she had become part of the Duniya.

Figure 6. The graves of two Sufi saints at Mehnediya graveyard, Delhi, where Mona Ahmed lived for the first years until she built living quarters next to it above the grounds of the graveyard of her ancestors. Screenshot from Thakur and Khatoon, 2011–12 [Documentary Film] on YouTube

Reduced to being an "outcast among outcasts," Mona—just like Anjum in the novel — begins to live in a graveyard. S/he lives first at the *mazār* ('shrine') of two Sufi saints (Singh, 2001, pp. 88–89) at Mehnediya Qabristan behind Maulana Azad Medical College in Central Delhi. Later she constructs a room in a corner above the grounds of the graveyard of her ancestors, the back wall of which borders on the morgue of the Medical College. During her time at the Qabristan, Mona is constantly switching between genders. "Speaking to the men she became, or assumed, the male persona of Ahmed-bhai, and many of the men present addressed her as such. Speaking with the women she was Mona, or *baji*, or *behen* — all female terms" (Butalia, 2011). She also alternated between male and female clothing. Her decision to

live at the Qabristan was a provocative move because hijras, like women, are conventionally not supposed to visit graveyards (Singh, 2001, p. 102). Nonetheless, even at the graveyard, she continues to counsel women from all over the neighborhood who arrived in need (Singh 2001, p. 13). She also counsels hijras, some of whom come to live with her for periods of time (Thakur and Khatoon, 2011, p. 12). Mona wrote that she came to the graveyard because she "could not bear the false glamour of city life ... and hated the pretense that people put on" (Singh, 2001, p. 100). Urvashi Butalia recounts that Mona used to say "knowing full well the possible impact of her words – 'I have the dead behind me and the dead beneath me.'" "I've cut all connections now," s/he declared, "with my real family and with my hijra family. There's really nothing left to live for. I used to think the dead were only around me, but now I think they're inside me as well" (Butalia, 2011). She continued to live her life among the dead for over thirty years.

Figure 7. Wall painting featuring Mona Ahmed at her later living quarters at Mehnediya graveyard, Delhi. Screenshot from Thakur and Khatoon, 2011–12 [Documentary Film] on YouTube

Landscapes of the spiritual self
in a non-binary religious context

This process of socio-religious entanglements with *bī shar'* Sufi devotional traditions briefly outlined in this paper suggests that it allows hijras not only to counterbalance structural and systemic socio-cultural barriers but also to formulate strategies to achieve spiritual empowerment and self-determination. Their special position is endorsed by Gharīb Nawāz (or the Benefactor of the Poor, as the revered Sufi saint Muʿīn al-Dīn Chishtī is

commonly referred to) himself in that he has transmitted to them the power to bless people. Their "privileged status in Islam" permits them to present themselves as dignified human beings endowed with sacred power.

The statement "In any case we are Sufis" reveals hijra identification with Sufi religious discourse. According to this discourse, the synergy of the two opposed yet complementary spiritual principles of *jamāl* and *jalāl is* referred to as *kamāl,* or divine perfection. As allegorical embodiment of *barzakh,* or interworld, they are able to generate a 'spiritual gender identity'. This religious discourse allows hijras — whom Salman Rushdie (2008, p. 109) calls "contemporary gender benders" — to fashion their spiritual self, or soul (*nafs*), within a non-binary religious context. This uncommon spiritual path "beyond the binary" on the socio-religious margins of society entails a liminal social position that imbues hijras with a status that is ambiguous. This ambiguity has positive connotations in that it suggests great sanctity and power (cf. Douglas, 1966). In this conversation hijras are seen as positively inflected figures of deviance.

Just as the great stories of human love bring about the loss of one's own identity and acceptance of the beloved's identity, so too divine love can lead to the dissolution of the self and the metamorphosis of human attributes into the divine. It leads to a form of *khichdi,* or 'hotchpotch', a term which Anjum uses to conceptualize her/is individual form of hybridity, explained further as both *anjuman* or 'gathering' and *mehfil,* or 'festive gathering', "[o]f everybody and nobody, of everything and nothing," to which "everybody is invited." This hybridity is inseparably connected with the (pro)creative power of hijras.

In Islamic belief, as Scott Kugle explains, the soul, or self, is conceptualized as a dynamic, multidimensional spectrum: "The soul is an awareness more than a substance. ... As an identity, it recognizes a name, perceives an individuality, and accepts culpability of the actions of the body. It organizes the parts of the body into a single being, a self. In that sense, the soul as an identity can be said to have gender. The soul, reflecting on the body, perceives itself to be female or male, or possibly both-male-and-female or neither-male-nor-female" (Kugle, 2010, p. 237). In an interview with the magazine *Guernica,* Laxmi Narayan Tripathi explains the spectrum of the soul within the mercurial interpretive framework of hijrahood in India:

> ...a hijra is [someone who has transitioned from] male to female, but we don't consider ourselves female because culturally we belong to a completely different section of society. Many hijras are castrated, but it's not compulsory. They say it's the soul which is hijra. We feel we are neither man nor woman, but we enjoy femininity. I enjoy womanhood, but I am not a woman. It's very confusing (Seervai, 2015; cf. Tripathi, 2015, pp. 39–40).

When asked about Laxmi Narayan Tripathi's statement that it is "the soul which is hijra"— reflected in Roy's (2017, p. 27) phrase "[t]he word Hijra ... meant a Body in which a Holy Soul lives" — my interlocutors similarly related that it is the "state of the soul" — pertaining to the quality of the soul — that constitutes a hijra/kinnar (cf. Singh, 2001, p. 63; Jaffer, 2017, p. 182). This shows that, next to the restrictive patriarchal power structures of the (contemporary) Duniya, Sufi discourse offers an opportunity to understand the transcendence of gender dualism as a powerful, procreative act of completion and to forge a pluralistic vernacular that encourages the reclamation of multifaceted spiritual identities.

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A HALAL PERSPECTIVE ON GENDER: BIRTH-GIVING AND FEMALE BODY IN PAID HEALTH CARE OPTIONS FOR MUSLIMS IN THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN

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Using the example of the Republic of Tatarstan (Russia), this article discusses the emergence of the field of medical services for Muslims. It argues that genderisation of social interactions, in particular, of those between physicians and patients, has been one of the main principles of Muslim bioethics in the Republic. Among other measures, halal certification procedures are currently being developed by numerous religious experts in order to standardise and legitimise such genderisation. The analysis draws on data collected during multiple interviews with experts, medical professionals, Muslim patients, as well as on the qualitative study of regulatory documents. The article shows that the main feature of rules that govern certification procedures in Tatarstan today is the ongoing convergence between religious norms and biomedicine. As a particular example of medical services designed explicitly for Muslims in the Republic, the paper presents and analyses the service of "halal birth-giving". This service combines commodification of religiosity and paid care for Muslim women, thereby heavily relying on their gender and religious identities, as well as their class status.

Keywords: *Halal, marketisation, the Republic of Tatarstan, public health, culture-specific healthcare services, culture sensitiveness, consumerism*

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ГЕНДЕРНОЕ ИЗМЕРЕНИЕ ХАЛЯЛЯ: ЖЕНСКОЕ ТЕЛО И РОДОВСПОМОЖЕНИЕ В ПЛАТНЫХ МЕДИЦИНСКИХ УСЛУГАХ ДЛЯ МУСУЛЬМАН В РЕСПУБЛИКЕ ТАТАРСТАН

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Данная статья посвящена появлению поля медицинских услуг для мусульман на примере Республики Татарстан. В качестве одного из главных принципов мусульманской биоэтики рассматривается гендерная специфика социальных взаимодействий, в частности взаимодействий между врачами и пациентами. Одним из инструментов продвижения медицинских услуг для мусульман становится религиозная сертификация. На основе

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интервью с экспертами, врачами и пациентами-мусульманами, а также анализа нормативных документов делается вывод о том, что основным свойством регламентирующих сертификацию правил является гибридизация религии и биомедицины. Как пример медицинской услуги для мусульман представлена услуга «халяльные роды», сочетающая в себе коммерциализацию религиозности и оплачиваемую заботу о пациентках-мусульманках на основе их гендерного, религиозного и классового статуса.

Ключевые слова: *халяль, маркетизация, Республика Татарстан, здравоохранение, культурно-специфичные медицинские услуги, культурная чувствительность, консьюмеризм*

Введение[1]

Культурная чувствительность — это один из элементов большого феномена пациентоориентированности в работе медицинских профессионалов (Mead, 2000; Borozdina, Novkunshaya, 2020). Для успешного лечения медицинскому персоналу важно не только применять универсальные схемы лечения, но и учитывать индивидуальные особенности пациента, в том числе его религиозные взгляды (Leininger, 1995). Боль-

шая часть исследований о культурной чувствительности медицинских услуг (Hasnain et al., 2011) фокусируются на том, как религиозные сообщества реагируют на попытки биомедицины дисциплинировать их тела — например, через кампании по распространению стандартизированных гигиенических норм или вакцинацию (Kasstan, 2018; Darko, 2021). Вписанные в интерсекциональную перспективу, эти работы показывают упомянутых пациентов через их усеченные возможности и множественные барьеры (правовые, финансовые, языковые и др.) перед лицом национальных систем здравоохранения (Tackett et al., 2018; Firdous et al., 2020). Тем самым исследования участвуют в создании образа религиозных пациентов преимущественно как представителей угнетенных меньшинств. Но что если посмотреть на территории, где религии являются видимой частью символического ландшафта?

Данное исследование расширяет понимание функционирования культурно-специфических медицинских услуг и демонстрирует региональный контекст (Республика Татарстан), в котором мусульмане не являются меньшинством, а наоборот — со всех сторон вовлечены в процессы оказания и получения медицинских услуг, способных учитывать религиозные правила. Обширный репертуар практик, маркированных как услуги для мусульман, в том числе с помощью сертификата «халяль», позволяет говорить о формировании в Татарстане поля культурно-специфических медицинских услуг. Однако такое культурно-специфическое потребление в сфере медицинских услуг оказывается классовой привилегией, доступной в основном для узкой группы пациентов.

Медицинские услуги в социальных исследованиях принято рассматривать с точки зрения моральной нагруженности. С одной стороны, большие дискуссии вызывает товаризация любых медицинских услуг, поскольку тем самым вопросы жизни и здоровья человека начинают оцениваться в денежном эквиваленте. Поэтому рынки любых медицинских услуг принято определять как аффективно насыщенные (Zelizer, 1979; Бердышева, 2012; Темкина, 2016). Помимо моральной нагруженности услуг, связанных с вопросами жизни и здоровья, для товаров, которые определяют как «халяльные», остро стоит вопрос о доверии и качестве (Тагибов, 2018; Benussi, 2021). Дело в том, что «халяльность» товара или услуги зачастую зависит от ненаблюдаемых процессов — таких как совершение молитвы, внутренний состав продуктов, условия содержания животных (Van Waarden et al., 2013). Этот вопрос (не)доверия призвана решать сертификация. Специальные сертификаты подтверждают соответствие ненаблюдаемых процессов как религиозным (халяль, кошер), так и любым другим этическим принципам (например, сертификаты, подтверждающие отсутствие в производственном цикле эксплуатации детского труда, отсутствие генно-модифицированных компонентов или стремление компании к сокращению углеродного следа).

Важным в определении приемлемости и допустимости любых социальных взаимодействий для мусульман является принцип гендеризированности, то есть постоянное внимание к гендеру в разных проявлениях. По определению Захры Аюби, ислам предлагает своим последователям гендеризированную этическую систему (Ayubi, 2019). Это означает, что гендер является определяющим фактором для самых разных сфер жизни мусульман. Поскольку один из принципов мусульманской биоэтики предлагает пациентам ставить в приоритет обращение к врачу своего пола, то гендерно обусловленными, то есть гендеризированными, становятся все социальные взаимодействия в медицинском контексте. Рассматривая появление и расширение рынка медицинских услуг для мусульман в Республике Татарстан, я ставлю вопрос о том, что определяет востребо-

ванность и устойчивость рынка медицинских услуг для мусульман в Татарстане, каким образом в этих услугах учитывается гендерная специфика социальных взаимодействий и как эта специфика воплощается в услуге «халяльных родов».

Эмпирический контекст и методы исследования

Исследование рынка медицинских услуг для мусульман проводилось в 2018–2020 годах в рамках магистерского проекта. Территориальные границы исследования совпадают с границами Республики Татарстан. Выбор этого региона был обусловлен следующими характеристиками, которые, на мой взгляд, способствуют развитию поля медицинских услуг для мусульман:

1. Значительная доля татар (т. е. преимущественно мусульман) в населении республики, которые рассматриваются производителями как составная часть аудитории халяльных товаров и услуг (Всероссийская перепись, 2010).

2. Развитость рыночной инфраструктуры. Мусульманское население формулирует спрос, что в свою очередь позволяет активно развиваться инфраструктуре халяль в городах республики. Наличие обширных сегментов халяль-рынка (продукты питания, одежда, сервисы и услуги) создает возможности для объединения мусульманских предпринимателей. Города республики, таким образом, становятся благоприятной средой для развития рынков товаров и услуг для мусульман, относящихся в числе прочего и к медицине.

3. Политическая автономия и международные связи. Можно предположить, что Республика Татарстан в условиях угасающей федерализации (Faller, 2011; Yusupova, 2016) может продолжать подчеркивать автономный статус теперь уже неполитическими методами. Для поддержания этого автономного статуса религия играет важную символическую роль, в частности — способствует налаживанию партнерских связей в сфере экономики и культуры с мусульманскими государствами. Благодаря этим связям Татарстан рассматривает Ближний Восток, Турцию, Юго-Восточную Азию как источник инвестиционной поддержки и туристических потоков, а также как образец для трансфера различных технологий. Как выяснилось в процессе исследования, граждане партнерских мусульманских стран становятся клиентами медицинских учреждений и тоже оказывают влияние на практики медицинских профессионалов.

Эмпирическую базу исследования составили источники трех типов. Первый тип источников — это глубинные полуструктурированные интервью с врачами, пациентами-мусульманами и религиозными экспертами (всего 32 интервью). Второй тип источников — материалы участвующего наблюдения в медицинских учреждениях и на встречах профессиональных медицинских ассоциаций общей продолжительностью 10 часов. Третий тип источников — это документы (20 единиц документов), представленные преимущественно нормативно-правовыми актами, стандартами и постановлениями органов власти разного уровня, а также интернет-страницы медицинских учреждений. Собранные данные были обработаны с помощью программы Atlas.ti и подвергнуты процедуре тематического анализа. Тематический анализ (Flick, 2009), выбранный для интерпретации данных, часто используется для сравнения разных точек зрения на одно и то же явление. В данном случае с помощью процедуры тематического анализа выделялись способы обсуждения религиозной приемлемости медицинских услуг, репертуары ме-

дицинских практик и интерпретации того, что информанты понимают под «халяльностью» применительно к сфере здравоохранения.

Ниже представлена реконструкция появления рынка культурно-специфических услуг в Республике Татарстан. Сначала приведены принципы мусульманской биоэтики и описаны способы их адаптации к российским реалиям. Инструменты продвижения услуг для мусульман включают халяльную сертификацию, но не ограничиваются ею. Далее в качестве отдельного кейса рассматривается сертифицированная услуга «халяльные роды», которая вписывается в дискуссию о коммодификации религиозных благ.

АДАПТАЦИЯ ПРАВИЛ МУСУЛЬМАНСКОЙ БИОЭТИКИ К РОССИЙСКИМ РЕАЛИЯМ И РЫНОК СЕРТИФИЦИРОВАННЫХ МЕДИЦИНСКИХ УСЛУГ ДЛЯ МУСУЛЬМАН В ТАТАРСТАНЕ

Отправными точками для формулирования правил халяльной медицины становятся несколько принципов мусульманской биоэтики. Самым главным является принцип гендерной сегрегации. Принцип гендерной сегрегации опирается на аят Корана (24:30-31), который предписывает сокрытие определенных частей тела мужчин и женщин (аурат) от посторонних глаз, а также на хадис о том, что неженатые мужчина и женщина, не связанные родственными узами, не могут оставаться наедине (Аль Бухари: 1321). К этому добавляются необходимость соблюдать дресс-код, существование специальных пространств для молитвы, избегание препаратов и манипуляций, запрещенных решениями мусульманских богословов. Это означает, что религиозная приемлемость в случае медицинских услуг может рассматриваться как характеристика социальных взаимодействий (желательность ситуации, когда врач и пациент одного пола), как характеристика организации физического пространства (раздельные входы для женщин и мужчин) и как характеристика пригодности препаратов (например, часто обсуждается допустимость использования спиртосодержащих веществ). Эти принципы мусульманской биоэтики в общем виде разделяют последователи разных правовых школ, существующих в исламе (Atighetchi, 2007, p. 41). Вместе с тем в каждой правовой школе или в национальном совете богословов могут существовать решения религиозных экспертов, которые учитывают локальную специфику. На фоне правового плюрализма, в том числе в вопросах биоэтики (Рагозина, 2018), каждый мусульманин самостоятельно принимает решение о своем здоровье, учитывая те или иные исламские источники.

Приведенный выше очень приблизительный набор обобщенных правил мусульманской биоэтики нужен, чтобы подчеркнуть гендерную сегрегацию как наиболее желательный признак халяльности медицинской услуги для мусульман всего мира. Сочетание «наиболее желательный» указывает на то, что далеко не везде требование гендерной сегрегации может быть воплощено в жизнь, поскольку практики здравоохранения соотносятся с особенностями экономических условий, политических режимов, а также связаны с устройством медицинской профессии. Далее с обобщенного уровня «мусульманских правил» я перехожу к правилам мусульманской медицины, которые были сформулированы Комитетом «Халяль» при Духовном управлении мусульман Республики Татарстан.

Духовное управление мусульман Республики Татарстан (ДУМ РТ) — это организация, которая координирует официальную религиозную деятельность на территории Республики. Созданное в 1998 году, учреждение объединяет территориальные уровни органи-

зации приходов (окружные, районные и сельские), а также ведет образовательную, благотворительную, проповедническую деятельность. В структуре управления существует несколько специализированных отделов, в том числе медицинский отдел.

Медицинский отдел появился в структуре Духовного управления мусульман РТ в 2009 году по инициативе врача Айрата Хакимова (Е-Ислам, 2009), который известен как создатель первой российской стоматологической клиники для мусульман «Булгар-стом» (Сохбет, 2019). Медицинский отдел во главе с Хакимовым ставил своей задачей открытие молельных комнат в лечебно-профилактических учреждениях на территории республики, благодаря чему было открыто несколько пространств для молитвы. Однако в 2013 году, после смены муфтия Республики, должности в ДУМ были перераспределены между новыми участниками команды, а медицинский отдел на какое-то время перестал функционировать.

После опыта взаимодействия религиозных экспертов с министерством здравоохранения в проекте открытия молельных комнат начался новый период активности, на котором инициатива от медицинского комитета перешла к другому подразделению ДУМ — Комитету «Халяль». В 2015 году Комитет «Халяль» запустил обсуждение и разработку документа *Общие требования по оказанию медицинских услуг в соответствии с канонами ислама*, для чего была сформирована экспертная группа из медицинских профессионалов-мусульман и религиозных авторитетов. Как вспоминают в интервью участники этой группы, каждая сторона проверяла предлагаемые положения на соответствие требованиям своей сферы: на соответствие религиозным ограничениям и одновременно на следование правилам оказания медицинской помощи. Анализ этого документа позволяет выделить несколько ключевых признаков, которыми, по мнению Комитета «Халяль», должны обладать медицинские услуги для пациентов-мусульман.

Документ *Общие правила по оказанию медицинских услуг в соответствии с канонами ислама*[2] построен с использованием религиозной терминологии, но ограничивающей рамкой в нем все-таки являются принципы биомедицины. Во-первых, формальные правила, прописанные в документе, указывают на приоритет светского законодательства Российской Федерации и всех требований, которые предъявляются к медицинским учреждениям (например, обязательным является наличие лицензии на право осуществления медицинской деятельности). Во-вторых, ко всем практикам, легитимированным нормативными правовыми актами в сфере здравоохранения, применяется своеобразный «фильтр» на предмет дозволенности исламом. В частности, много внимания уделяется гендерной сегрегации: медицинским сотрудникам запрещается «находиться наедине с пациентом противоположного пола или рассматривать аурат больного, если не предполагается срочное медицинское вмешательство, осмотр, диагностирование или лечение». Гендеризированность взаимодействий в данном случае становится эквивалентом соответствия требованиям ислама, что еще раз указывает на принципиальность внимания к гендерным вопросам.

После утверждения документа была запущена услуга религиозной сертификации медицинских услуг. Как вспоминают эксперты, первой сертифицированной медицинской услугой стало обрезание для мальчиков на базе государственных и частных медицинских учреждений Республики; позднее к ним добавилось производство биологически-актив-

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2. Общие правила по оказанию медицинских услуг в соответствии с канонами ислама. Казань, 2015. (Копия имеется в распоряжении автора.)

ных добавок, остеодонтических материалов, абсорбирующих препаратов и, наконец, — услуги в сфере родовспоможения, санаторные услуги и специализированная скорая медицинская помощь.

Существует некоторая проблема с восстановлением точной хронологии и полным перечнем услуг, которые проходили сертификацию. Дело в том, что в 2018 году произошел скандал, связанный с обнаружением в сертифицированной мясной продукции компонентов свинины (Serrano, 2020). Хотя судебный процесс был направлен против частной сертифицирующей организации, изменения также коснулись Комитета «Халяль». Был обновлен состав сотрудников Комитета, назначен новый руководитель, запущен новый сайт. Сегодня актуальный сайт Комитета «Халяль» позволяет увидеть перечень только тех организаций, которые имеют действующий сертификат. Срок действия договора на сертификацию услуг составляет один календарный год. По истечении срока эксперты Комитета предлагают продлить договор и оплатить новый календарный цикл, но далеко не все заказчики готовы продолжать сотрудничество, в основном по финансовым причинам. Если организация не возобновляет договор, ее название пропадает из действующего списка на сайте Комитета. Например, в 2016 г. сертификат получил медицинский центр «Мак» (Гараева, 2017), но на сайте нет об этом никаких упоминаний.

Халяльная сертификация медицинских услуг является частью исключительно оплачиваемых медицинских услуг. Эти услуги могут быть оказаны как на базе частных клиник, так и на базе государственных лечебных учреждений. Стоимость услуги включает не только оплату работы медицинского персонала, но и в обобщенном виде — стоимость экспертной работы, лабораторные анализы, а также затраты на мониторинг соответствия услуги правилам в течение года. Таким образом, пациенты, чтобы воспользоваться медицинской услугой халяль, должны нести более высокие расходы по сравнению с услугами государственного здравоохранения или аналогичными услугами частных медицинских учреждений без сертификата.

Следующее значимое событие для халяльной индустрии Республики Татарстан после распространения сертификации на сферу медицины, по мнению экспертов, — это создание Дорожной карты по развитию халяльного образа жизни (Halal Life Style) весной 2019 года. Использование англоязычной формулировки в названии документа можно объяснить желанием повысить видимость продвигаемых услуг на международном рынке. Наряду с экономикой и промышленностью в документе большое внимание уделяется продвижению мусульманской медицины и медицинского туризма (Кусанова, 2021). Среди аргументов, поддерживающих перспективы развития медицинского туризма в Республике Татарстан, встречаются апелляции к развитой технологической базе, а также то, что в российской системе здравоохранения задействовано большое число специалистов-женщин. Об этом, например, говорил ректор Российского исламского университета Рафик Мухаметшин: «В мусульманских странах практически нет женщин-врачей, а у нас много высококвалифицированных специалистов, которые смогут лечить мусульманских женщин» (Антонов, 2016). Тем самым гендерная структура российских медицинских профессий была представлена как преимущество в продвижении культурно-чувствительных услуг для пациентов-мусульман.

К концу 2019 года была запущена сертификация санаторных услуг, которые включены в программу развития халяльного туризма. Проектом развития халяльного образа жизни подчеркивается идея, что «понятие „халяль“ — не только стандарт для последова-

телей ислама, но и показатель качества продукции и услуг в светских обществах» (АИР РТ, 2019). Как подчеркивает исследователь движения халяль Маттео Бенусси, этот бум халяльной индустрии сигнализировал о большом спросе на идеи благочестия и религиозности среди российских мусульман (Benussi, 2021).

Суммируя, можно сказать, что в поле медицинских услуг для мусульман Комитет «Халяль» при ДУМ РТ занимает позицию того агента, который обладает значительными политическими ресурсами. Эти ресурсы обеспечивают Комитету вовлечение в работу организаций исполнительной власти. Комитет своей работой адаптирует и реализует инициативы региональных политических элит, связанные с поддержкой и продвижением халяльной индустрии, в том числе в сфере медицины. Комитет по стандарту «Халяль» при ДУМ РТ разрабатывает стандартизированные требования и представляет мусульманскую медицину как перечень коммерциализированных услуг, одобренных экспертами. Одной из таких услуг стали «халяльные роды», которые являются одним из немногочисленных подобных предложений не только на постсоветском пространстве, но и в мире.

КЕЙС ХАЛЯЛЬНЫХ РОДОВ: КОММЕРЦИАЛИЗАЦИЯ РЕЛИГИОЗНОСТИ?

Здравоохранение в целом и родовспоможение в частности на постсоветском пространстве отличаются стремительным ростом сегмента оплачиваемых услуг, которые стимулируются логикой неолиберального выбора (Temkina & Rivkin-Fish, 2020). Здесь можно увидеть большой спектр предложений, например партнерские роды, психологическое и юридическое сопровождение. Также отмечается стойкий запрос на усиление роли немедицинских специалисток-доул, которые снижают бремя медикализации родов. Доулы позиционируют себя как немедицинские специалисты, в чью задачу входят в том числе гуманизация зарегулированного институтом здравоохранения процесса родовспоможения и расширение агентности рожениц (Кукса, 2021). Как показывают проведенные в рамках исследования интервью[3], в доульских сетях Татарстана работают в том числе специалистки-мусульманки, которые поддерживают рожениц до, во время и после родов. Однако центральным кейсом для данной статьи стал институционализированный кейс «халяльных родов». Принимая во внимание обширный диапазон предложений на российском рынке услуг родовспоможения, я постараюсь проанализировать составляющие этого кейса. Также я сосредоточусь на управленческой логике учреждения, первым в России запустившего эту услугу. Для анонимизации медицинского учреждения здесь и далее будет использоваться название Клиника-N.

Предоставление помощи в родоразрешении для мусульманок описывается командой медицинского учреждения как «упакованный коммерческий продукт». Одной из причин, почему Клиника-N осенью 2019 года обратилась за сертификатом халяль, стало то, что среди клиенток медицинской организации уже были мусульманки, в том числе иностранки.

> «Этот продукт мы хотели реализовать уже в виде непосредственно сформулированной коммерческой услуги, должен быть документ. Ну как везде. После встречи руководства с представителями сертифицирующих органов приняли решение о подготовке» (из интервью с сотрудником Клиники-N).

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3. Полевые материалы автора (архив интервью 2018–2020 гг.).

Сотрудники клиники переосмыслили обращение за религиозным освидетельствованием в рыночных терминах. Они сравнивают этот процесс товаризации с «упаковыванием продукта», приданием ему более привлекательных свойств. Коммерческая услуга фактически уже существовала, но не имела названия и отдельной строки в перечне услуг. Обращение в Комитет «Халяль» позволило использовать сертификат как «этикетку», дать новое наименование и переопределить стоимость.

Для успешного осуществления процедуры сертификации важно и то, что другая сторона-участник процесса — Комитет «Халяль» — была готова к предоставлению религиозной экспертизы в родовспоможении. Намерение сертифицировать услугу озвучивал еще в 2015 г. предыдущий руководитель Комитета «Халяль» Рустам Хабибуллин: «Наша цель — сделать Татарстан центром мусульманского медицинского туризма. В перспективе — организация родов для женщин по канонам шариата» (Романов, 2015). В Комитете «Халяль» имелись необходимые кадры, уже был готов стандарт и алгоритм действий по сертификации. Для осуществления проекта нужен был инициативный заказчик. Этим заказчиком выступила Клиника-N. Посмотрим далее, что именно включало в себя превращение халяльных родов в новую для заказчика услугу.

Компоненты халяльных родов

Сотрудники клиники отмечают пять особенностей услуги, официально получившей название «Оказание медицинской помощи женщинам в период родов»: женская бригада, отсутствие спирта и запрещенных компонентов в лекарственных средствах, покрывало для пациентки (при перемещении между отделениями), питание халяль и атрибуты для молитвы. Рассмотрим подробнее каждую из особенностей в отдельности.

1) женская бригада

Для того чтобы получить сертификат, в родильном отделении была сформирована женская бригада, состоящая из восьми сотрудниц. В эту бригаду входят врач акушер-гинеколог, акушерка, анестезиолог, неонатолог, медсестры и дублеры на случай необходимости замены. Администрация предполагает, что в дальнейшем другие сотрудники тоже смогут пройти религиозный ликбез, который для этих восьми специалистов проведут эксперт из Комитета и приглашенный имам. Несмотря на то, что в данный момент бригада имеет женский состав, администрация и Комитет «Халяль» допускают в случае необходимости привлечение специалистов мужского пола (например, хирурга).

2) отсутствие нехаляльных компонентов

Вопрос о дозволенности используемых лекарств встает перед каждым медицинским учреждением, позиционирующим себя как «халяль». В случае родильного отделения специалисты составили список препаратов для утверждения в Комитете «Халяль». Перечень основных нежелательных компонентов сводится к спиртосодержащим жидкостям, желатину и шовным материалам органического происхождения. Для меня стало сюрпризом, что многие препаратов, от которых стараются отказаться пациентки-мусульманки в государственном роддоме, в Клинике-N не используют, объясняя строгий отбор высокими требованиями к качеству. Например, весь шовный материал в клинике имеет искусственное происхождение, что врачи объясняют более высокой рассасываемостью и гипоаллергенностью по сравнению с кетгутом (шовный материал из органических тканей крупного рогатого скота). Такое кровоостанавливающее сред-

ство, как экстракт водяного перца, в частном роддоме заменяют физиотерапией, а в качестве антисептиков применяют бесспиртовые дезинфицирующие средства. Как объясняют сотрудники клиники, они давно применяют эти препараты, которые хорошо зарекомендовали себя в работе, независимо от страны-производителя и каких-то других ограничений. Таким образом, представленные для экспертизы перечни препаратов не вызвали вопросов у халяльной комиссии и не потребовалось никаких замен.

Препараты из двух заверенных списков (для физиологических родов и для кесарева сечения) хранят в клинике в специальных укладках с пометкой «для родов халяль». Их отделение носит скорее символический характер. Состав этих списков говорит в пользу того, что «халяль» в контексте лекарственных средств соответствует более дорогостоящим и качественным, по мнению специалистов платной клиники, препаратам.

3) «покрывало»

Словом «покрывало» медицинскими сотрудниками обозначается принцип, согласно которому *«при перемещении между помещениями родильного отделения пациентка укрыта от взоров посторонних посетителей и сотрудников клиники»* (из интервью с сотрудником Клиники-N). Во время курсов сотрудников в том числе информируют о необходимости скрывать от посторонних определенные части (аурат). Предполагается, что во время халяльных родов покрытие всего тела роженицы контролируется персоналом — открыты лишь те зоны, с которыми непосредственно производятся медицинские манипуляции.

Сравнивая детали с теми случаями, когда рассматриваются процедуры обращения за платными услугами по родовспоможению (Темкина, 2016), можно сказать, что пациентки в обоих случаях «покупают» в первую очередь заботу и внимание со стороны медицинского персонала.

4) питание халяль

Клиника-N сообщает клиентам о доступности в их меню халяльного питания. В Казани функционирует один комбинат, который предлагает разные виды диетической и специальной продукции, в том числе халяль. Поскольку комбинат работает с общественными учреждениями, его продукция также сертифицирована Комитетом «Халяль», который гарантирует клиентам приемлемость продукции.

5) атрибуты для молитвы

Атрибуты для молитвы (кувшин для омовения, коврик для намаза, Коран, ориентир на Мекку) предлагаются клиентам как часть удобной инфраструктуры. Состав этого набора предполагает знание о необходимости в исламе пятикратной молитвы, но как будто игнорирует тот момент, что роженица не должна молиться, поскольку она находится в состоянии «ритуальной нечистоты» (как и во время менструации). Продолжительность этого состояния напрямую связана с длительностью послеродовых выделений, то есть период воздержания от молитвы и интимной близости с мужем у каждой женщины индивидуален. Другой признак халяльной инфраструктуры в клинике — отсутствие на стенах антропоморфных изображений (фотографий новорожденных), которые присутствуют в других (обычных) палатах. Все эти атрибуты имеют условный характер для практикующих мусульман, однако они используются в рекламе халяльных услуг как символически значимые.

Упомянутые составляющие услуги «халяльные роды» в целом совпадают с международными рекомендациями и руководствами об организации комфортных родов (Abdul Aziz et al., 2017), которые солидарны в том, что минимальные требования приемлемости услуг родовспоможения для мусульманок не противоречат представлениям о комфортных условиях для пациенток, которые придерживаются иных религиозных или секулярных позиций.

Что оплачивается вместе с услугой халяльных родов

Из перечисленных выше несколько составляющих компонентов услуги были доступна пациенткам и до сертификации: возможность совершать молитву, питание халяль, разрешенные препараты. Что же изменилось принципиально? Социологически это может быть проинтерпретировано следующим образом: вместе с описанными в коммерческом предложении пятью пунктами клиника теперь предлагает классовые привилегии, удовлетворение ожиданий заботы, символические атрибуты принадлежности к определенному гендерному и религиозному статусу.

Признание классового статуса сопряжено с высокой стоимостью и особым «привилегированным» отношением. Сертификация товара или услуги влечет за собой определенные требования к ценообразованию. В оценочную стоимость автоматически включается оплата работы экспертов и последующий мониторинг. Все товары и услуги «халяль» становятся дороже аналогичных товаров без соответствующего «лейбла». Ценообразование в Клинике-N показывает, что получателем услуги видятся клиенты определенной классовой принадлежности: менее обеспеченные клиенты просто не смогут воспользоваться этим (самым) дорогостоящим предложением в линейке услуг по родовспоможению. Можно предположить, что за счет высоких цен администрация фактически производит сегрегацию среди клиентов по экономическому признаку. Фактически роды в Клинике-N превращаются в элемент статусного потребления. Идея про статусное потребление основана на том, что большая часть «халяльного сервиса» из предложенного клиникой может быть получена роженицей в любом роддоме путем переговоров с персоналом, о чем неоднократно говорили пациентки с опытом родов в государственных медицинских учреждениях.

Кроме того, что этот вариант требует значительных финансовых вложений, сертификация халяльных родов может стать дополнительным аргументом в критике Комитета «Халяль». Эта критика исходит преимущественно со стороны самих мусульман и носит антикапиталистический характер. Критика направлена против присвоения знака «халяль» тем товарам и услугам, которые напрямую не являются нежелательными — например, большие вопросы вызывает продажа питьевой воды, масла или яиц, брендированных как «халяль».

Религиозные гарантии понимаются здесь шире, нежели только религиозная экспертиза в виде сертификата халяль. Можно предположить, что к религиозным гарантиям относится ответственность за религиозную приемлемость действий в ситуации, когда сама пациентка не может в силу разных обстоятельств принимать обдуманные решения. В интервью об опыте родов в государственных больницах пациентки говорили об общем состоянии потерянности и неспособности влиять на процесс, в том числе участвовать в принятии решений с учетом своих религиозных норм. В случае сертифицированных родов дается гарантия, что врачи не только позаботятся и будут эмоционально поддерживать пациентку, но и что они будут принимать решения с учетом требований

ислама. Предполагается, что прошедшие религиозный ликбез специалисты уже знают заранее, какие способы лечения приемлемы для пациентки-мусульманки. Во избежание ситуаций неопределенности в клинике заранее был составлен перечень подходящих лекарств с «правильным» составом и проведены консультации с религиозными экспертами для согласования вопросов, с которыми медицинский персонал может столкнуться.

Отдельно я бы хотела остановиться на том, как сформулированный стандарт представляет пациентку-мусульманку. Во-первых, посмотрим на порядок взаимодействия пациентки и персонала. В этом порядке взаимодействия сохраняется патерналистская модель, в которой именно врач, а не акушерка, является главной фигурой. Несмотря на существование мусульманских доул и запрос на работу с ними среди рожениц-мусульманок[4], в структуре сертифицированной услуги по «оказанию медицинской помощи женщинам в период родов» доулам не нашлось места. Можно предположить, что в формулировании и обсуждении услуги участвовали преимущественно специалисты-мужчины, которые руководствовались принципами давно сформированной патерналистской модели медицинской профессии. Во-вторых, представляется, что выработанный клиникой порядок действий для взаимодействия персонала с пациенткой не оставляет пространства для диалога. За фразами о «полной упакованности услуги родов» может скрываться тотальный дисциплинирующий медицинский взгляд на роженицу, в данном случае — на роженицу-мусульманку. Этот дисциплинирующий взгляд не распознает деталей религиозной практики, поскольку для него пациентка — это все еще объект медицинского вмешательства, а не чувствующий субъект с широким спектром потребностей и индивидуальных особенностей.

Резюмируя, можно сказать, что на протяжении определенного времени клиника отвечала запросам своих клиенток-мусульманок в рамках общего порядка взаимодействия с пациентками. Удовлетворение особых запросов не выделялось в отдельную услугу. Затем администрация клиники обратилась за религиозной сертификацией, чтобы коммерциализировать обслуживание культурно-специфических клиентов. Я полагаю, что основу коммерциализации и извлечения дополнительной прибыли из услуги халяльных родов составляет подтвержденная религиозная компетентность персонала, воспроизводимость услуги (без необходимости ведения дополнительных переговоров со стороны клиентки и ее семьи) и априорное конструирование пациентки как «культурно-особой». Вместе с услугой пациентке предлагается четко прописанная картина ожиданий относительно действий медицинского персонала, а также набор классовых привилегий. Тем самым кейс Клиники-N демонстрирует, как идеи товаризации религиозных благ проникают в сферу частных медицинских услуг. Гендерная сегрегация становится самым видимым и доступным способом продемонстрировать минимальную культурную компетентность со стороны поставщиков медицинских услуг.

Заключение

Данное исследование посвящено сформировавшемуся в Республике Татарстан рынку оплачиваемых медицинских услуг для мусульман, который позволяет одновременно смотреть на процессы коммодификации религиозной сензитивности и на маркетизацию в области здравоохранения. Одним из инструментов маркирования товаров и услуг как «услуг для мусульман» становится сертификация халяль.

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4. Полевые материалы автора (архив интервью 2018–2020 гг.).

В последние несколько лет главным поставщиком услуг сертификации стал Комитет «Халяль», который занимается разработкой и формулированием правил. При формулировании правил того, какими должны быть медицинские услуги для мусульман, одним из главных принципов становится их гендеризированность — желательное совпадение пола пациента и медицинского работника, а также приватность и соблюдение аурата.

Рост предложения на рынке халяльных товаров и услуг поддерживает видимость мусульман как активных агентов, которые обсуждают правила мусульманской биоэтики, пробуют новые товары и вступают в переговоры с медицинскими профессионалами, создавая стабильный спрос не только на качество, но и на культурную сензитивность услуг. В этом контексте появление услуги «халяльные роды» можно рассматривать как противоречивый феномен. С одной стороны, коммерциализация культурной сензитивности и гендеризированности услуги манифестирует большой сдвиг в сторону пациентоориентированности. Услугой гарантируется внимание к пациентке, высокое качество препаратов, комфорт и приватность. Однако верхний сегмент ценового диапазона, в который попадает эта услуга, заставляет задуматься о том, что комфорт и внимание со стороны медицинского персонала товаризируются и превращаются в классовую привилегию, доступную весьма ограниченному числу мусульманок.

Резюмируя анализ предоставления услуги халяльных родов, обратимся к вопросу, что этот кейс сообщает о гендерных правилах в мусульманской медицине. Кейс коммерциализированной заботы в случае халяльных родов проясняет характер правил взаимодействия (в частности — гарантии соблюдения гендерных границ и вообще культивации гендеризированности) в сфере частной медицины. В государственном здравоохранении гендерные правила продолжают работать окказионально, то есть «по случаю», когда пациентка-мусульманка может рассчитывать на участие в родах персонала женского пола, осуществив предварительные переговоры. В случае родов в рамках частной медицины наблюдается установленный и предсказуемый перечень правил, где от пациентки не ожидается никаких усилий для установления (не)формальных отношений, а разные формы специализированной заботы (в том числе гендерное, религиозное и классовое фреймирование) уже гарантированы фактом подписания договора оказания услуги. Подобные практики вписываются в идею о расширяющемся неолиберализме (Hughes Rinker, 2015), который может сочетать мусульманские представления относительно фертильности и родовспоможения и логику неолиберального выбора оплачиваемой медицинской заботы.

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ЛЮДОВИК-МОХАМЕД ЗАХЕД. ГОМОСЕКСУАЛЬНОСТЬ, ТРАНС-ИДЕНТИЧНОСТЬ И ИСЛАМ: ИССЛЕДОВАНИЕ СВЯЩЕННОГО ПИСАНИЯ. ПРОТИВОСТОЯНИЕ ПОЛИТИКЕ ГЕНДЕРА И СЕКСУАЛЬНОСТИ. — АМСТЕРДАМ: ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО АМСТЕРДАМСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА, 2020

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Данная статья представляет собой рецензию на книгу Людовика-Мохамеда Захеда «Гомосексуальность, транс-идентичность и ислам: исследование Священного Писания. Противостояние политике гендера и сексуальности», которая была опубликована в 2020 г. Книга Захеда продолжает академическую дискуссию, начатую серией работ, преимущественно изданных в последние 10-15 лет, которые исследуют тему гомосексуальности и гомосексуальной идентичности в исламе. В своей книге Захед проводит анализ религиозных источников (Корана и хадисов), классической литературы (суфийской и шиитской поэзии), а также дебатов в современном французском обществе, чтобы представить широкую картину разнообразности идей о сексуальности и сексуальной идентичности в исламе; Захед также отстаивает мнение, что формирование менее толерантного отношения к гомосексуальности в ортодоксальном исламе развивалось в тесной связи с европейским колониализмом и постколониальными отношениями. Благодаря своему опыту в мусульманских сообществах квир и геев во Франции, Захед высказывает взгляды и идеи относительно гендерных аспектов, имеющих место на низовом уровне. Данная публикация будет интересна широкому кругу читателей, заинтересованных в ознакомлении с темой.

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ZAHED, L.-M. (2020). HOMOSEXUALITY, TRANSIDENTITY, AND ISLAM: A STUDY OF SCRIPTURE. CONFRONTING THE POLITICS OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY. AMSTERDAM: AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS

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The book under review is authored by Ludovic-Mohammed Zahed (b. 1977), a French scholar of social psychology and the founder of Homosexuels musulmans de France, an association for gay and queer Muslims in France.

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With his work Zahed, who identifies as a feminist, gay Muslim and holds a position of an imam in an inclusive mosque in Paris, seeks to contribute to the expanding body of academic work that engages with issues of gender and sexuality in Islam. As his sources of inspiration, he names Islamic feminist scholars Fatima Mernissi (e.g. 1987; 2003) and Amina Wadud (1999; 2008), as well as a prominent scholar on sexual diversity in Islam, Scott Siraj Kugle (2010; 2013). If Islamic feminist studies have already evolved into an established field that has its roots in the 1980s, topics of homosexuality and non-binary gender identity in Islam have begun attracting scholarly interest only relatively recently. Particularly in the last decade, there has been a visible growth in the number of published works that have engaged with these topics from theological, sociological, and historical perspectives (e.g., Roscoe & Murray, 1997; El-Rouayheb, 2009; Habib, 2010; Shah, 2018). Challenging the premise that homophobia and misogyny are in compliance with Islamic ethical values, Zadeh's book clearly draws on the arguments developed in these trailblazing works.

Zahed envisions his book not only as a contribution to the academic body of knowledge but also as a symbol of revolt specifically against the established status quo in French academia. The latter, he believes, lags behind its English speaking-counterpart when it comes to sensitive topics related to sexuality and gender in religious minority groups. Zahed, who was born in Algeria but raised in France, argues that "unresolved postcolonial conflicts and Islamophobic discrimination remains a decades-old factor [in French society]" (p. 13). His *Homosexuality, Transidentity, and Islam* (which first appeared in French; Zahed, 2017) continues Zahed's previous line of research. His earlier books include *Le Coran et la*

chair ('The Qur'an and the Flesh', 2012) as well as *LGBT musulman-es: du Placard aux Lumières: Face aux obscurantismes et aux homonationalismes* ('LGBT Muslims: Out of Closet to the Light: Facing Obscurantism and Homonationalism', 2016).

Homosexuality, Transidentity, and Islam was translated into English by scholar Adi S. Bharat, who also wrote an afterword to this work. Bharat equally identifies as a gay man but confesses that, given his experiences, he was unable to maintain his Muslim identity. A foreword by Jan Jaap de Ruiter, a Dutch scholar at the University of Tilburg, further contextualises this publication's contribution to the academic discourse.

In total, the book comprises eleven chapters in addition to the for- and afterwords and the author's conclusion. The first four chapters stand somewhat separately from the rest of the book. Here Zahed turns to Islamic sources to analyse aspects of the doctrine from the perspectives of gay, lesbian and transgender Muslims. He begins his study with scrutiny of several Qur'anic verses that deal with questions of gender and sexuality (Chapter 1). Zahed points out that the Qur'an does not speak directly about homosexuality; yet by reading the scripture carefully, one can assume that people with different sexual preferences are God's creations, like anyone else. Zahed then turns to the contested notion of 'sodomy' as it appears in the Qur'an and argues that the word refers only to criminals who raped men, and that it does not signify men who engaged in non-heterosexual practices (Chapter 2). Chapter 3 focuses on the Prophet's opinions regarding homosexuality. Here, Zahed posits that the Prophet did not express clear standpoints on homosexuality, and most of the *ḥadīth*s that condemn non-heterosexual practices do not have a reliable chain of transmission – which means they reflect positions that emerged after the Prophet's death. The author summarises most of his statements in Chapter 4 and briefly discusses the opinion of different Islamic schools of law on 'sodomites'.

In trying to reconcile faith with the permissibility of same-sex attraction, in the first part of the book, Zahed goes back to the root of mainstream ideas on sexuality and aspires to show that the stigmatisation of homosexuality is not in accordance with the original Qur'anic teaching. By and large, his review of sources does not provide any novel arguments that have not yet been covered in previous academic scholarship on homosexuality and gender in Islam (e.g., Kugle, 2010). Certainly, the advantage of the book is that Zahed's writing style and examples are easily accessible to people without previous knowledge of Islamic sources; however, some of his arguments do not have a sound evidence basis and appear as the author's personal, emotionally coloured opinions. For instance, describing Abu Hurayra (d. 680), one of the Prophet's companions, Zahed pictures him as "likely a repressed gay man without desire for women, who became clearly homophobic and misogynistic and produced so-called *ḥadīth*s that condemned, at random, dogs, women, and gay people" (p. 50).

Of a different kind is the second part of the book that comprises Chapters 5–11. It delves into questions of how notions around gender and sexuality have evolved throughout the centuries. Rather than being in-depth studies, these chapters are relatively concise and provide a broad overview of different aspects from history, literature, and present-day life of Muslims, both in Europe and elsewhere.

Chapters 5–7 look at the transmission of ideas about homosexuality from Christian Europe into the Islamic World, or to be precise, its Arabic-speaking part. According to Zahed, the idea of homosexuality being an illness that requires medical treatment entered the Islamic discourses only in the nineteenth century, following the European colonial expansion. It is within the context of biomedical and psychiatric discourses in mid-nineteenth-century

Europe that homosexuality was increasingly framed as a form of sexual identity, and consequently a deviation – the process that Foucault elaborated on in his *History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1980). Prior to the encounter with European perceptions on homosexuality, Zahed argues, in the Arabic-speaking world such practices were part of everyday life and not marked as something prohibited. Somewhat expectedly, he proves his position by referring to examples from Sufi literature and its metaphorical allusions to male-to-male affection. In Zahed's opinion, such a relatively neutral, if not approving, stance on homosexuality in Muslim societies changed by the twentieth century, as European ideas received widespread dissemination and were internalised by colonial Muslim subjects.[1]

Chapters 8–9 continue this discussion by focusing on the emergence of gender identities. Here Zahed posits that the very notion of 'homosexuality' (and later 'transsexuality') as part of identity constitutes a European phenomenon. Before being subjected to European colonialism, the Arab world did not draw strict demarcation lines between homo- and heterosexual practices, let alone define a distinct homosexual identity. A man could be attracted to another man and engage in sexual intercourse with him without necessarily identifying himself as a gay man. In order to understand the history of homosexuality in Islam, Zahed argues, it is necessary to introduce the distinction between active and passive roles in male homosexual practices. The passive role, he argues, was assumed predominantly by slave boys who were commonly gendered as unmasculine – a phenomenon that was largely regarded as normal in Muslim societies prior to the nineteenth century.[2] The stigmatisation of such practices arguably occurred only under the influence of Christian missionaries.

The final two chapters, 10 and 11, introduce cases from present-day France, as Zahed depicts challenges that French queer and gay Muslims face in trying to reconcile their religious and gender identities. He draws on his extensive fieldwork material collected as a result of participant observation. This material has much potential to provide original insights, and one wishes the author was more explicit about how exactly the data was collected and analysed. Zahed posits that for many Muslims who do not fit into conventional structures, maintaining an alternative identity is coupled with social ostracism. On the one hand, they are oftentimes excluded from family networks and religious minority communities in Europe that reject 'non-traditional' gender identities and sexual practices. On the other hand, gay Muslims frequently choose to distance themselves from existing French LBTQ+ networks, given the latter's embeddedness in ideologically coloured debates. Zahed uses the term "homonationalism", first introduced by Puar (2007), to assert that alternative gender and sexual identities are currently used "to justify or combat imperialism, at the expense of gender and sexual minorities, without actually being concerned for their well-being or rights" (p. 89). As identity categories linked to gender and sexuality become highly contested both in Arabic and French, gay and queer Muslims search for ways to create safe spaces to manifest themselves.

On its own, *Homosexuality, Transidentity, and Islam* is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarship that examines sexuality in the context of Islamic doctrine and history. Zahed gives voice to alternative, grass-root perceptions and ideas regarding notions of gender. Although the publication sometimes lacks academic precision and objectivity, it synthesises a broad range of sources, from theological disputes to literary canons and present-day media publications. The book is certainly of interest to a broad audience of readers interested in the topic.

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1. One can find similar ideas also in Leezenberg, 2017.
2. For more details, see Murray, 2007; Roscoe & Murray, 1997.

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'TURKESTANI MUSLIM COMMUNITIES… HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED OF THIS HAPPINESS'. THE DISSEMINATION OF TARAZI'S QUR'AN TRANSLATION AND EXEGESIS IN SOVIET UZBEKISTAN

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Among the theologians who influenced the processes of re-Islamisation in late Soviet and early post-Soviet Central Asia, the name of Sayyid Mahmud Tarazi (ca. 1895–1991) deserves special attention. Better known by his honorary nickname Altin-khan-tura, he was an authoritative Turkestani emigrant and prominent scholar. The present article offers preliminary research on the dissemination in Soviet Uzbekistan of his most famous work: the first complete interlinear translation of the Qur'an with commentary in Central Asian Turki. In less than half a century, this work has undergone more than ten publications in various regions of the Muslim world. As archaeographic and field research indicates, Tarazi's translation has been featuring in personal library collections of some local religious figures, including prominent "official" and "unofficial" theologians from the region, and could have impacted their own work. Since the personality of Tarazi has not yet wholly entered the academic discourse on "Soviet Islam", the article also provides a brief biography of the scholar in the context of his direct and "secret" links to local ʿulamāʾ. The focus of this article on the history of the dissemination of Tarazi's Qur'an translation allows illuminating some of the re-Islamisation processes that took place in Central Asia during the period under review.

Keywords: *Sayyid Mahmud Tarazi (Altin-khan-tura), Qur'an, 'Turkistani' language, Soviet Islam, Central Asia, SADUM, Shaykh Ibrahim-hadrat, Damla Hindustani, Muhammad-Sadiq Muhammad-Yusuf, jumʿa-bazar*

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«ТУРКЕСТАНСКИЕ МУСУЛЬМАНСКИЕ ОБЩИНЫ… БЫЛИ ЛИШЕНЫ ЭТОГО СЧАСТЬЯ». ИСТОРИЯ БЫТОВАНИЯ ПЕРЕВОДА И ТОЛКОВАНИЯ КОРАНА ТАРАЗИ В СОВЕТСКОМ УЗБЕКИСТАНЕ*

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Среди богословов, оказавших влияние на процессы реисламизации в позднесоветской и ранней постсоветской Средней/Центральной Азии, особого внимания заслуживает имя авторитетного туркестанского эмигранта и видного ученого Саййида Махмуда Тарази (ок. 1895–1991), более известного под почетным прозвищем Алтин-хан-тура. Настоящая статья посвящена предварительному обзору истории бытования в советском Узбекистане наиболее популярного труда Тарази — первого полного подстрочного перевода Корана на среднеазиатский тюрки с комментариями. За менее чем полувековой период его работа претерпела более десяти изданий в различных регионах мусульманского мира. Как показывают сведения археографических и полевых изысканий, труд Тарази входил в книжный репертуар некоторых местных религиозных деятелей, в том числе особо видных «официальных» и «неофициальных» богословов региона, и мог оказать влияние на их творчество. Ввиду того, что личность Тарази еще не вполне вписана в дискурс «советского ислама», в статье также приводится краткая биография ученого в контексте его прямых и «тайных» связей с местными 'улама'. Фокус статьи на исследовании истории бытования перевода Корана Тарази позволяет в определенной степени отразить процессы реисламизации, которые имели место в Средней/Центральной Азии в рассматриваемый период.

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Ключевые слова: *Саййид Махмуд Тарази (Алтин-хан-тура), Коран, «туркестанский» язык, советский ислам, Средняя/Центральная Азия, САДУМ, шайх Ибрахим-хазрат, дамла Хиндустани, Мухаммад-Садик Мухаммад-Йусуф, джум'а-базар*

итата, приведенная в заглавии данной статьи, принадлежит одному из лидеров туркестанского эмигрантского сообщества на Ближнем Востоке во второй половине XX в. и крупному ученому (*'алим, мн.ч. 'улама'*) Саййиду Махмуду Тарази. Утверждая в предисловии к собственному переводу Корана с комментариями (*тафсир*), что это первый полный подстрочный перевод Священной книги мусульман «на туркестанский язык» (араб. *би-л-луга ат-туркистанийа* / узб. *Туркистон тилида/шевасида*[1]), автор знал, о чем говорил. К середине 1950-х гг. в мусульманском мире существовало множество переводов и толкований Корана на урду и персидский язык, тогда как переводов на среднеазиатский тюрки́ — язык туркестанцев, проживавших на территории советской Средней Азии[2] (по большей части в Узбекистане) и в эмиграции в других регионах мира, — практически не было[3]. Труд Тарази впервые увидел свет в 1956 г. в индийском Бомбее (ныне г. Мумбай) в виде литографированного шеститомника (*Кур'ан карим,* 1375/1956а).

Работы Тарази, созданные им преимущественно в эмиграции в период 1950–1970-х гг., предназначались не только для зарубежной туркестанской диаспоры, но и для его советских земляков, за которыми ко времени издания его труда прочно закрепилось обозначение «советские мусульмане» уже в качестве самоназвания[4]. Как показывают собранные мною сведения, перевод Корана Тарази, во-первых, оказался известен группе авторитетных *'улама'*, среди которых были крупнейший теолог-*ханафит* Ферганской долины и Таджикистана *дамла/дамулла* Хиндустани (Мухаммаджан Рустамов, 1892–1989), известный кокандский суфий *шайх* Ибрахим-*хазрат* (Ибрахимджан Маматкулов, 1937–2009), ряд видных богословов Духовного управления мусульман Средней Азии и Казахстана (САДУМ, 1943–1992) и его последний председатель *шайх* Мухаммад-Садик Мухаммад-Йусуф (1952–2015). Во-вторых, очевидно, благодаря посредничеству этих религиозных деятелей перевод-*тафсир* и другие книги Тарази оказались в библиотеке САДУМ и, позднее, в подведомственных ему конфессионально-образовательных учреждениях, а также попали в одно из крупных хранилищ восточных рукописей и литографированных изданий Узбекской ССР (1924–1991). К тому же работы Тарази находились в поле зрения местных академических востоковедов.

Насколько мне известно, *magnit opus* Тарази еще не был предметом специальных исследований представителей российской кораниистики или западного исламоведения. Несколько по-иному обстоит ситуация в арабо-, персо-, турецко- и узбекоязычном про-

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1. Под «туркестанским» языком/наречием во многих своих трудах Тарази подразумевает, по сути, среднеазиатский тюрки́.

2. Учитывая, что в настоящей статье речь идет главным образом о советском периоде, термину «Центральная Азия», вошедшему в употребление после распада СССР (1922–1991) и применяемому в отношении пяти бывших советских республик (Казахстана, Кыргызстана, Таджикистана, Туркменистана и Узбекистана), я предпочел термин «Средняя Азия». В случаях же, когда говорится и о советском, и о постсоветском периодах, используются оба названия региона и их производные через косую черту. В то же время с целью передачи аутентичной терминологии, используемой самими эмигрантами (в том числе *'улама'* и Тарази), в отношении этой территории я также использую термин «Туркестан», а к эмигрантам – прилагательное «туркестанский».

3. Ранее имелись переводы и толкования только отдельных сур или их групп, причем в очень ограниченных количествах. В качестве примера можно привести толкование 30-й части (*джуз'*) Корана на среднеазиатском тюрки́ за авторством Мухаммад-Зарифа ал-Кашгари (1872, Ташкент – 1959, Кульджа). Его труд объемом в более 730 страниц был завершен в Кашгаре в 1926 г. и издан там же в 1937 г. Замечу, что *тафсир* Кашгари не содержал подстрочный перевод Корана (Ал-Кашгари, 1413/1992). Осведомленностью об этой работе Кашгари я обязан ученому-арабисту Омону Мусаеву. Подробнее о биографии ал-Кашгари см.: Ал-Бухари, 1434/2013, с. 32.

4. Это, например, видно из писем студентов медресе Мир-и Араб (Мир-и 'Араб). См.: Халилова, Бабаджанов, 2017.

странствах, где статьи или заметки о рассматриваемом труде Тарази встречаются чаще[5]. Однако и эти работы базируются в основном на филологическом анализе некоторых фрагментов самого текста либо ограничиваются краткими сведениями о месте и времени публикации того или иного издания этого перевода и толкования Корана. Исследователи не акцентировали внимание на его исламоведческом анализе и тем более не рассматривали особенности циркуляции этой книги в прошлом и настоящем в каком-либо из регионов, где перевод-*тафсир* Тарази мог получить распространение.

Кругозор и мировоззрение автора, литературно-языковая традиция, из которой он вырос, его целевая аудитория, идеологические и методологические предпочтения могут быть реконструированы преимущественно на основе анализа текста произведения. В этом отношении *тафсиры* занимают особое место. Видный арабист и автор поэтического перевода Корана Т.А. Шумовский (1913–2012), размышляя над значением комментариев к тексту Корана, удачно заметил: «Зачастую они говорят нам больше о своих авторах, чем об объекте исследования. Таким образом, комментарии — *тафсиры* — в первую очередь интересны тем, что они позволяют проследить развитие мусульманской мысли в различных культурах и эпохах...» (Шумовский, 2009, с. 291). К этому хотелось бы добавить, что восприятие самого произведения, степень его популярности (даже как предмета критики) в кругу богословской элиты (тем более если речь идет о таком произведении, как *тафсир* Корана) также может помочь по-новому взглянуть на ту среду, где было востребовано это произведение, на восприятие автора, ставшего волею судеб «своим среди чужих».

В этой статье, рассматривая перевод-*тафсир* Тарази как своеобразные «штрихи к портрету» их автора, я в большей степени намерен обратиться не столько к тексту

Ил. 1. Саййид Махмуд Тарази (Алтин-хан-тура).
Дата и имя фотографа неизвестны

труда Тарази, сколько к истории его бытования в некоторых регионах Узбекистана в советский период. Моими основными источниками послужили устные рассказы людей, имевших непосредственное или опосредованное отношение к теме распространения перевода-*тафсира* Тарази в советской Средней Азии[6], а также целый ряд зарубежных и местных изданий этой книги. Таким образом, представленный в статье подход, заключающийся в изучении истории бытования перевода и толкования Корана Тарази в Узбекской ССР, и полученные на его основе результаты могут быть интересны для специалистов, потому как в той или иной мере отражают процессы реисламизации, их динамику и историографическую составляющую, которые были присущи феномену «советского ислама» в позднесоветской и ранней постсоветской Средней/Центральной Азии[7].

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5. См., например: Ал-Ма'айириджи, 1993, с. 709–710; Ал-Қуръон ул-карим, 1994, с. 5–6; Худайар, 1379/2000–2001; Обидов, 2008, с. 9–10; Ғафуров, 2009; Mazman, 2018.

6. Здесь в основном имеются в виду материалы интервью, взятых мною в период с 2018-го по 2021 гг.

7. В этой статье будут изложены наблюдения, связанные с бытованием перевода-*тафсира* Тарази на территории Узбекистана в советский период. Об особенностях распространения труда Тарази после обретения Узбекистаном независимости планируется рассказать в следующей работе.

Краткие сведения о Саййиде Махмуде Тарази и его комментированном переводе Корана

Биография Саййида[8] Махмуда Тарази (ил. 1), более известного под почетным прозвищем (*лакаб*) Алтин-*хан-тура* (араб. Алтун-*хан-тура* / узб. *Олтинхон тӯра*), иллюстрирует развитие жизненного пути целой группы '*улама*', не вписавшихся в лекала советского ислама и выбравших эмиграцию. Тарази родился ок. 1895 г. в уездном центре Аулиеатинского уезда Сырдарьинской области Туркестанского генерал-губернаторства (1867–1917) — в городе Аулие-Ата (ныне г. Тараз)[9]. Как мне стало известно из бесед с родственниками Тарази, проживающими в Таразе, он происходил из знатной семьи религиозных деятелей, возводящих свою генеалогию через самого именитого «кашгарского *хᵛаджу*» Хидайат Аллаха Афак-*хᵛаджу* (ум. 1693–94) к его прадеду — знаменитому накшбандийскому *шайх*у Ахмаду ал-Хᵛаджаги ал-Касани, известному под прозвищем Махдум-и А‘зам (ум. 1542), затем к узгендскому правителю-суфию и одновременно полумифическому герою Бурхан ад-дину Киличу и далее до ал-Хусайна б. ‘Али (626–680) и до самого́ Пророка Мухаммада. Отец Тарази, Саййид Назир Ишан-*хан* (репрес. ок. 1937), служил *имам*ом городской соборной мечети, а дед по материнской линии, Ахмад-*хан-тура*, исполнял обязанности местного *кади*.

Первоначальное конфессиональное образование Тарази получил у отца, затем продолжил обучение в Худжанде (Ходженте), Намангане, а после — в Бухаре и Ташкенте (медресе Кукалдаш/Кукельдаш) (Жалилов, 1997, с. 11). Среди его первых учителей главным образом называют крупного наманганского *ишан*а и *мударрис*а, а впоследствии *курбаши* т. н. «басмаческого движения» и антагониста советской власти — Саййида Насир-*хан-тура* Касани (1873–1938)[10], занимавшего в свое время должности руководителя наманганского филиала «Шура-йи ислами» и министра просвещения Туркестанской/Кокандской автономии (ноябрь 1917 — февраль 1918). В ташкентский период учебы, который, видимо, пришелся на конец 1910-х — начало 1920-х гг., к наставникам Тарази причисляют известного в раннесоветской Средней Азии *алима*-эмигранта из арабских провинций Османской империи Шами-*дамуллу* ат-Тараблуси (ок. 1870–1932/1947), активно проповедовавшего и преподававшего в Ташкенте с 1919 г.[11] Ок. 1923 г. Тарази вернулся в Аулие-Ата — стал преподавать в медресе при мечети ‘Абд ал-Кадир-*бай* и занимал в ней должность *имам*а.

Ок. 1930 г. на фоне антирелигиозной пропаганды и гонений на «служителей культа» Тарази был вынужден эмигрировать из Туркестана. В течение года он оста-

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8. Присовокупление к имени титула «*саййид*» говорит о принадлежности его носителя к потомкам Пророка Мухаммада.

9. Город в южном Казахстане, в 1936–1938 гг. носил название Мирзоян, с 1938 по 1993 – Джамбул (затем Жамбыл), а в 1997 г. вернул свое первоначальное наименование, предшествовавшее Аулие-Ата, – Тараз.

10. О жизни и деятельности Насир-*хан-тура* Касани (он же Саид Носирхонтура Камолхонтураев, Насырхан Камалов) см.: Ал-Бухари, 1434/2013, с. 64–66; Шамсутдинов, 2018, с. 199–244. Мое внимание на эту книгу Шамсутдинова, в основу которой были положены важные для нашей темы архивные материалы, обратил Нодирбек Абдулахатов, ведущий исследования в сфере наследия маргиланских '*улама*' конца XIX – нач. XX вв.

11. О Шами-*дамулле* и его влиянии на исламскую сферу в советской Средней Азии см.: Утепбергенова, Муминов, Баетова, 2018, с. 436–440. Там же – библиография. О том, что Саййид Махмуд Тарази входил в число учеников Шами-*дамуллы*, см., например: Ал-Бухари. 1434/2013, с. 168; Уватов, 1994. Оба исследователя (Мансур ал-Бухари и Убайдулло Уватов) собирали свои материалы, прежде всего, в Медине и встречались с людьми, лично знакомыми с Тарази. По этой причине можно предположить, что информация о связях Тарази и Шами-*дамуллы* берет свои истоки из Медины, и сведения обоих авторов (особенно мединца ал-Бухари) заслуживают пристального внимания. Вместе с тем документальных подтверждений о связи Тарази и Шами-*дамуллы* я лично еще не встречал, в то время как об ученическо-преподавательских отношениях Тарази и Насир-*хана-тура* имеется целый ряд таких свидетельств, в частности в архивных материалах ОГПУ. См.: Шамсутдинов, 2018, с. 210.

вался в Афганистане, где работал помощником местного министра[12]. Затем переехал в Бомбей, служил *имам-хатиб*ом в соборной мечети в одном из мусульманских кварталов (предположительно, *Абдул Рехман Стрит / Abdul Rehman St.*), продолжал преподавать и прославился в регионе под прозвищем «*Тура Сахиб*» (Ал-Бухари, 1434/2013, с. 165; Жалилов, 1997, с. 16). В бытность свою в Бомбее Тарази поддерживал тесные контакты с представителями туркестанской диаспоры. Кроме того, встречался с именитым татарским богословом и философом Мусой Джар Аллахом Бигеевым (1875–1949)[13].

В начале второй половины 1940-х гг. Тарази оставляет Индию и обосновывается в Саудовской Аравии — сначала в Таифе, затем в Мекке, а через некоторое время в Медине. В связи с переездом в Саудовскую Аравию и установившейся близкой связью с правящими элитами, а также благодаря преподавательской деятельности в Мечети Пророка у Тарази появилась возможность более активно издавать свои труды и трактаты. Это, в свою очередь, повлияло на повышение его авторитета в ученых кругах и среди местной туркестанской диаспоры, которую он со временем возглавил. Согласно большинству источников, Тарази окончил свой жизненный путь в 1991 г. в Медине и был погребен на старейшем городском мусульманском кладбище [*Джаннат*] *ал-Баки‘* (оно же *Баки‘ ал-гаркад*) (Ал-Бухари, 1434/2013, с. 165–166, 169).

Саййид Махмуд Тарази является автором около двадцати работ, среди которых как переводы знаменитых в мусульманском мире произведений, так и собственные сочинения. Тематика его произведений весьма разнообразна — кораническая экзегетика (*тафсир*), мусульманское предание (*хадис*), юриспруденция (*фикх*), исламская догматика (*‘акида*), жизнеописание Пророка Мухаммада (*сира*), стихотворные произведения, посвященные собственно религиозным вопросам и даже социально-политической проблематике. Помимо материалов, относящихся непосредственно к излагаемой теме, у него встречаются ценные сведения личного, мемуарного характера. В своих трудах Тарази с сожалением писал, что его соотечественники, туркестанцы, «лишены счастья» читать и познавать на родном языке не только наиболее популярные в мусульманском мире исламские тексты, но и Священный Коран. Задачу восполнить этот пробел он взял на себя.

Тарази снабдил свой перевод сжатым и лаконичным толкованием, которое расположилось «на полях» и является непременным спутником перевода. Таким же постоянным атрибутом стало авторское предисловие, выступающее в некоторых изданиях в качестве послесловия[14]: именно этот двухстраничный текст, написанный на среднеазиатском тюрки́ в Медине и датированный 15 рамадана 1375 / 27 апреля 1956 г.[15], проливает свет на целый спектр важных деталей. В общем, в данном предисловии повествуется о мусульманских обязательствах, важности Корана, о предыстории и источниках

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12. По разным сведениям, министра просвещения или министра культуры.

13. Подробнее об истории знакомства двух богословов и для получения дополнительных сведений из биографии Тарази см.: Хуснутдинов, 2021. Примечательно, что перу Бигеева принадлежит один из первых полных переводов Корана на тюрки (в данном случае – поволжский тюрки́).

14. За некоторым исключением. См., например: Кур’ан карим, [не ранее 1992]. В этом издании данный текст предисловия/послесловия Тарази отсутствует.

15. Следовательно, Тарази окончил свой перевод, скорее всего, в Медине (колофон в книге отсутствует). Интересно, что на обложке первого издания указана дата 1375/7, т. е. месяц раджаб 1375 г. х., что соответствует февралю-марту 1956 г. Однако, как видно, само предисловие датируется более поздним сроком, чем выходные данные на обложке, с разницей почти в два месяца. Возможно, такая нестыковка объясняется тем, что сначала были отпечатаны обложки перевода, а уже затем – сам текст.

подготовленного перевода, а также о личности, ставшей идейным вдохновителем автора и буквально настаявшей на том, чтобы он «взялся за перо». Так, Тарази пишет:

<...> для мусульман всех степеней важно [в соответствии со] своими знаниями осознать значение и смысл Корана, им следует пользоваться и стараться руководствоваться его наставлениями.

<...> переводы [Корана] и толкования [к нему], написанные на персидском и урду, слава Аллаху, существуют в изобилии. Однако туркестанские мусульманские общины, не владеющие этими двумя языками, были лишены этого счастья. Осознав это, группа некоторых уважаемых соотечественников обратилась по этому вопросу к почтенным ученым мужам (᾽улама ᾽) с просьбой написать перевод [Корана] и толкование [к нему] на туркестанском наречии («Туркистон шевасида»).

Почтенные ученые восприняли эти слова с благим намерением и пообещали в скором времени принять меры. Затем они собрались, посовещались и в заключение возложили [осуществление] этого великого и священного дела на [мои], ничтожного и немощного слуги [Божьего], плечи. Хотя я знал, что бессилен в исполнении этого великого задания, я не мог противостоять повелениям моих достопочтимых ученых. В частности, господину наставнику ученых, опоре чтецов (курра ᾽) [Корана] и правоведов (фукаха ᾽), шайху толкователей [Корана] и гордости знатоков хадисов Маулана Шайху Мухаммад-Амину, известному в Хиджазе как Кари ᾽ Ибн Йамин[16], да продлит Аллах его дни — так как он был хорошего мнения обо мне, ничтожном. На этот раз я не смог переубедить его и отказать ему в исполнении этого священного дела. Поэтому в этом отношении моя просьба ко всем почтенным ученым состоит в том, что если на то будет воля Аллаха, они поправят мои оплошности пером снисхождения.

Каждый мусульманин хорошо знает, что Священный Коран — это несравненная речь Создателя всего мира. Написание надлежащего перевода и комментария «Пречистой речи» (Пак калам, т. е. Корана) мне, ничтожному, не под силу. Однако переводы и толкования [Корана], осуществленные ранее (салафий таржима ва тафсирлари) индийскими учеными[17], да смилуется над ними Аллах, [жившими в] наш век (асримизда) и уже покинувшими [этот мир], явились для меня, ничтожного, путеводителем и руководством. Словом, я, немощный, черпаю из реки их знаний и всецело признаю их достоинства... (Кур᾽ан карим, 1375/1956а, т. 1, с. I–II; Кур᾽ан карим, 1993, с. 707–708) (ил. 2, 3).

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16. Ибн Йамин Мухаммад-Амин б. Мухаммад-Ибрахим дамулла ал-Андиджани ат-Та᾽ифи ал-Ханафи ан-Накшбанди (1299/1881-82, Андижан – 1403/1982-83, Таиф), более известен как Ибн Йамин-*дамулла* ас-Са῾ати – авторитетный туркестанский эмигрант на Ближнем Востоке, прославился как знаток *хадисов*, мусульманского права и представитель накшбандийского *тариката*. Среди жителей Таифа был известен под почетным прозвищем «Абу Ханифа младший» (*Абу Ханифа ас-сагир*). Подробнее о нем см.: Ал-Бухари, 1434/2013, с. 101–104.

17. К сожалению, Тарази не называет здесь каких-либо конкретных имен индийских ученых, чьи работы послужили основой для его труда. Тем не менее в самом тексте *тафсира* среди упоминаемых персоналий присутствует, например, Шаббир Ахмад ῾Усмани (1886/1887–1949) – крупный богослов, религиозно-политический деятель и один из лидеров третьего поколения *᾽улама* знаменитого исламского учебного центра, расположенного на севере Индии, *Дар ал-῾улум Дивабанд* («Обитель знаний» в Девабанде/Деобанде) (Кур᾽ан карим, 1993, с. 606 (18-я строка комментария); Metcalf, 2014, p. 108).
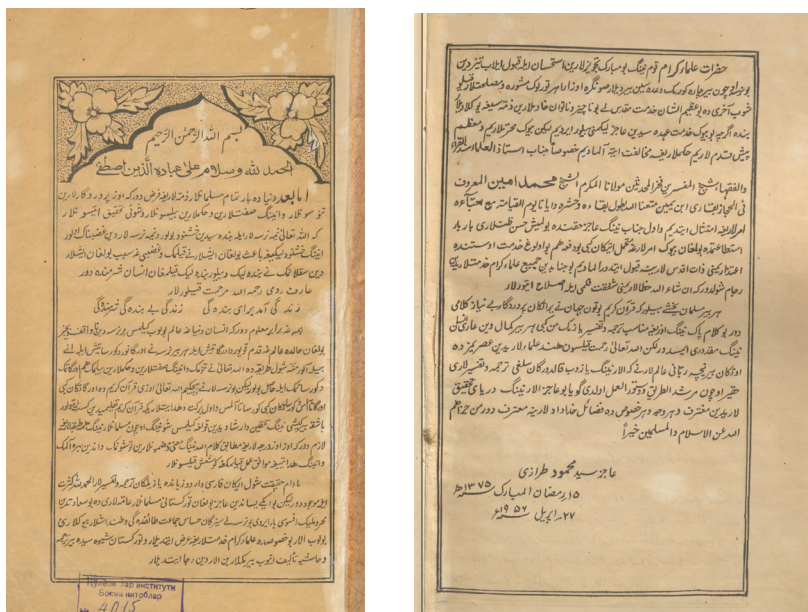
Ил. 2, 3. Введение Саййида Махмуда Тарази к своему комментированному переводу Корана

За два года до написания этого текста Тарази опубликовал перевод и толкование 30-й части Корана — *джуз ' 'Амма*. Отзыв (*такриз*) на эту работу представил другой крупный ученый и эмигрант, Ибн Йамин-*дамулла*, о котором с таким почтением и пиететом говорил Тарази в процитированном выше отрывке. Согласно мнению Ибн Йамина, представленный ему текст был лаконичен и избавлен от излишеств, а в отношении комментариев относительно «причин ниспослания [*айт*ов и *сур*]» (*асбаб ан-нузул*) был идентичен *Тафсиру ал-Джалалайн* («Толкованию Корана двух Джалалей»)[18] — одному из самых популярных, особенно в неарабской среде, ясных и сжатых комментариев к Корану[19]. В целом по структуре *тафсир* Тарази также можно причислить к группе толкований, написанных в классическом суннитском духе, как, например, *Мадарик ат-танзил ва-хака'ик ат-та'вил* («Постижение откровения и истины толкований») Абу-л-Бараката 'Абд Аллаха ибн Ахмада ан-Насафи (ум. 710/1310) или *Анвар ат-танзил ва-асрар ат-та'вил* («Светочи откровения и тайны истолкования») Насир ад-дина 'Абд Аллаха ал-Байдави (ум. 716/1316).

Как указывалось выше, впервые труд Тарази был опубликован в 1956 г. в Бомбее в шести томах, напечатанных литографическим способом (Кур'ан карим, т. 1–6, 1375/1956а[20]). Надпись на обложке гласит, что книга была отпечатана «в славные дни правления Его Величества государя Са'уда I[21]» на средства ал-Хаджжи Нур ад-дина[22] и его братьев-

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туркестанцев, проживающих в Таифе (ил. 4). За менее чем полувековой период перевод Корана Тарази претерпел порядка десяти изданий в различных регионах мусульманского мира — в Индии (Бомбей, два издания 1956 г.) и Пакистане (Карачи, 1975; [не ранее] 1992), Саудовской Аравии (Медина, 1975; Джидда, 1980–81) и Катаре (Доха, 1980; 1993), Турции (Стамбул, 1990) и Узбекистане (Ташкент, 1994; 2002) (Кур'ан карим, 1375/1956a; Кур'ан карим, 1375/1956b[23]; Кур'ан карим, 1395/1975; Кур'ан карим, 1401/1980-81; Кур'ан карим, [не ранее 1992]; Кур'ан карим, 1993; Ал-Қуръон ул-карим, 1994; Ал-Қуръон ал-карим, 2002)[24]. Частота, с которой выходили в свет очередные издания труда ученого, явно наводит на мысль, что на мусульманском Востоке эта книга была довольно востребована, по крайней мере среди туркестанской диаспоры. В то же время для более основательных выводов необходима информация о тираже этих изданий. К сожалению, она в большинстве своем не приводится и остается неизвестной[25].

Некоторые из названных изданий труда Тарази теми или иными путями попадали в советскую Среднюю Азию, где у них складывалась своя, весьма насыщенная история.
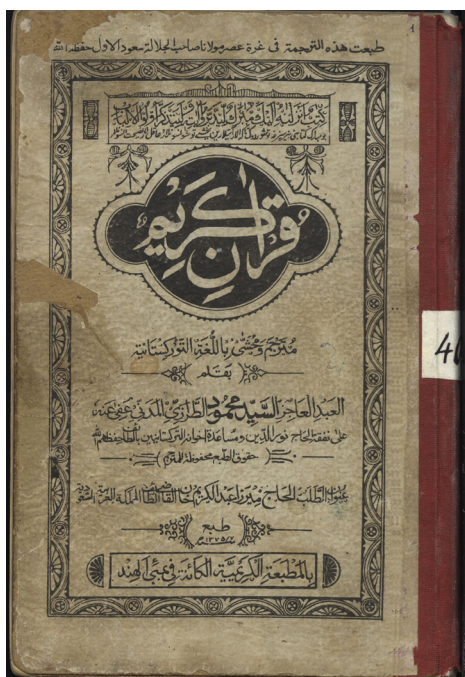
Ил. 4. Перевод Корана Тарази. В 6 тт. Т. 1. (ИВ АН РУз, Фонд Хамида Сулайманова, лит. № 4015)

Ил. 5. Перевод первой суры Корана ал-Фатиха («Открывающая») с комментариями. Перевод Корана Тарази. В 6 тт. Т. 1. — С. 2 (ИВ АН РУз, Фонд Хамида Сулайманова, лит. № 4015)

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23. Хотя это однотомное карманное издание полностью (как по форме, так и по содержанию) повторяет литографированный шеститомник, его внешние характеристики, в частности тип печати, позволяют выдвинуть предположение, что это более позднее репринтное издание.

24. О наличии карачинского издания 1975 г. и стамбульского 1990 г. см.: Ал-Ма'айириджи, 1993, с. 709. Все названные издания, за исключением ташкентских, представляют собой публикацию оригинального текста, ташкентские же издания – адаптированное переложение (*табдил*) на кириллицу.

25. Из всего перечня указанных ближневосточных изданий известным оказался только тираж издания, осуществленного в 1980–1981 гг. в Джидде. Он составил пятнадцать тысяч экземпляров. См.: Жалилов, 1997, с. 27.

Кокандский суфий и перевод-*тафсир* Тарази в ИВ АН РУз

Борьбу государства с так называемым «неофициальным»/«параллельным» исламом в Средней Азии и на Кавказе в 1970–1980-е гг. некоторые советологи абсолютизировали и репрезентовали как борьбу комиссаров с суфиями (Bennigsen, Wimbush, 1985)[26]. Одним из таких суфиев, подвергшихся преследованиям, оказался *шайх* Ибрахим-*хазрат*.

В конце 70-х — начале 80-х гг. XX в. в СССР был принят целый ряд постановлений, связанных с «исламским фактором» и «реакционной частью мусульманского духовенства». В сентябре 1981 г. ЦК КПСС принимает постановление «О мероприятиях по противодействию попыткам противника использовать "исламский фактор" во враждебных СССР целях», дополненное в апреле 1983 г. постановлением «О мерах по идеологической изоляции реакционной части мусульманских священнослужителей» (Королева, Королев, 2008, с. 112).

Видимо, тогда же, в середине 1983 г., в ходе нового витка антиисламской кампании был задержан известный кокандский суфий, представитель Накшбандийа-хусайнийа *шайх* Ибрахим-*хазрат*[27]. Библиотеку суфия конфисковали и передали в ташкентский Институт рукописей имени Хамида Сулайманова АН УзССР. Так у сотрудников Института появилась возможность ознакомиться с этой конфискованной литературой, где среди всего прочего оказался полный шеститомный комплект первого литографированного издания перевода и толкования Корана Тарази. Через некоторое время *шайх*а Ибрахима отпустили и постановили вернуть библиотеку законному владельцу. Тогда сотрудник Института рукописей Бобохон Косимхонов, с чьих слов мне стала известна эта история, решил уговорить *шайх*а оставить этот экземпляр Институту, потому как, — рассказывал наш собеседник, — в различных хранилищах страны ему еще ни разу не встречался полный комплект первого издания этого труда Тарази. Переговоры прошли успешно, и книги обрели свое новое пристанище. В инвентарной книге Института зафиксировано официальное зачисление шести томов «*тафсир*а Алтин-*хан*а-*тура*» 13 сентября 1983 г. В 1998 г., после упразднения Института рукописей, фонд был передан в ИВ АН РУз (Кур'ан карим, 1375/1956а).

Узнав, каким путем и при каких обстоятельствах произведение Тарази попало в ИВ АН РУз, у меня возник закономерный вопрос: как, собственно, изначально эти шесть книг Тарази оказались у *шайх*а Ибрахима? Ответ подсказал профессор Бахтияр Бабаджанов, неоднократно лично интервьюировавший *шайх*а. В одной из бесед Ибрахим-*хазрат* поведал о своем интересе к литературе по коранической экзегетике, в частности к *тафсир*ам. Здесь-то и зашел разговор о неизвестном еще на тот момент интервьюеру арабографическом переводе Корана и толковании к нему на «туркестанском» языке. *Шайх* объяснил, что книги попали к нему ок. 1976 г., когда он принимал участие в разборе (или инвентаризации) библиотеки, располагавшейся в бывшем медресе Барак-*хан*[28]. Тогда шеститомник Тарази оказался банально неучтенным в перечне книг библиотеки, поэтому Ибрахим-*хазрат*, увлеченно интересующийся коранической экзегетикой, не смог остаться к этому факту равнодушным и взял книги в личную библиотеку[29].

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26. Критика и основные аспекты «советологического исламоведения»: DeWeese, 2002.

27. О нем см.: Бабаджанов, 2001, с. 345–346, 359; он же, 2006а.

28. Очевидно, *шайх* подразумевал библиотеку САДУМ, в качестве административного здания которого использовалось бывшее медресе Барак-*хан*.

29. По-видимому, сотрудники САДУМ собственноручно передали эти книги *шайх*у Ибрахиму, поскольку САДУМ оказывал некое содействие «неофициальным» *'улама '* в приобретении зарубежной исламской литературы. Как заметил по этому поводу профессор Адиб Халид: «САДУМ отчасти даже помогал теневым улемам: организация не могла издавать религиозную литературу, но имела доступ к изданным за рубежом текстам, написанным преимущественно на арабском, и собирала их в своей библиотеке в Ташкенте, раздавая лишние копии незарегистрированным улемам» (Халид, 2010, с. 165). О симбиотических отношениях, сложившихся между зарегистрированными и незарегистрированными *'улама '* в системе официального исламского образования в УзССР, см.: Tasar, 2016.

Между тем еще до 1998 г., прежде чем официально оказаться в фонде ИВ АН РУз, труд Тарази «наведывался» в это учреждение, правда, в ином облике. Ок. 1978–79 гг. специалист по истории медицины, ученик академика Убайдуллы Исраиловича Каримова (1920–1997) Хамидулло Хикматуллаев (1929–1994) принес в Институт микрофильм, привезенный им из-за рубежа и содержащий работу Тарази. Заведующая фотолабораторией Клавдия Ивановна Музурова помогла своему коллеге распечатать на фотобумаге полный текст книги. Затем другой сотрудник Института, Мариф Салимов, подготовил переплет фотокопии и обложку к ней[30]. Как оказалось, ранее, еще за несколько лет до этого случая, Салимов уже встречал этот перевод Корана, причем не просто в частной библиотеке, а в библиотеке при САДУМ (*см. об этом ниже*).

Перевод-*тафсир* Тарази на прилавках кокандского и ташкентского джумʿа-базаров

Саййид Махмуд Тарази имел определенный авторитет в Ферганской долине и был известен там главным образом под своим прозвищем «Алтин-*хан-тура*». Его перевод-*тафсир*, особенно в виде ксерокопии, получил некоторое распространение, о масштабах которого еще затруднительно судить, в долине, в частности в Коканде, в начале 80-х гг. XX в.

Еще один наш собеседник, Абдулатиф Турдиалиев, возглавляющий с 1998 г. Кокандский литературный музей, не раз был свидетелем продажи труда Тарази на местном пятничном (*джумʿа*) базаре в 1983–84 гг., как он выразился, «из-под прилавка» или «на дому». Тогда чаще встречался 30-й *джуз*’ перевода-*тафсир*а и реже — полный текст книги, стоимость которой в ее полнотекстовом виде могла достигать одной тысячи советских рублей[31]. Такую дороговизну наш информатор объяснил довольно немалым интересом к переводу текста Корана на фоне незначительного предложения. Физическая доступность Священного писания мусульман и его переводов, ввиду известных причин, связанных с уголовным преследованием за распространение религиозной литературы в СССР, была чрезвычайно ограничена[32]. Кроме того, определенную преграду

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30. Профессор Абдулмаджид Мадраимов, также работавший в то время в Институте, рассказывал мне, что Х. Хикматуллаев в 1978–79 гг. показывал ему самиздатовскую книгу — перевод Корана Тарази (частная беседа, Ташкент, 19 февраля 2020).

31. На первый взгляд, такая стоимость книги удивляет, учитывая, что в те годы средняя зарплата старшего лаборанта составляла ок. 100–120 руб., младшего научного сотрудника — 150–250 руб., старшего научного сотрудника — 250–300 руб., доктора наук — ок. 400–450 руб. Тем не менее такое удивление сглаживается после общения с коллегами из ИВ АН РУз, заставшими рассматриваемый период. По их сведениям, в 1985–86 гг. стоимость Корана (продававшегося также нелегально) на ташкентском старогородском *джумʿа*-базаре близ архитектурного комплекса Хаст Имам (Хазрат Имам) достигала 500–600 руб. Поэтому вполне возможно, что Коран в переводе на родной, хоть и уже «архаичный» для большинства местных жителей «туркестанский» язык, да к тому же снабженный комментариями, мог оцениваться в такую значительную сумму. В сентябре 2021 г., когда мне довелось брать интервью у Камал-*хана* Ахророва (род. 1955) — внука одного из первых учителей Хиндустани, Зикрийа-*кари*’ Закирова (1880–1943), он сообщил мне практически те же сведения, что и Турдиалиеву двумя годами ранее, в том числе относительно вопроса максимальной стоимости перевода Корана Тарази. При этом Ахроров заявил, что в 1980 г., работая продавцом в кокандском универмаге, он сам был тем человеком, который приобрел труд Тарази за столь высокую цену. Подробно описывая процесс покупки и перевод-*тафсир*, «облаченный в зеленую обложку и изданный в Карачи около 1975 г.», Ахроров рассказал, что книга была предложена ему неким букинистом, привозившим свой товар из Ташкента (частная беседа, Коканд, 27 сентября 2021). В дополнение к сказанному хотелось бы отметить, что мне не встречались специальные исследования, посвященные советским среднеазиатским *джумʿа*-базарам, тематике представленных там книг, социальным портретам продавцов и покупателей, роли в социально-религиозной сфере и пр. И в целом тема распространения и циркуляции богословской литературы в позднесоветском Узбекистане, бывшем главным исламским форпостом СССР, требует отдельных изысканий, которыми я намерен заняться в ближайшем будущем.

32. Базар был открыт для обычной букинистической литературы, но не для религиозных изданий и тем более арабографических книг, каждая из которых могла быть воспринята как религиозная.

для потенциально более широкого распространения перевода-*тафсира* на «туркестанском» мог представлять языковой барьер — это, прежде всего, арабская графика, а затем лексико-морфологические особенности языка сочинений Тарази. С другой стороны, — продолжал Абдулатиф Турдиалиев, — в силу того, что это был все-таки узбекский язык (хоть и в арабской графике), работа Тарази приобрела бо́льшую популярность, чем имевшие хождение (разумеется, весьма редкое) арабские *тафсиры* Ибн Касира (ок. 1300–1373) и Саййида Кутба (1906–1966)[33].

В этом контексте было бы уместно напомнить, что *тафсир* Хиндустани — *Байан ал-Фуркан фи тарджимат ал-Кур’ан* — шеститомный перевод Корана на узбекском языке (арабской графикой) с комментариями, подготовленный *дамла* Хиндустани[34], был завершен только в 1984 г. (по другим данным, в 1988–89 гг.), издан самиздатом в количестве около 500 экземпляров и распространен среди узкого круга. Официальное издание перевода-*тафсира* Хиндустани тиражом в одну тысячу экземпляров было осуществлено в 2006 г. (Қуръони Карим, 2006). Переложение на кириллицу, подготовку к изданию и исследовательское предисловие взял на себя старший научный сотрудник Института языка и литературы имени Алишера Навои Академии наук Республики Узбекистан[35] Сайфиддин Сайфуллох. Благодаря этому изданию нам стал известен один очень важный факт.

В своем исследовательском введении, помимо всего прочего, С. Сайфуллох приводит воспоминания *дамла* Хиндустани, согласно которым Мухаммаджан Куканди (т. е. Хиндустани), ознакомившись с переводом-*тафсиром* Алтин-*хана-тура*, предположил, что этот перевод, состоящий из 2400 (!) страниц[36], может вызвать некоторые затруднения у молодежи при чтении и изучении. Принимая это обстоятельство во внимание, Хиндустани, решив несколько сократить и упростить труд Тарази, выполнил свой перевод, рассчитанный на обывателей («*авомуннос*») и молодых студентов («*ёш талабалар*») (там же, с. 14). Таким образом, произведение Тарази послужило одной из основ *тафсира* Хиндустани.

Что касается бытования перевода-*тафсира* Тарази в Ташкенте, то в столице УзССР в середине 1970-х гг. у него сложилась своя «государственная миссия». Его использовали в интересах советской мусульманской политики — книга за авторством антисоветского деятеля экспонировалась в числе других переводов Корана в библиотеке САДУМ. На руки она, естественно, не выдавалась. Задача экспонировавшихся в библиотеке САДУМ переводов Корана вкупе с другими исламскими объектами состояла прежде всего в манифестации религиозных свобод в СССР и формировании позитивного имиджа государства в глазах зарубежных делегаций[37]. Однако по прошествии почти 20 лет, в 1990–1993 гг., труд Тарази уже в открытую можно было приобрести на местном

33. Наличие комментария Корана Саййида Кутба *Фи зилал ал-Кур’ан* («Под сенью Корана»), относящегося к середине 1970-х гг., также было зафиксировано в одной из частных библиотек Андижана (Ферганская долина), которая принадлежала тогда местному молодому богослову (Бабаджанов, Муминов, фон Кюгельген, 2007, с. 21).

34. Подробнее о нем: Бабаджанов, 2006b.

35. Ныне Институт узбекского языка, литературы и фольклора имени Алишера Навои АН РУз.

36. Почему у Хиндустани зафиксировано количество страниц, более чем втрое превышающее объем официальных изданий перевода-*тафсира* Тарази, остается вопросом. Можно лишь предположить, что Хиндустани имел в виду объем, который мог занимать текст труда Тарази, переписанный от руки. То же самое предположение уместно и для указанного им количества страниц (1640) собственного *тафсира*. См.: Қуръони Карим, 2006, с. 14.

37. На сегодняшний день фонд библиотеки Управления мусульман Узбекистана (УМУз, преемник САДУМ) располагает четырьмя экземплярами перевода Корана Тарази. Наиболее ранний из них представлен мединским изданием 1975 г. (Инв. № Б-1154). Я благодарен сотрудникам фонда УМУз и лично директору библиотеки Камолиддину Махмамову за любезно оказанное содействие в поиске интересующих меня материалов.

джум‘а-базаре в Старом городе, на территории мемориально-культового и архитектурного ансамбля Хаст Имам. По свидетельству очевидцев, на рубеже 1991–1992 гг., с обретением Узбекистаном независимости, бывало и такое, что книги Тарази, в том числе его перевод Корана, раздавались бесплатно в мечетях Ташкента.

Предполагаю, что инициатором этой акции по распространению работ Тарази мог быть четвертый *муфтий* и председатель САДУМ *шайх* Мухаммад-Садик Мухаммад-Йусуф (1989–1993)[38], являвшийся к тому же депутатом Верховного Совета СССР (1989–1991). Именно в председательство *шайха*, в 1991–92 гг., в САДУМ поступали немалые партии книг Тарази[39]. Часть книг передавалась студентам Ташкентского высшего исламского института имени Имама Бухари и прихожанам некоторых мечетей столицы, а часть оставалась в библиотеке САДУМ. Примечателен также и тот факт, что в своем *Тафсире Хилал шайх* Мухаммад-Садик среди всех переводов Корана упоминает труд, выполненный Тарази. Называя автора по прозвищу, он пишет: «Книга была опубликована в Индии, а несколько экземпляров дошли и до нас» (Шейх, 2012, с. 83).

Главный же довод в пользу высказанного предположения озвучил довольно известный ташкентский *имам-хатиб* и бывший директор столичного медресе Кукалдаш/Кукельдаш ‘Абд ал-Хаким *кари’* (Абдулхаким Маткулов). В предисловии к осуществленному в 2017 г. изданию книги Тарази *Нур ал-басар* («Лучезарный взор»), посвященной жизнеописанию Пророка Мухаммада, ‘Абд ал-Хаким *кари’* рассказывает весьма значимую историю: в 1990 г. во время поездки в *хаджж* ему вместе с *шайх*ом Мухаммад-Садиком Мухаммад-Йусуфом довелось побывать у самого Тарази. Одной из знаковых черт этой встречи оказалась передача гостям из Узбекистана (все еще советского) нескольких тысяч экземпляров таких работ ученого мужа, как перевод-*тафсир* Корана, «Компендиум книги *имама* Тирмизи "Достоинства [Пророка] Мухаммада"» и «Лучезарный взор». Дар сопровождался просьбой распространить эти книги в народе. По прибытии, согласно сведениям ‘Абд ал-Хакима *кари’*, эти произведения попали в подведомственные САДУМ учебные заведения и в частные руки ([Маткулов], 2017, с. 5–6)[40].

Следует отметить, что именно *хаджж* (в нашем случае и другие зарубежные поездки делегаций САДУМ) был одним из основных каналов доставки с последующим распространением трудов Тарази среди туркестанской зарубежной диаспоры и советских среднеазиатских мусульман. По словам узбекистанского историка Сайфиддина Жалилова (1924–2019), труд Тарази преподносился в дар и советским паломникам: «Многие хорошо помнят, что только некоторые из них тайно решались привезти его с собой» (Жалилов, 1997, с. 27–28)[41].

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38. Подробнее о нем см.: Бабаджанов, Хамидов, 2018; Йўлдошхўжаев, Қаюмова, 2015, с. 82–83.

39. По моим наблюдениям, особенно многочисленным был сборник *хадис*ов Имама Мухйи ад-дина ан-Навави (ок. 1233–1277) *Рийад ас-салихин* («Сады праведных») в переводе Тарази на "туркестанский" язык. Так, в библиотеке УМУз хранится более ста книг этой работы Тарази (Инв. №№ В-292 — В-321, В-677 — В-730, В-940 — В-962, В-997 — В-1006).

40. О посещении Тарази в Медине в 1990 г. паломниками из советской Средней Азии см. также: Қўқондий, 1991, с. 111.

41. Приблизительно в аналогичных формулировках в 1991 г. эту же ситуацию описывал в своем интервью о Тарази многолетний сотрудник и заместитель председателя САДУМ, преподаватель арабской литературы, коранической экзегетики и *хадис*оведения в Мир-и Арабе и Ташкентском высшем исламском институте имени Имама Бухари — Йусуф-*хан-тура* Шакиров (Юсуфхонтура Шокиров, 1926–2000), который являлся родственником Тарази, встречался с ним в Медине в конце 1950-х — начале 1960-х гг., многое знал о его трудах и некоторые из них имел в личной библиотеке (Қосимов, 1991, с. 4). Подробнее о нем см.: Йўлдошхўжаев, Қаюмова, 2015, с. 105–106. Другой видный деятель САДУМ — Шараф ад-дин Мирмахмудов (Шарофиддин Мирмахмудов, 1943–2018), работавший в международном отделе САДУМ, а позже — ответственным секретарем организации, по информации родственников, так же, как Йусуф-*хан-тура*, еще в советские годы имел в своем распоряжении труды Тарази, в частности его перевод-*тафсир*. Подробнее о Ш. Мирмахмудове см.: Там же, с. 192–193.

Заключительные ремарки

Случай с произведениями Тарази наглядно показывает, что несмотря на изоляцию среднеазиатских (и, шире, советских) мусульман от остального мусульманского мира, представители туркестанской эмиграции ʿ*улама*ʾ продолжали писать на среднеазиатском тюрки́. Согласно заложенным в них кодам религиозной этики для богословов, они заботились о языковой доступности исламской литературы не только для туркестанской диаспоры, но и для среднеазиатских советских мусульман, потому как осознавали, что их труды могут быть по-настоящему популярными и актуальными там, где сосредоточена их основная аудитория — на территории Туркестана[42]. На мой взгляд, это обстоятельство, наряду с растущей обеспокоенностью о сохранении языковой идентичности в среде молодого поколения диаспоры, объясняет, почему многие из эмигрантов-ʿ*улама*ʾ отдавали предпочтение «туркестанскому» языку. По известным причинам, только осколки их наследия доходили до советской Средней Азии. Одним из таких «осколков», причем крупных, стал перевод-*тафсир* Сайййида Махмуда Тарази, который, судя по всему, имел хождение в кругу среднеазиатских религиозных деятелей и востоковедов, будучи частью их книжного репертуара и в отдельных случаях даже оказывая влияние на их творчество (как, например, на *тафсир* Хиндустани). Это, в свою очередь, свидетельствует о том, что местная интеллектуальная исламская традиция находилась в диалоге и взаимодействии в том числе с той традицией, которая оказалась в эмиграции.

Кроме того, имеется ряд вопросов, ожидающих дальнейших уточнений. В частности, читали ли перевод-*тафсир* Тарази в знаменитом медресе Мир-и Араб или Ташкентском высшем исламском институте в советские годы[43]? Входил ли он в местные программы нелегального конфессионального обучения (*худжра*)[44]? Таким образом, дискуссия о том, в какой степени этот труд был популярен и распространен, остается открытой.

В ходе работы над реконструкцией истории бытования перевода Корана Тарази, его истоков и определении возможного влияния на него реформаторского дискурса я заинтересовался, насколько разные группы среднеазиатских богословов первой трети

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42. Это мнение подтверждается и сведениями историка Мансура ал-Бухари, согласно которому туркестанские ʿ*улама*ʾ из числа эмигрантов, поселившиеся в Медине, рассчитывали на тайное распространение своих книг «на земле Туркестана/Мавераннахра». Их целью было «обучение потомков предписаниям своей религии в условиях социалистической оккупации». Причем первой в указанном ал-Бухари списке книг, предназначенных для распространения, называется перевод Корана Тарази. См.: Ал-Бухари, 1434/2013, с. 255–256 (сноска 1); Ал-Бухари, 1440/2019, с. 68.

43. Как удалось выяснить во время экспедиции в Бухару (февраль 2021 г.), в библиотеке Мир-и Араба среди более чем двадцати экземпляров перевода-*тафсира* Тарази имеется по меньшей мере один (Курʾан карим, 1401/1980–81 г. Инв. № 13/17-1), который относится к советскому периоду. На книге поставлена печать библиотеки медресе и указана дата инвентаризации «25 апреля 1988 г.». Следовательно, экземпляр оказался в стенах медресе не позднее этого времени. Остальные книги — это катарское издание 1993 г. К слову, библиотека УМУз также имеет в своем распоряжении экземпляр, изданный в Джидде (Инв. № Б-1151).

44. На данном этапе исследования с определенной долей уверенности можно утверждать, что в учебном курсе *худжра*, возглавляемой Хиндустани, работа Тарази представлена не была. Об этом мне рассказал один из младших учеников *дамла* Хиндустани и ныне преподаватель в Высшем медресе Мир Араб Исмаʿилджан-*дамла* Хамрокулов (Хамрокулов Исмаилджон Ибрахимович, 1958 г. р., обучался у Хиндустани в Душанбе с 1983 по 1989 гг.). По его словам, Хиндустани и основные представители *худжра* в Ферганской долине не являлись сторонниками включения тюркоязычных произведений в программу обучения, потому как считали необходимым освоение тех или иных исламских источников, большинство из которых были на арабском, исключительно на языке оригинала. Иногда наблюдались ситуации, когда студенты знали лучше грамматику арабского языка, нежели узбекского, и испытывали значительные трудности при чтении книг на тюрки́. Интересно, что сам Исмаʿилджан-*дамла* не видел перевод-*тафсир* Тарази вплоть до первых лет независимости Узбекистана (частная телефонная беседа, Ташкент — Коканд, 3 ноября 2020).

XX века считали необходимым перевод всего текста Корана на среднеазиатский тюрки́. Однако информации о каких-либо дискуссиях, непосредственно касающихся этой проблемы, я не нашел. Коллеги, занимающиеся исследованием диспутов мусульманских религиозных авторитетов, чьи позиции отражались в местной периодической печати, особенно в конце 1910-х — начале 1920-xx гг., с обсуждением этой темы в рамках своих изысканий сталкивались не напрямую, а в контексте, например, допустимости чтения проповедей (*хутба*) на вернакулярных языках[45].

Собственно перевод-*тафсир* Тарази стал одним из аспектов более глобального процесса «национализации» мусульманского письменного наследия, начавшегося с переводов и широкой доступности текста Корана, *хадис*ов и ряда произведений по мусульманскому праву на «языках не-арабов» (*'аджами*). Этот процесс, начатый в глубинах советского периода, теперь буквально «вулканирует» на территории бывших советских республик, порождая в некоторых случаях «знатоков религии» без религиозного образования, которые порой понимают и истолковывают сложные историко-культурные и догматические тексты ислама буквально, активно способствуя его прямой профанации[46].

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45. Этот вопрос, к примеру, вкратце рассматривается в еще неопубликованном диссертационном исследовании сотрудника ИВ АН РУз Шарифжона Исламова «Дискурсы реформаторов Туркестана начала XX века: экономические, общественные и религиозные проблемы в условиях кризиса колонизации» (на узб. яз.). Ссылаясь на такие периодические издания, как журналы *Кенгаш* (Коканд, 1917), *Хуррийат* (Коканд, 1917) и *ал-Изах* (Ташкент, 1917–1918), Ш. Исламов говорит, что *'улама'*, ратовавшие за чтение проповеди на местных языках, обосновывали свою позицию тем, что у прихожан мечетей не должно возникать трудностей в понимании содержания проповеди и поэтому декларируемые *айат*ы Корана также следует переводить на язык, понятный населению.

46. Этому тезису я обязан беседам с профессором Бахтияром Бабаджановым.

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THIS SPECIAL ISSUE IS PRODUCED IN COLLABORATION WITH

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Amsterdam School for Regional, Transnational
and European Studies

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