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Beyond Muslim Xenophobia and Contemporary Parochialism: Aga Khan IV, the Ismāʿīlīs, and the making of a Cosmopolitan Ethic

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Aga Khan IV, the Ismāʿīlīs, and the making of a Cosmopolitan Ethic

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ABSTRACT

Aga Khan IV is the forty-ninth hereditary Imām of the Shīʿa Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims (or 'Ismāʿīlīs' for short). As a Muslim leader, Aga Khan IV addresses salient issues concerning humankind in the contemporary world and expresses the challenges of living under such conditions through his public speeches and the institutions of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate. His discourse is informed by the inseparability of *dīn* (faith) and *dunyā* (world), which is viewed as being a central function to the office of Imāmate. Aga Khan IV adopts a context-rich approach that addresses modernity by integrating commitments to theology with religio-cultural ethics, a formulation that facilitates the engagement of the Ismāʿīlī community in the contemporary world. A key feature of Aga Khan IV's worldview is a tolerant and cosmopolitan attitude with deep spiritual underpinnings, which appeals to a broad range of individuals, not just Ismāʿīlīs. This research situates and explains Aga Khan IV's concept of a 'cosmopolitan ethic' within concerns of human diversity and understandings of the Self-Other paradigm in human narratives. I demonstrate how significant initiatives of Aga Khan IV promote a cosmopolitan ethic, helping to foster a moral sensibility among the Ismāʿīlīs and communities at large. A critical analysis of Aga Khan IV's 'cosmopolitan ethic' is undertaken through the consideration of broader discourses and experiences of cosmopolitanism throughout history. Moreover, his articulation rests on foundational precepts grounded in the Abrahamic moral tradition and is informed by an esoteric spirit of Islam that has long been captured in Shīʿī and Ṣūfī thought. This dissertation also discusses the ways in which the cosmopolitan ethic is manifested within the institutions of the Imāmate in Canada. Using the case study of three institutions: the Global Centre for Pluralism, the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto, and the Aga Khan Museum, I demonstrate how these sites implement and craft a spirit of cosmopolitanism within their infrastructure and programing while exhibiting elements that are rooted in history and tradition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

kindness, and copyediting skills have greatly contributed to my sanity and writing. Thank you for your clarity and motivation, and most of all for being the rock that I leaned on amidst all the challenges.

Finally, I would like to dedicate this thesis to Aga Khan IV whose thought and life-purpose has inspired this research and shaped my spiritual and worldly outlook. Any flaws encountered in my writing remain my own shortcomings and any success is due to God and all the wonderful individuals that shaped my work and I.

Sahir Dewji

Toronto, April 2018

TRANSLITERATION

The Arabic and Persian transliteration table below is based on the *Encyclopaedia Islamica* (Brill) found at http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-islamica/system-of-transliteration-of-arabic-and-persian-characters-transliteration.

Consonants:

ء	ʾ	ر	r	ف	f	Short vowels:	a= ـَ
ب	b	ز	z	ق	q		u= ـُ
پ	p	ژ	zh	ك	k		i= ـِ
ت	t	س	s	گ	g		
ث	th	ش	sh	ل	l	Long vowels:	ā= آ
ج	j	ص	ṣ	م	m		ū= و
چ	ch	ض	ḍ	ن	n		ī= ي
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h		
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w	Diphthongs:	aw= ا و
د	d	ع	ʿ	ي	y		ay= ا ي
ذ	dh	غ	gh				

a= ة; at (construction state)
al= ال (article)

ABBREVIATIONS

AKAA	Aga Khan Award for Architecture
AKDN	Aga Khan Development Network
AKES	Aga Khan Education Services
AKFED	Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development
AKM	Aga Khan Museum
AKP	Aga Khan Park
AKRSP	Aga Khan Rural Support Program
AKTC	Aga Khan Trust for Culture
BUI	Bayt-ul-ʿIlm
GCP	Global Centre for Pluralism
IBIC	Ismāʿīlī Business Information Centres
IIS	Institute for Ismāʿīlī Studies
IPS	Industrial Promotion Services
ITREB	Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

The ink of the scholar is more precious than the blood of the martyr.

A *ḥadīth* attributed to Prophet Muḥammad

If I have seen further than others, it is by standing upon the shoulders of giants.

A quote attributed to Sir Isaac Newton in a letter to Robert Hooke

INTRODUCTION

The sons of Adam are all limbs of one another
For they were formed of a single essence at creation.
When one limb is hurt by fate, the other limbs cannot find peace.
If you are unconcerned with the troubles of others
You are not fit to be called a human being.[1]

Today's globalized world brings with it the benefits of transnational connections and accessible mobility but it also puts forward challenging questions of how we interact with strangers and how to embrace differences. The experience of the modern world offers an ever-increasing flow of ideas and cultural contact among different peoples. Of course, history has shown that human interactions amidst diverging communities have long been a reality. However, the rapid speed at which this is taking place is producing a level of mingling that is unprecedented. In fact, it is not implausible to capture the phenomenon of human life into three terms: experience, encounter, and engagement. This web of interconnectedness brings with it a plurality of worldviews and ways of being in this world. Each culture has its own way of perceiving the world – ironically a commonality among all human beings. This truism, in turn, raises concerns about identity and belonging. Although human beings share a number of similarities, the problem of how people deal with those who are different than us continues to plague the twenty-first century. There has always been tension between past and present, tradition and modernity, universal and particular and between faith and world. A key feature of modernity is the demand it makes on the particulars of identity. Central to these tensions is the negotiation of a plurality of identities, which communities continue to grapple with every day. According to Tazim Kassam,[2]

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[1] This verse is inscribed at the entrance of the United Nations building in New York. The above is a modified translation of Sa'dī's 'Bani Adam' from Eric Ormsby, "Literature," in *A Companion to Muslim Ethics*, ed. Amyn B. Sajoo (London: I.B.Tauris, 2010), 53-78, quote at 69. For original translation refer to Shaykh Mushrifuddin Sa'dī of Shiraz, *The Gulistan (Rose Garden) of Sa'di,* trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Bethesda, MD: Ibex Publishers, 2017 [2008], 22.

[2] Tazim R. Kassam is Associate Professor in the Deparment of Religion at Syracuse University. She is a historian of religions specializing in the Islamic tradition. Her research and teaching interests include gender, ritual, devotional literature, syncretism and the cultural heritage of Muslims particularly in South

Modern notions of identity have a history located in different theoretical, social, and political contexts. Within the contexts of religion, nationhood, and legal discourses, identity often tends to be construed in discrete and static terms. When identity is reified as singular and eternal, there is little room for theorizing its plurality, fluidity, and complexity. Speaking about the self as well as society in terms of rigid identity constructs runs the risk of failing to appreciate the dynamic, kaleidoscopic, and even fragmentary nature of identity formation (2004, 138).

It is against this backdrop that the enthusiasm for cosmopolitanism as a concept has (re)emerged in the social sciences in order to rethink identities and loyalties of human beings that are no longer confined by rigid borders.

Cosmopolitanism is concerned with the ways in which individuals juggle multiple belongings and divided loyalties, and how they co-exist with other individuals of different cultures with similarly divided loyalties and complex identities. In this sense, cosmopolitanism is also understood in relation to global citizenship and the socio-political conditions that form the basis of citizenship. Recent formulations of cosmopolitanism suggest that individuals and communities are able to balance particular and universal commitments (Appiah 2006; Delanty 2006; Kymlicka and Walker 2012; Nussbaum 1996; Hollinger 2002). This position argues for a 'rooted' cosmopolitanism wherein "[r]ooted attachments may serve as moral sources in a second and even stronger sense: namely, they may contain within them the seeds of more universalistic commitments, such that we can appeal to people's sense of rooted attachments to help motivate cosmopolitan commitments" (Kymlicka and Walker 2012, 4). Missing from this discussion is how religious communities act as moral sources for cosmopolitan worldviews. "This tension is, in part, because particularistic attachments to a community of faith sit uneasily with the ethical universalism and secular ideals of justice and equality that underpin some cosmopolitanism discourses and perspectives" (Rovisco and Kim 2014, 2). The growing literature on 'rooted' cosmopolitanism fails to account for religion's presence in shaping identity and engagement with society and the interface of religious and secular ethics in the public sphere (Casanova 1994; Habermas 2005; Taylor 2007). Since cosmopolitanism is linked to ideas about identity and

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Asia. She obtained her PhD in the History of Religions at McGill in the history of religions and specialized in the Islamic tradition with a focus on South Asia.

citizenship, the concept opens up debates about the contrasting ways in which religious communities understand themselves in relation to cosmopolitan modes of self-understanding. My goal is thus to identity those 'cosmopolitan' narratives that have not gained currency and bring them to a wider audience – those found in religious traditions such as Islam, which offer moral visions that enable all peoples to see each other as gifts of the divine, full of dignity rather than selfish beings who perform only for political profit.

Nature of Study

This dissertation seeks to rethink cosmopolitanism in light of religion, in a way that takes seriously the ethical paradigm of cosmopolitan formulations and that is cognizant of the balance between universal and particular commitments, including the contours of the sacred and profane. There is a multitude of scholarship that aims to illustrate the reality of a cosmopolitan outlook in Muslim societies, which privileges the paradigms of encounter and engagement and how these are inspired by faith (Eickelman and Piscatori 1990; Karim 2012c; Lawrence 2010, 2012; Simpson and Kresse 2008). The literature points to a history of cross-cultural exchange among Muslims and other communities across politico-cultural and ethnic borders without compromise to particular commitments of faith. Engagement with others, therefore, provided for a two-way flow of ideas, cultures, and languages. This is very much a reality of the twenty-first century in which "Muslims are very much an intrinsic part of the contemporary experience of cosmopolitanism" (Karim 2012c, 202). They constitute important members of pluralistic societies who balance commitments to their faith and their loyalties to the societies in which they live. It is this cosmopolitan spirit that concerns the present study.

I suggest that Muslim religious leaders, specifically Aga Khan IV, speak to contemporary global issues by proposing models of engagement that converge the sacred and the profane. Such models point "to new forms of responsibility that global encounters necessitate" (Sunier 2014, 2194), which have a great potential in shaping notions of sociability, inclusiveness, and citizenship. The underlying premise of Aga

Khan IV's model of engagement rests on a commitment to engage with the Other[3] and an orientation towards pluralistic ideals and good values. To be sure, the thought of Aga Khan IV lends to discussions of civic and religious identities that add a new dimension to the interpretation of contemporary cosmopolitanism. In February 2014, Aga Khan IV addressed the Canadian parliament – the first Muslim religious leader to do so. In his address, Aga Khan IV emphasized the importance of a upholding a 'cosmopolitan ethic' and for greater engagement amongst different peoples. This terminology of the 'cosmopolitan ethic,' expressed by Aga Khan IV, serves as the catalyst for the current project. I was interested in finding out what the cosmopolitan ethic constituted and what this meant for Aga Khan IV's adherents, the Ismāʿīlīs. Recent studies on the Ismāʿīlī community in North America have acknowledged the cosmopolitan nature of the Ismāʿīlī community based on findings of the community's ability to balance national and religious obligations (Leonard 1999; Matthews 2007). My research adds to these works from a different perspective – by analyzing and deconstructing Aga Khan IV's articulation of a cosmopolitan ethic. I argue that Aga Khan IV's vision of a cosmopolitan ethic is informed by both philosophical debates on cosmopolitanism and foundational precepts found in Islam, which are in turn inherited from the ethico-spiritual experience of the Abrahamic moral tradition.

The concept I deconstruct comprises of two components. The first word 'cosmopolitan' comes from the ancient Greek for 'citizen of the world' and its elaboration as a way of being is usually traced to the Stoics. The etymology is quite clear: the Greek word *kosmos*, meaning 'world' and *polis*, meaning 'city'. The second word 'ethic' is a translation of the Greek *ethos,* meaning custom or habit. In the discussion to follow, the characteristics of what signified a cosmopolitan will become apparent. Before taking up the historical context, I would like to direct the reader to the second component of the concept in question as this is a crucial element that orients the interpretive direction this dissertation stresses with respect to the concept of cosmopolitanism. Ethics is often used interchangeably with another term, morals. These two terms share a Greco-Latin origin and roughly mean the same thing. Formally

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[3] I choose to capitalize 'O' in 'Other' following Jacques Derrida and Emmanuel Levinas. The capital 'O' is a deliberate reminder of the transcendence of the stranger, to his or her irreducibility to any theme.

however, ethics concerns ideals that guide "an individual or a community in choices that concern the 'good', relating closely to perceptions of who one is and best to live in one's universe. Morals, on the other hand, are more specifically about rules that concern what is right or wrong, whether for the individual or society" (Sajoo 2004, 7). But there is a further sense that concerns my conceptualization of cosmopolitan ethics. It is about the intertwined relation of philosophy, morality and religion.

> The ethos that emerges from scripture, whether through narratives or injunctions, is of necessity about the practical unfolding of moral principles: ideals and their implications are set forth within the bounds of the relationship among the individual, society and the divine. Layers of meaning attach themselves through the course of history to those ideals, and to the nature of the threefold relationship within which they are to be realized (Sajoo 2004, 2).

Taking such a trajectory seriously requires placing scripture at the core of ethical narratives, which serves as the vehicle to bring meaning to moral choices. I turn to Enamul Choudhury (2001) who offers a resolution through virtue ethics, which highlights scripture as a source of wisdom and an integral component of ethical discourse.[4] Virtue ethics privileges moral inquiry as study of "the 'ethic' of a person or a community." Ethic in this case is taken as "a dimension of human conduct" and "rests on the response of a person more than on the observations of a spectator" (2001, 28). Choudhury offers an orientation that anchors ethics in relationships governed by human characteristics. This embodied meaning of ethics, which is shaped by sacred wisdom and the virtue one develops from such wisdom, finds expression through one's conduct and interactions with all that is Other. This component of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic is explored through the lens of hospitality, which privileges the practice of cosmopolitanism as a transformative condition – a position that is reinforced by this study's conceptualization of a cosmopolitan ethic.

Aga Khan IV, as I argue, seems to have in mind a certain conception of cosmopolitanism based in universal morality that pertains to our obligations to one

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[4]Enamul Choudhury is Associate Professor at Wright State University in the department of Urban Affairs and Geography. His research and teaching interests involves ethics, governance issues, management of criminal justice organizations, and public trust. For Choudhury, "scriptural wisdom aims to affect transformation in consciousness" by inviting readers "to a beneficial opportunity for human flourishing" (2001, 27).

another regardless of religious affiliation, gender, ethnicity and political orientation. He guides his community "through movements that simultaneously reaffirm the Islamic core of their beliefs and practices and express these values in terms that have almost universal resonance…"(Simonowitz 2004, 6). Aga Khan IV's endeavours are aimed at developing a cosmopolitan ethic that entails a reconceptualization of being human and fostering new modes of relationality with other human beings. It is a sentiment that resonates well with the verses of this Introduction's opening poem by the thirteenth century Muslim poet Sa'dī of Shiraz,[5] which emphasizes the sacredness and connectedness of human beings. Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic aims to balance universal values with particular moral sources inspired by Qur'ānic precepts, encouraging Muslims to embrace a common origin of humanity while acknowledging and respecting its diversity. The implication is that knowing the Other is a fulfillment of the divine will and therefore of being Muslim and indeed of being human. It is ultimately about finding the sacred in human life.

In my attempt to broaden the theoretical discourse on cosmopolitanism, through an examination of Aga Khan IV's thought, I also look at how the cosmopolitan ethic embodies the work of the Imāmate institutions (Aga Khan Development Network and the institutions charged with overseeing Ismāʿīlī communal and religious affairs). I demonstrate how Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan vision is refracted onto institutional structures and their function, advancing his discourse through social spaces and encouraging a cosmopolitan moral sensibility amongst the Ismāʿīlī community. My fieldwork at three institutional sites, the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP), the Aga Khan Museum (AKM), and the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT), offer a snapshot of how the production of these places enhance the scope of cosmopolitanism and help to create a lived cosmopolitan reality through the different experiences and conversations that

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[5] Abū-Muḥammad Muṣliḥ al-Dīn bin ʿAbdallāh, better known by his pen of Sa'dī (c. 1184- 1291) was born in Shiraz, Iran. He is considered a major Persian poet whose writings deal with social and moral thoughts. He was also a contemporary of two well-known mystical Persian mystical poets Farīd al-Dīn Aṭṭār and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. His best-known works are his *Būstān* (Orchard) and *Gulistān* (Rose Garden). The latter is a collection of poems and stories and contains a mix of prose and verse. Overall this work of Sa'di "could be seen as a survival manual for terrible times." The *Rose Garden* appeared around 1258 the same year that the Mongols razed Baghdad. "This may help explain why Sadi places such a strong emphasis on good sense and shrewd judgement in his tales and poems, and why he takes so keen a joy in the passing beauty of the world." Eric Orsmby, "Literature," in *A Companion to Muslim Ethics,* ed. Amyn B. Sajoo (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 53-78, quotations at 69 and 68.

take place within them. In a sense, these sites serve as vehicles by which to imagine cosmopolitan possibilities that are shaped by the relations that anchor them. Overall, I hope to disclose in this work a framework to think through what cosmopolitan ethics could mean as a response to the age-old question posed by Aga Khan IV to his guests at the Opening Ceremony of the Aga Khan Park (AKP):

> How can human-kind honour what is distinctive about our separate identities and, at the same time, see diversity itself as a source of inspiration and blessing? Rather than fearing difference, how can we learn to embrace difference so that we can live together more peacefully and productively? (2015b).

Methodological Considerations

This research provides a historical understanding of the Ismāʿīlī community and its contemporary positioning, as well as information regarding the interpretations of the cosmopolitan ethic as they are practiced and expressed at three different sites: the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP), the Aga Khan Museum (AKM) and the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto. Part of this dissertation offers an ethnographic prism through which the vision of a cosmopolitan ethos is refracted onto the Ismāʿīlī experience in Canada and the institutions of the Imāmate. Section III of this dissertation is where I employ ethnographic methods to complement the theoretical scholarship in Parts I and II. In order to accomplish the ethnographic aspect of my study I gleaned from selected methodological approaches that best suited the study at hand. The core of my research involves the invocation of a cosmopolitan outlook – something that is constructed through the environment, interactions, and other factors. The best paradigm to capture this phenomenon would be post-positivism. This methodological tradition is about a reality that is socially constructed rather than objectively determined. This approach offers an appreciation of the different constructions and meanings that people place upon their experience in relation to their identity. I used a case study approach when examining my topic of interest. Case studies are used to focus on one or a few instances of particular phenomenon with the ability to provide in-depth accounts. This approach has become widespread in social research and provides the researcher with the flexibility to use different data collection methods in combination with the case study

design. A case refers to a unit of analysis, an individual, or even an event. Thus, a case study is understood to be an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context. This approach worked well with my research area as it allowed for the opportunity to unravel in detail some of the complexities of my topic. This feature offers the research an opportunity to look at the small parts and see how they can be applied to the whole phenomenon. "In this respect, case studies tend to be holistic rather than deal with isolated factors"(Denscombe 2007, 36). As mentioned, the case study approach allows a researcher to use a variety of sources, a variety of types of data, and variety of research methods during the investigation process.

Being able to understand the interpretations of the cosmopolitan ethic and its practices within the institutions I study necessitates some degree of interaction. This is accomplished through participant observation, where I immersed myself in the contexts created by some of these sites. I participated in some of the programs offered at two of these locations and partook in formal tours of these institutions. Although some events were chosen specifically for my research, I continued to participate in communal events as a member of the community, which provided for a richer experience and subtle observations that would ultimately shape my interpretive process.[6] That being said, my approach to field research is best understood as 'participant-as-observer' that "involves situations where the researcher participates as well as observes by developing relationships with informants" (Burgess 1984, 81). My observations at these sites, overall, provide a richer understanding of how these buildings act as nodes of the cosmopolitan ethos in question. More important is perhaps the face-to-face interviews that allowed me to hear the point of view of individuals charged with the task of ensuring that these sites reflect the vision of Aga Khan IV. Indeed, institutions and their buildings do not exist independently; they are imbued with meaning by the actors that steer the function of these places and by those who utilize the spaces within them. I conducted detailed interviews (around 40) with leaders of these institutions and other affiliated representatives. I also interviewed Ismāʿīlī scholars who have worked with the Imāmate institutions in some capacity, which allowed for more critical perspectives

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[6] More about this is discussed below with regards to my insider/outsider role.

on the topic. My fieldwork relied on the 'snow ball' technique to strategically link myself with the appropriate interlocutors for my study. Since I was most interested in the leadership's point of views, I began by identifying possible participants within the Imāmate institutions, taking into consideration their direct relevance to the sites in question. With each interview I conducted, I was referred to by the individual to other possible candidates within the network who could provide valuable insight to many of the questions I raised. The interview process provides a great opportunity for reflexivity as well as dialogue between the researcher and the participant (Fonow and Cook 1991). The format of the interviews I employed for my field study were semi-structured. The choice of semi-structured rather than structured offered me sufficient flexibility in approaching various respondents while still covering the same issues crucial to data collection.

I employ ethnographic methods in conducting my interviews. The researcher's job in the ethnographic interview is to communicate genuinely, in both subtle and direct ways so as to learn something about the informant (Heyl 2001). In general, interviews are considered a form of interaction; a conversation between the researcher and the interviewee wherein both parties are active creators throughout the interview process (Holstein and Gubrium 1995; Kvale 1996). Feminists have also found ethnographic interviewing to be appealing because it allows for gathering data within a context that fosters relationship building characterized by empathy and egalitarianism. Feminist scholars also see ethnographic interviewing as a conversation: "a chance to hear people's ideas, memories, and interpretations in their own words, to hear differences among people and the meanings they construct, and to forge a connection over time to the interviewees" (Heyl 2001, 374). An important theme that runs through this style of interviews is the need for careful listening. "When researchers listen carefully to the actual talk, they can hear these moments of translation, which can sensitize the analysis..." (Ibid). Other researchers have also pointed out that listening does not just play a role during the interview. This task is also necessary when the researcher reviews and analyses tapes and transcripts. These scholars urge researchers to make close transcriptions of taped interviews. The' listening' process after the interview heightens the researcher's awareness and allows he or she to better understand why the informant

answered in a particular way. I provide considerable detail in the form of direct quotations from my participants to reflect their own narratives. While as the writer of this dissertation I have the final choice of what to include from the interviews, I still try to provide a space where my participants' voices emerge without prejudice. One way in which to ensure this quality was by inviting each participant an opportunity to view and edit the quotations (in context) I chose to include. This strategy offered a collaborative approach to my research and also offered the interviewees a level of trust, ensuring my work was not in any way aimed at misrepresenting them nor the Imām and his institutions. My own approach could be said to be reflective of the cosmopolitan ethic that this dissertation aims to illustrate.

Ethnographic methods are also applied to the 'archival' print materials of the community and institutions as well the speeches of Aga Khan IV. Documenting, describing, and interpreting the communal newsletters and magazines, which I collected during my field research, help to recreate the worldview of the early Ismāʿīlī experience in Canada. By relying on print reflections of the community, my approach offers a snapshot into the various community and institutional developments, which also help to support the oral narratives. The ethnohistorical narrative that mixes communal publications, interviews, and unpublished documents provide a detailed story about the community's settlement and development. By engaging and taking seriously the voices of this double-minority community (past and present) my work brings forth new stories that provide a richer and nuanced telling of the wider Muslim institutional history in Canada. "[W]hether or not one agrees with such minority views, they are views from which we have much to learn. If they are not studied and discussed, they appear not to exist" (Johansen 1997, 54). By recreating and sharing the experiences of the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs I add another voice, thereby enhancing the literature of Islam in Canada. Of course, I acknowledge that this aspect of my work is not complete and is not a strict history of the community's actions and personal experiences. Nonetheless it illuminates how the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs engaged with the vision of their Imām and bridged the worlds of *dīn* (faith) and *dunyā* (world) in their everyday life. Another principal means by which I capture the secular and spiritual underpinnings of cosmopolitanism is by reading and interpreting the public speeches of

Aga Khan IV. Much like the archival documents of the early community, I employ ethnographic methods to settle into Aga Khan IV's worldview and contextualize them within the longer history of the Ismāʿīlī community's evolution. I offer an interpretation of Aga Khan IV's vision of cosmopolitan ethics reconstructed from about thirty speeches, on the topic of interest, and connect them to complementary sources as well as the broader discourse of cosmopolitanism in academia.

Insider/Outsider

In my methodological approach I noted that I, as a researcher, see myself as 'participant-as-observer'. With respect to the present research topic, it should be noted that I am part of the community that I am researching. It is plausible that affiliation with the community – as a life long observer who has been involved in a volunteer capacity in many areas of the community's institutional structure - may have some advantage. Herein lies an important question: can my experiences within the community as a graduate student of religious studies be considered as a form of fieldwork? I am not sure this can be easily answered here, but it does bring into question the difficulty of measuring objectivity and subjectivity from a methods perspective.

Let me raise some implications of my positionality as a researcher who must continuously negotiate and reconcile his place between insider/outsider. Firstly, some background information about my place within the Ismāʿīlī community should be stated. I was born into this tradition and have been involved, over the years, in many capacities. This is important because it clarifies the primary motivation of my research topic – driven by a search for better understanding the community I belong to and the desire to intellectually engage with the interpretive approach of religion as articulated by Aga Khan IV, the forty-ninth hereditary Imām of the Ismāʾīlī community.[7] To make the long story short, the community and the teachings of the Imām have shaped my religio-cultural identity and have encouraged me to highlight a narrative of a minority Muslim tradition too often marginalized by normative understandings of Islam.

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[7] It is appropriate for me to point out here that I am highly skeptical of attempts to invalidate the position of the Imām and the Ismāʿīlī tradition by casting doubt on its authenticity within Islam. As such I intentionally stay clear of polemic arguments that question the validity and integrity of the Imām as a spiritual leader vis à vis his socio-economic status in public life.

The insider/outsider debate continues to be at the core of research concerns in religious studies since its inception as a discipline of study (Hughes 2013; Knott 2005; Tweed 2002). The insider approach involves understanding and explaining religious experiences from the point of view of the believer, while the outsider perspective refuses to accept religion as something 'special' and 'internal' to a selective group of people and reduces religion to outside categories in order to interpret and explain religious data (Hughes 2013; Knott 2005; McCutcheon 1999).

> [W]e should be careful of assuming that insiders are somehow rendered incompetent to function as scholars of their own tradition. Although insiders of any religious tradition carry a difficult burden when it comes to explaining their own religion in a manner that avoids apologetics, the academic study of religion encourages us to avoid theology in favor of disinterested investigation (Hughes 2013, 5).

Being an insider brings its own set of challenges and contrary to normative assumptions, such a position does not always offer easy access to information. However, I am willing to acknowledge that, to some degree, being an insider can be beneficial since access to experiences that are privy to being a member of the community are unavailable to outsiders.[8] Scholars who fall in the 'insider' position are also faced with ethical considerations resulting in the scholar to negotiate between academic integrity and one's position within the community. For example, in my study I use the public speeches of Aga Khan III and Aga Khan IV. I intended to examine these Imāms' *farmāns* (address or decree from the Imām to his followers), however these are considered private and only for the adherents of the Ismāʿīlī *ṭarīqa.* There are instances where some have acquired *farmāns* through unofficial mediums and republished excerpts in their studies. I have chosen to respect this position, as expressed by the Imām and the institutions. Nevertheless, I do make references, where possible, to some *farmāns* that have already been published in scholarly articles. I opine that public

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[8] "The presumption that only an 'outside' observer can critically research, study, or teach a particular tradition that has slowly given way to personal narratives and insider perspectives in much of the mainstream academic study of religion remains most resilient in the area of Islamic studies." Amina Wadud, *Qurʾān and Woman: Regarding the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xvi.

speeches themselves contain a rich repertoire of information worthy of examination in their own right.[9]

Accessibility to data in a close-knit and self-conscious community like the Ismāʿīlīs, is an issue for any researcher, whether an insider or an outsider. Case in point, is the vetting process I underwent, based on a certain criteria imposed by the institutions of the community, in order to speak with representatives of the Ismāʿīlī Councils (past and present) in Canada. As mentioned earlier, I used a snowball technique for my interview process. My volunteer roles in the community proved beneficial; I was able to write to the Communications Coordinators of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada, one of whom I had the privilege to work with on a previous project. I shared my dissertation proposal with the two Communications Coordinators in November 2014, which was followed up with a phone call. The two Communications Coordinators approved of my proposal in theory but they needed to send my proposal to the Senior Communications Officer of the Secretariat of the Imāmate at Aiglemont. The proposal was then sent to the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies (IIS) for a second opinion. During this time I reached out to representatives of the Aga Khan Museum and the Global Centre for Pluralism who were willing to contribute to my research without much reluctance. As for meeting with members of the Ismāʿīlī Councils, my approval was granted in January of 2015. The Communication Coordinators in Canada stepped in once again to help me connect with a few individuals, allowing me to get some preliminary interviews underway by February 2015. The approval I received offered me the credibility I needed to organize interviews with the representatives of the Ismāʿīlī Councils. After my first round of interviews in Vancouver, I personally reached out to other possible participants, which was successful due to the approval I received from the highest authority. I met with more individuals in the Vancouver area and others in Calgary and Edmonton.

When I returned to Toronto, I kept reaching out to more potential research participants but was unsuccessful in securing interviews with present representatives of the Ismāʿīlī Councils. The dark spell came to end in April 2015 following my exchange

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[9] For a discussion on conundrums around the circulations of the *farmāns* see Karim H. Karim, "A Semiotics of Infinite Translucence: The Exoteric and Esoteric in Ismaili Muslim Hermeneutics," *Canadian Journal of Communication Corporation* 40, no.1 (2015): 11-28.

with a former President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada. This individual not only agreed to be interviewed but he personally contacted the current President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada explaining the value of my research. His communication with the current President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada probed further correspondence with the Communications Coordinators who intervened again to help me connect with current representatives. One would have thought that being an insider of this community would make things much simpler. However, as I have just described, I underwent a screening process that may have been similar to that of an outsider. It is possible that one of the advantages of being an insider was the time it took to receive my approval. Be that as it may, I believe that the stipulation 'to review and edit the interview transcription' outlined in my consent for interviews must have had a larger influence in obtaining the final endorsement. More importantly, it was also the affluence of certain individuals who saw value in the research I was undertaking that paved the road for success.[10]

During my fieldwork individuals in the community, with whom I had close relations, were aware of what my research entailed and why many times I would be sitting with a pen and pad in hand at certain communal events. On the other hand, it was almost impossible for me to inform everyone I came into contact with at these events my reasons for attending. To be honest, my participation was not always primarily motivated by research. I simply enjoyed attending events that piqued my interest, whether it was a seminar, panel discussion, or a festive occasion. That being said, I never once saw myself as an imposter or felt it difficult to put my religious studies hat on. In fact, I think the opposite is true. As a result of being a graduate student in the fields of Islamic studies and religious studies (more generally), it has actually been more difficult of a task to switch off the critical mind. As a result, my own identity as an Ismāʿīlī has been deconstructed and reconstructed over the years with a hope to find some balance. At the moment, I still would not be able to place myself in some fixed category; all I can reveal is that there are moments where I am

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[10] Regardless of the approvals, I was still unable to get access to data regarding demographics and population numbers of the Ismāʿīlī community on grounds of safety concerns of the Canadian Ismāʿīlī community. In addition, there were still many other potential interviewees that did not respond to being interviewed.

passionately critical of what I partake in as a member of the community and there are also moments of reflective silence. What this means for me or for those who desire a straightforward explanation is complicated. Is it meaningful to create a hard distinction between dimensions of identity and approaches to research projects? From this perspective, the fixed category of 'participant-as-observer' I suggest is only a partial reality. "That the different aspects of our individual and collective identities shape the ways in which we approach and perceive the world and live in it and that such shaping is an important aspect of the production of knowledge has been recognized by most scholars in the humanities in the last decades" (Hammer 2008, 445-446).

As tempting as it may be to ascribe a particular position to my role as a researcher, I contend that any person studying a community (as insider or outsider) is always moving between positions; no person remains fixed in his or her study. "Scholars continually move back and forth between inside and outside, fact and value, evidence and narrative, the living and the dead, here and there, us and them" (Tweed 2002, 253). In this sense, one could argue that any research question, for that matter, already points to presumptions since no individual is completely able to remove his or her personal experiences from analyses and interpretations of a subject matter. Each person observes from a particular vantage point that is influenced by time, space, gender, class, race, religion etc. "So in this view, interpretations of religion – ethnographic studies, textual translations, philosophical reflections, and historical narratives – are *sightings* from geographical and social sites whereby scholars construct meaning, using categories and criteria of their own making" (Tweed 2002, 257). The issues I have raised thus far form part of a much larger and serious debate that I am unable to explore at length here. Be that as it may, I do not purport to favour one single approach, I think the views offered by an insider or an outsider are both valid and put forward a set of conclusions from different vantage points. I, of course, agree with Thomas Tweed[11] (2002) that the researcher is always in motion, whereby (s)he

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[11] Thomas A. Tweed is the Harold and Martha Welch Professor of American Studies and Professor of History. He is also Faculty Fellow in the Institute of Latino Studies and the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. Tweed research interests include religious, cultural, migration, transnational and comparative studies. He has published 6 books, a 6 volume series of historical documents, and has received a number of grants and fellowships for his research. His current research projects include a

straddles the insider and outsider worlds at all times when examining, studying, and writing on the 'religious' subject. The research presented here is an attempt to combine my personal interests with a critical lens and I hope that I have been able to appropriately navigate the insider/outsider within me.[12] As a result, the arguments I construct and the conclusions I draw are at best the outcomes of personal and intellectual struggles.

My ethical choice to respect the privacy of the Imām's *farmāns* in no way diminishes my abilities as a reaearcher. In fact, it brings a certain integrity and boldness to my writing that does not shy away from the struggles of negotiation and allows me to respond to the constraints proffered by essentialist frameworks. My work tries to show the intellectual richnes of Aga Khan IV and the Ismāʿīlīs; a community that is important to my identity and one that I actively contribute to in my daily life. This balancing act raises a set of complex issues that are entangled within the narrative of this present work. It is of course necessary to take responsibility for defining my position and identity as I have tried to demonstrate above. In a practical sense, the insider/outsider position is only one of many other identities I hold as a human being. Reconciling these positions is what the cosmopolitan ethic is all about, which I believe I am channeling through my responsibility as a scholar and an Ismāʿīlī.

Structure of this Study

This dissertation is divided into three sections. The first section surveys the history of cosmopolitanism in order to arrive at a conception of cosmopolitanism that will serve as the basis for the orientation of the subsequent chapters. However, the intent is not to recount the entire history of cosmopolitanism but rather to reconstruct from the works of important scholars of the field. Chapter 1 offers a general exploration of cosmopolitan theory. I attempt to present a chronological history of the concept while raising the debates around competing claims of cosmopolitanism. The chapter

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history of religion in America from the pre-colonial period to the present. Tweed has also served as the president of the American Academy of Religion in 2015.

[12] Human beings occupy multiple identities and I am no exception. Where and when one identity plays out over others at any given time is difficult to pin down at given moment in time. My identities are at once in consonance and in conflict, but neither one is ever static. As such, the question of whether I am a scholar and then an Ismāʿīlī or an Ismāʿīlī and then a scholar is simply shortsighted.

concludes with a particular frame of reference that privileges an ethical basis for the concept – rooted in the ethic of hospitality – rather than a socio-political ideology. Chapter 2 continues with a historical trajectory of the concept that is usually not discussed in Western literature on cosmopolitanism. In this chapter I discuss a version of cosmopolitanism that was exhibited by Muslim civilizations. I argue how religion served as a catalyst for cosmopolitan ambitions, encouraging intellectual exchange and dialogue across different cultures. I then discuss the religio-ethical basis of this cosmopolitan spirit, which I argue takes precedence from the virtue of hospitality found among the Abrahamic religions. Here I trace the roots of the philosophical discussions on hospitality presented in Chapter 1. I aim to showcase how the virtue of hospitality offers a religio-ethical narrative to the cosmopolitan ethos, which is essentially about relationships (among human beings and between human beings and God). There is an integral connectivity among the Abrahamic religions that provides a narrative of hospitality and manifests itself through different precepts found in religious scripture, such as the Qur'ān. It is precisely this virtue of hospitality, embodied in the ethical principles of the Qur'ān, which rests on a deeper understanding of the Self and Other through the One Reality.

The common thread that runs through the dissertation's first section despite the varying limitations is the spirit of cosmopolitanism. Through all its renditions (in theory and practice), the different expressions of cosmopolitanism point to the ambitions of human beings to understand their connectivity and embrace differences in pursuit of the common good. The section also accounts for the gaps between the prescriptive ideal of cosmopolitanism and its historical accounts.

The second section situates the focus of the study – the cosmopolitan ethic in the thought of Aga Khan IV. This section provides a historical and theological basis for the cosmopolitan ideal within a specific Shī'ī community known as the Ismā'īlīs. Chapter 3 examines the historical background of the Ismā'īlīs and offers a brief account of the key theological principles that serve as the direct spiritual inspiration for the contemporary rendering of cosmopolitan ethics articulated by the Ismā'īlī Imam, Aga Khan IV. Moreover, the chapter pays attention to the development of a cosmopolitan ethos set against the backdrop of a Shī'ī - Ṣūfī esoteric coalescence. In particular, the

practice of spiritual chivalry (also connected to the overarching virtue of hospitality), I argue, echoes the religio-ethical worldview that finds its way in the cosmopolitan ethic of Aga Khan IV. Chapter 4 showcases the impact of this esoteric complex in the thought of Aga Khan III, which offered the spiritual orientation of his cosmopolitan endeavours. I argue that Aga Khan III's 'this-worldly approach' shaped by the reform movements of his time carried the underlying trope of encounter and engagement witnessed in the cosmopolitan spirit and exhibited by the earlier Ismāʿīlīs, and more generally by early Muslim civilizations.[13] Chapter 5 is the theoretical center of the dissertation. It is here that I deconstruct the concept of 'cosmopolitan ethic' into its various components by connecting it to the historical narrative discussed until this point and situating it within the contemporary renditions of this ideal, nestled within the broader debate of religious and secular ethics. Drawing from a number of speeches I deconstruct the central principles of Aga Khan IV's worldview and teachings that best highlight the theme of a cosmopolitan ethic. I also demonstrate how the cosmopolitan ethic, expressed by Aga Khan IV, is shaped by a convergence of religio-ethical precepts, Muslim experiences, as well as contemporary articulations of cosmopolitanism in Western literature. More important, I argue that such an articulation is made possible by Aga Khan IV's two-fold discourse of *dīn* and *dunyā.* Indeed, there is a stream of particularity that flows from *dīn* to *dunyā* and a current of universality that flows from *dunyā* to *dīn* that are akin to the streams of openness and fluidity exemplified through the cosmopolitan spirit.

The last section of this dissertation concerns the expression of a cosmopolitan ethic within the structure and function of the Imāmate institutions. My attempt in this section is to showcase how Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic is transposed into an institutional setting in order to pragmatically address the concerns of his time. Chapter 6 traces the evolutionary processes of institutionalization among the Ismāʿīlī community while analyzing how the mandates of the different institutions reflect a

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[13] Parts of Chapter 4 have benefitted from Soumen Mukherjee's monograph entitled *Ismailism and Islam in Modern South Asia: Community and Identity in the Age of Religious Internationals* (2017), whose publication coincided with the writing of this chapter. Her study of Aga Khan III's thought and actions through the framework of cosmopolitanism has helped inform the contours of my own discussion on the notion of cosmopolitan ethics within the discourses of Aga Khan IV. More importantly, her analysis of Aga Khan III as a 'religious international' provides historical antecedents of cosmopolitan ideals that have further evolved under the leadership of Aga Khan IV.

cosmopolitan ethos that engenders a continuous engagement with the world without forsaking the sacred. Chapter 7 chronicles the roots of the Ismāʿīlī community and the development of the Imāmate institutions in Canada. In this chapter I map the settlement and institutional development of Ismāʿīlī institutions in Canada. This chapter builds on previous scholarship around early Ismāʿīlī settlement but also charters new territory by attempting to record the first institutional historiography of the Ismāʿīlīs in the Canadian context, based on interviews and communal publications. Capturing the community's engagement in this region, efforts in building a confident community through its institutions and fostering new partnerships with other Canadian civil society organizations, clearly displays the cosmopolitan ethos at play. The community's stories point to an effort to safeguard tradition while engaging with new, and sometimes contested ideas – indeed an expression of the cosmopolitan spirit that is traced throughout the earlier chapters. Chapters 8 and 9 resemble a case study where I analyze three specific sites, the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP), the Aga Khan Museum (AKM) and the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto, in order to reveal the ways in which the cosmopolitan ethic manifests in particular places that fall under the ambit of the Imāmate. Moreover, these two chapters indicate how the Imāmate institutions display strong Islamic characteristics in their architectural design while infusing the natural surroundings, where they are developed, into the built environment. Chapter 8 starts with a literature review of spatial analysis and intertextualility providing the necessary tools for an analysis concerned with the production of the cosmopolitan ethic at three sites. I demonstrate how the sites themselves including complementary verbal and textual sources serve to disseminate a language that augments the cosmopolitan discourse that is inherent in the conceptualization of these spaces. In applying the theoretical models, I examine how the physical and ideological component of the GCP exhibit and support the ideals expressed by Aga Khan IV. In the same way, Chapter 9 focuses on how the AKM and ICT foster a cosmopolitan ethos through their structures and programming. Moreover, I highlight the public and private natures of these two sites and how their juxtaposition complicates yet amplifies a cosmopolitan sensibility. I then go on to discuss the Aga Khan Park (AKP) which serves as a symbolic bridge that connects the public and private / the sacred and profane, signifying a cosmopolitan

gesture. The AKP together with the AKM and ICT exhibit the importance faith and heritage play in the physical world and Ismāʿīlī societal experiences. The chapter concludes by inferring that the cosmopolitan sensibilities imbued within the Imāmate institutions facilitate their participation in the Canadian public sphere as civil society organizations.

PART I
(Re)tracing and Situating Cosmopolitanism: From the Greeks to the Muslims

CHAPTER 1
What is Cosmopolitanism? On the Necessity of Human Alterity

Introduction

The journey in trying to define a cosmopolitan ethic must first begin by informing the reader what the significance of this concept has implied within human history. It is this purpose that opens the present chapter, which serves as an exploration of cosmopolitanism within Western thought starting with the ancient Greek philosophers and ending with the term's resurgence in the late twentieth century. I provide a succinct overview of the literature that presents the general characteristics of cosmopolitanism as it manifest in different contexts. Tracing the evolution of this concept requires a continuous process of (re)imagining and evaluating various constructions of cosmopolitanism. Indeed, much of the literature on cosmopolitanism yields an attempt to discuss the similarities and the tensions that surround this ideal, especially within current claims being made under the banner of cosmopolitanism. The reasons for the re-emergence of cosmopolitanism will also be taken up with consideration given to competing definitions of the term.

Throughout this discussion, my aim is to highlight a connecting thread within the history of cosmopolitanism that rests on situating the Self in relation to the Other. At the core of cosmopolitanism, as I hope to present, is an ethic of relations and responsibilities that sparks a curiosity about human diversity and difference; a spirit that far exceeds the ideological contours of its letter. In the later half of the chapter I set off to offer theoretical perspectives that enable a critical assessment of the complexity of this loaded term all the while advancing a re-conceptualization of the cosmopolitan project as an ethical orientation that underscores the significance of Otherness. This ethical aspect is recognized through an understanding of hospitality, which privileges the practice of cosmopolitanism as a transformative condition. It is a position that is reinforced by this study's conceptualization of a cosmopolitan ethic – a version that I propose holds true to the deeper meaning and objective of the cosmopolitan possibility.

Defining Cosmopolitanism through History: a Brief Analysis of a Contested Idea/Ideal

Before theorizing about what a 'cosmopolitan ethic' may signify it would be helpful to begin exploring the concept of cosmopolitanism itself. In starting with a historical conceptualization of cosmopolitanism, my intent is to help the reader identify and formulate a compelling meaning of the dynamic processes that have influenced the long and complex history of cosmopolitanism. To assist the reader in locating cosmopolitanism within the human experience I present some straightforward questions to guide our theoretical trajectory: What is cosmopolitanism and why is it necessary? What has cosmopolitanism looked like and how has it evolved?

From the term's inception about 2500 years ago, its meaning has varied considerably and has made its way through a number of communities and traditions. Cosmopolitanism has been part of empire building, linking long distance trade of cities and in some cases "it has inspired and justified many of history's most devastating projects, from holy war to colonialism to communism to capitalist globalization" (Ingram 2007, 9; Calhoun 2002). Cosmopolitanism has even been tied to religions such as Christianity. Throughout these cosmopolitan moments the term took on different meanings, offering different possibilities of imagining the Other and the oneness of the world.

Ancient Greek Origin

The earliest conceptualization of cosmopolitanism is rooted in the writings of the Cynics: Antisthenes[14] and Diogenes[15] (the model Cynic). The next station in cosmopolitanism's history comes slightly later with the Stoic, Zeno, who further

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[14] Antisthenes is considered the forefather of Cynicism and one of Socrates' senior disciples as well as one of Socrates' most intimate companions (Prince 2006, 76). Although the direct connection to Cynicism and Stoicism is questionable, it is clear that his ethics bore a resemblance to those of the Cynics and Stoics and had a considerable influence on them (Dudley 1937, 15). The Cynics accepted Antisthenes' paradoxical aphorisms and applied them to everyday life practices such as demonstrating virtue and rejecting alternative claims of culture (Prince 2006).

[15] According to Hellenistic tradition, Diogenes was a pupil of Antisthenes. However, Dudley (1937) argues that it is unlikely that there was any personal contact between the two individuals. "But it cannot be denied, writes Dudley, that the resemblance between the ethics of Antisthenes and those of the Cynics was sufficiently close to make the tradition of such connexion a plausible fiction" (8).

elaborated on this belief. I begin with the most famous of Cynics,[16] Diogenes (c. 404-323 BCE), an exile from Sinope, who is credited with coining the term *kosmopolites* or 'citizen of the world'.[17] Diogenes was born in Sinope and was an older contemporary of Alexander the Great. He was forced into exile from his native city after being accused of defacing the state coinage, seeking refuge in Athens. It is during this time that one is able to trace the earliest formulations of cosmopolitanism as evoked by Diogenes. Hellenistic tradition places the influential Diogenes as the student of Antisthenes (Prince 2006, 90; Sullivan II 2012, 19). Diogenes believed that "all wise men" formed part of a single moral community; a city of the world[18] (Sabine 1961, 136- 137). As the inventor par excellence of cosmopolitanism, Diogenes was expressing a denial of any bindingness smaller than humanity and in particular the political memberships of city, empire, kingdom and state. "[H]e refused to be defined by his local origins and group memberships…; instead, he defined himself in terms of more universal aspirations and concerns" (Nussbaum 1996, 6-7). By claiming such an identity, Diogenes expressed himself through a new category that was fluid in nature and went beyond traditional categories of identification. "*Kosmopolites* provided a new way of describing himself that accounted for his multiple identities, while at the same time allowed for a new one that could potentially encompass them all. Diogenes need not give up any of his other identities while identifying himself as a *kosmopolites*" (Sullivan II 2012, 22).

Being a cosmopolitan in this sense created skepticism on the part of other Greek citizens who questioned Diogenes of his 'rootless' nature – one that exercised a choice to refuse particular political affiliations and obligations over a more universal sense of citizenry. For Diogenes, the term *kosmopolites* defined an attitude of detachment "from one's place of origin and a transfer of primary loyalty to a larger social collectivity" (Robbins 2012, 10). The cosmopolitanism of Diogenes was a reaction against all forms of identity imposed by the community on the individual. His approach would turn him

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[16] The title 'Cynic' is probably derived from the Greek word for 'dog' and was first applied to Diogenes. It is however plausible that the term was already ascribed to Antisthenes. In addition, Prince (2006, 77) acknowledges an alternative etymology where 'Cynic' is derived from an Athenian gymnasium called 'the Cynosarges.'

[17] It is in Corinth, while serving as a tutor to Xeniade's sons, that Diogenes was asked where he was from and that is when he declared himself a *kosmopolites* (Sullivan II 2012, 21).

[18] "A 'city' here is to be understood as a meeting of minds, not a spatially delimited settlement" (Fine and Cohen 2002, 138).

into the ideal figure who could be used to emphasize a worthy moral or desirable characteristic (Dudley 1937). Thus, from Diogenes' experience the life of a world citizen is essentially a kind of exile (Nussbaum 2010). Although Diogenes's *kosmopolites* may be read as a negative claim (rejecting particular affiliations), this term was in no explicit manner a political ideal. Rather, it is very likely that Diogenes' cosmopolitanism was an "attitude" and "way of life" that is best taken as a combination of independence from an existing polity with "a positive attitude of affirming the cosmos as the only true home for those who live in accordance with nature" (Sellars 2007a, 5, 8).[19] It is this universal ethos, expressed in Cynic cosmopolitanism, which would influence Zeno of Citium (c. 336-254 BCE), founder of the Stoics who became one of the most popular and influential philosophers in the Roman world.

Roman Influences of Cosmopolitanism

The core of Zeno's ethics is a simplified version of Socratic teachings preserved in the writings of Diogenes.[20] According to the Stoic's theory, a *polis* is a place – a community of virtuous beings put in order by law, meaning 'right reason' which he believed to be truly immortal (E. Brown 2006; Dudley 1937). The writings and ideals expressed by Zeno, in line with his Cynic influence, are first indications towards a universal conception of humanity – an idea about equal citizenship and the construction of communities beyond confined borders – that highlights "an individual cosmopolitan ethic" that would serve as the bedrock for a global community "in which everyone would be a sage" and "all sages would acknowledge each other as 'fellow citizens'" (Sellars 2007a, 16). The importance of Zeno's cosmopolitanism lies in its attempt to provide a pragmatic ethic necessary for people to exercise their intellect in order to create the 'ideal' *polis.* Therefore, if these rational beings could overcome their own particularities and live according to one standard and become self-sufficient, then there

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[19] Although Diogenes' Cynicism is primarily taken as a form of nihilistic philosophy, Sellars suggests that the Cynic's expression of *kosmopolites* may also include a positive allegiance to the cosmos. For more on the positive content of Cynic cosmopolitanism see J.L. Moles's "Cynic Cosmopolitanism", *The Cynics*, (eds.) R.B. Branham and M.O. Goulet-Caze (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996): 105-120.

[20] It is believed that Zeno became a student of the Cynic philosopher Crates under whom Zeno wrote his famous *Republic* (Sellars 2007b, 31). For more on Zeno and Stoic philosophy see M. Schofield's *The Stoic Idea of City* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1991).

would be no necessity for law, council, currency or temples. "All people, he [Zeno] argued embodied the divine spark and all were capable of *logos*, divine reason. Zeno imagined an expanding circle of inclusion – from self, to family, to friends, to city, to humanity" (Fine and Cohen 2002, 138).[21]

Indeed, *The Republic* of Zeno written around the third century BCE, envisioned the moral and social dynamics of an 'hypothetical' ideal state based on commonalities amongst individuals and communities. Plutarch's[22] *On the Fortune or Virtue of Alexander*, one of the most important sources on Zeno's *Republic* that survive is worth citing:

> The much admired *Republic* of Zeno is aimed at this one main point, that we should not organize our daily lives around the city or the *deme*, divided from one another by local schemes of justice, but we should regard all human beings as our fellow *demesmen* and fellow citizens, and there should be one way of life and one order, just as a herd that feeds together shares a common nurturance and a common law. Zeno wrote this as a dream or image of a well-ordered and philosophical community (Plutarch in Nussbaum 2010, 30).

Zeno's *Republic* serves as a descriptive account of how human beings could coexist with one another within the cosmos, placing a strong commitment to reason, ideals, aspirations and communication. In this light, Sellars[23] asserts that Plutarch's statement about Zeno's ideal being a dream makes sense; "Zeno's ideal, this interpretation argues, is one in which all human beings are citizens of the cosmos, sharing a common way of life, indifferent to the geographical divisions embodied by traditional states" and "that

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[21] See also Ian G Mason, 'Cosmopolitanism: Then and Now'. www.stlawrenceinstitute.org/vol14mas.html . Other scholars such as James Alexander (2011) point out that Zeno's cosmopolitanism was somewhat elitist, stressing that citizenship was only for the gods and sages. Moreover, Sellars (2007a, 13), echoing H. C. Baldry's (1959, 8) suggestion, explains that Zeno's argument is conditional: "if all humans were wise, then all humans would live as one community." There was a particular exclusivist idea of an cosmopolitan that could only be manifested through an intellectual community.

[22] Plutarch of Chaeronea (*circa* 42-120 A.D.) was a Greek author and biographer whose moral treatises have influenced many later philosophers. Plutarch's surviving works dealt with topics such as ethics, religion and literature. Although he wrote in Greek, his works were intended for both Greek and Roman readers. For more on Plutarch see Frank W. Walbank's "Plutrach Greek Biographer," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica website* https://www.britannica.com/biography/Plutarch (accessed December 29, 2016).

[23] John Sellars is a Research Fellow in the Department of Philosophy at King's College London. His is also a Member of Common Room at Wolfson College, Oxford. He is also the editor of a Roman Philosophy book series published under the University of Pennsylvania Press. His research interests include Hellenistic and Roman philosophy, as well as Renaissance philosophy.

only the wise will be citizens…in a utopian future in which everyone has become a sage…" (Sellars 2007b: 31). Zeno's thoughts on *kosmopolites* were later enhanced by the Roman Stoics, such as Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE)[24] and Marcus Aurelius (121- 180 CE),[25] who were preoccupied with pragmatic concerns of individuals in society (McCarthy 2011). As Kenneth Burke[26] remarks, "Stoic Cosmopolitanism was… a state philosophy, both humane and humanistic in its emphasis upon *man in society* rather than upon man in nature, or man as a future citizen of heaven"(1959, 118).[27] It is during the early and late Roman phases where one finds a shift in theory of cosmopolitanism – based on the conception of a 'cosmic' city inspired by a shared brotherhood – that attempts to relate the otherworldly cosmopolitan ideal to political life (Ingram 2007, 40; Sellars 2007a, 22). It is Cicero's cosmopolitan understanding that contained a humanist ideal, relatable and attainable by the masses through a slightly different definition of law. As Sellars writes, "[t]he early Stoic concept is transformed from a description of the mental disposition of the sage into a prescriptive code for the masses, a shift that seems an inevitable consequence of the move away form the sage as an ethical ideal" (2007a, 23). It is during this period where we begin to

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[24] Cicero is considered one of the most important Western philosophers whose works are based on early stoic philosophy and is recognized as the great transmitter of Stoic ideas from Greece to Rome. He was a prominent Roman statesman as well as a significant moral and political philosopher who wrote extensively. He is credited with putting forward a civic version of Stoic Cosmopolitanism that has influenced contemporary articulations of an inclusive cosmopolitanism. See Thomas L. Pangle's "Roman Cosmopolitanism: The Stoics and Cicero" in *Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Globalization: Citizens Without States* (eds.) Lee Trepanier, Khalil M. Habib (Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2011).

[25] Marcus Aurelius Antonius referred to as "the last of the great emperors" was trained in Stoic philosophy and sought to rule in accordance to its precepts (Mark 2011, no pagination). As a philosopher and emperor of the Romans he wanted to create a sort of 'cosmopolitan space' to be inhabited by a diversity of people and cultures. In order to assimilate the various groups of people, Aurelius conceived of human beings as a single entity with many parts (Nussbaum 1996, 10). Moreover, he places importance on education, insisting that everyone learn about political affairs and engage with the affairs of their society, but in a manner that showed concern for all citizens (Nussbaum 2010). It should be noted, as Fred Dallmayr explains, Aurelius's vision of 'polity' was not an actual government but a "moral association" that could be adopted by any government. "This association, in turn, required the presence of a general consensus on moral norms…" (2003, 427).

[26] Kenneth Duva Burke was an American literary theorist and one of the founders of the New Criticism literary movement. Burke attended universities briefly but never completed his studies in formal institutions. His long career included many roles such as poet, translator, music critic, composer, and many others. Burke was also awarded the National Medal for Literature in 1981. His works have left a powerful impact on many 20th century writers, critics, and literary theorists including Harold Bloom and Ralph Ellison. He died in 1993 at the age of 96.

[27] Also quoted in Rebecca L. McCarthy, "Toward a Cosmopolital Democracy: Process over Ends," *Journal of International and Global Studies* 2, no. 2 (2011): 25.

see the emergence of what could be understood as one of the first well thought-out conceptions of cosmopolitanism (E. Brown 2006).[28]

The Stoics were heavily critical of Greek ethnocentrism towards foreigners or barbarians. They took into account causes of human suffering and highlighted paths to well-being of all individuals (i.e.: citizens, women, slaves and foreigners). For a Stoic then, cosmopolitanism was about right action towards oneself and others within a locality and towards people beyond one's immediate realm of experience (Commissiong 2012, 26). This cosmopolitan claim contained three layers of meaning: The first underscored the indispensable nature of every human being to live as a citizen of the cosmos wherein, citizenship is conferred to all human beings by virtue of our rational nature. Second, the Stoics suggested that being a citizen of the cosmos required an ethical responsibility towards Others. And third, the Stoics argued that being a cosmopolitan meant working for the benefit of human beings and to strive to live in harmony (Commissiong 2012, 27).[29] More specifically, the imperative behind Stoic cosmopolitanism was sharing the 'light' of one's existence with every Other – a perspective that would essentially direct both moral and political thought, especially in the Roman world (Nussbaum 2010).[30] These Stoics brought an active meaning to the concept of cosmopolitanism by placing a strong emphasis on the equal worth of reason and humanity for all human beings as well as balancing moral and social affairs: "Reason, in the Stoic view, is a portion of the divine in each of us. And each and every human being, just in virtue of being rational and moral (for Stoics, reason is above all a faculty of moral choice) has boundless worth" (Nussbaum 2010, 30). This Stoic approach to cosmopolitanism would eventually be absorbed in later formations of cosmopolitan theory. The significance attributed to an individual's dignity devoid of his or her social class or context was the single most important characteristic of the

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[28] This conception of cosmopolitanism that embraces a "universal brotherhood," according to Sellars, is somewhat different than the "individual ethic of cosmopolitanism" previously expressed by Diogenes and Zeno. This new doctrine is primarily taken from Cicero's ideal of cosmopolitanism and is usually understood to be the definitive narrative of "orthodox Stoicism" (2007, 20).

[29] See especially Eric Brown, *Stoic Cosmopolitanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming), Chapter 1.

[30] Although the Greeks affirmed a 'oneness' of the world, neither the Cynics nor the Stoics were successful enough to assert changes in social practices. It is under the Romans where one is able to see some application of the cosmopolitan doctrine, which would prove useful in Roman jurisprudence-the idea of equality under the law (Fine and Cohen 2002, 139).

cosmopolitan mindset that inspired modern and contemporary cosmopolitan thinkers (Commissiong 2012). The underlying quality of this conception that remains integral to the discussion of 'cosmopolitan ethic' is the understanding that all human beings share access to reason and "that they were, in the first instance, human beings living in a world of human beings and only incidentally members of polities" (Barry 1999, 36).

Cosmopolitanism and Christian Universalism

Based on its ancient schools of thought, cosmopolitanism is perhaps best understood as a continuously evolving articulation of identity and relations to oneself and others, in its singularity and plurality. I follow Anand Commissiong[31] who believes that cosmopolitanism "retains a perpetual hope in human development, it is in a sense timeless, although its imperatives are often quite timely. And this optimism helps explain why the idea should have gripped the Enlightenment mind so firmly" (2012, 33). Following the death of Marcus Aurelius cosmopolitanism as a valued ideal of human relations seems to have been silenced (G. Brown 2006). However, there is another aspect by which cosmopolitanism's *longue durée* continued to live; its ideal and practice was preserved through religious communities, which are often ignored in much of the literature on cosmopolitanism.[32] Bryan Turner[33] draws attention to the role

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[31] Anand Bertrand Commissiong is Associate Professor of Political Science in the Department of Political Science and Criminal Justice a the West Texas A&M University. His monograph on cosmopolitanism is an exploration of various conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism offered by a number of theorists. Commissiong recommends a new type of cosmopolitanism that accounts for dynamic human individualities and communities that reflect both universal human concerns and diverse rooted cultures.

[32] It is worth noting that in the works of prominent Greek philosophers like Plato and Aristotle, the role of the Divine and/or God(s) are intrinsic to human morality and ethics. The importance of the greater good of the city over the individual is discussed by both Plato and Aristotle, which can be interpreted as earlier evidence of the role of religion in formulation of a cosmopolitan ethic. The discovery of the good is linked to to the path of philosophy, which in turn is contingent upon the self-transformation of seeker's being. Religious thought was indeed present in Greek philosophy and therefore the omission of religious communities and their interpretations in the literature on cosmopolitanism is unfortunate. See John Hare, "Religion and Morality," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta (Winter 2014 Edition) https://plato.stanford.edu/cgi-bin/encyclopedia/archinfo.cgi?entry=religion-morality (accessed December 10, 2015).

[33] Bryan Turner is the Presidential Professor of Sociology and director of the Mellon Committee for the Study of Religion at the City University of New York. He is also Faculty Associate at the Center for Cultural Sociology at Yale University. Turner has written, coauthored, and edited more than seventy books and more than two hundred articles and chapters and has received several honorary degrees recognizing his contributions to Sociology. Turner's specialization is in social and critical theory and his research interests include topics such as globalization and religion, religious conflict and authority, and electronic human rights and religion.

of religion as a vehicle that perpetuated a cosmopolitan worldview aimed at fostering human solidarity:

> Membership within the universalistic Church or the House of Islam offered the precursor to the notion of a universalistic polity embracing people of radically different ethnic, cultural and social backgrounds. Although in practice neither religion achieved this universalism, they did provide an ideology which minimized the significance of kin and tribal affiliations (1986, 75).

The three Abrahamic religions, in principle, carry within them rich examples that highlight one's sanctity and allegiance to humankind.[34] Yet, theorists of cosmopolitanism usually ignore religions, like Christianity, as communities of cosmopolitanism. This is because Christian writers used terms like "kingdom", "city", and "church" and placed emphasis on God (Alexander 2012, 38). Christianity set itself above all forms of identification addressing humanity as a whole; it is "a messianism that includes all of humankind," embracing "the universality of the 'people' beyond peoples"(Kristeva 1991, 80).[35] John M. Ganim and Shayne A. Legassie in their edited volume *Cosmopolitanism and the Middle Ages* note that the period of the Middle Ages provides new insight for thinking about cosmopolitanism.[36] "To reassess cosmopolitanism from the vantage point of the global Middle Ages is to imagine anew the possibilities for being in a world in which international commerce and cross-cultural contact can happen frequently and across great distances in the absence of a universally imposed system of exchange" (Ganim and Legassie 2013, 3). Indeed, the emphasis of a universal morality exemplified by Stoic natural law would find its place in Christian thought associating "the divine character of natural law with the universalism of Christian moral teaching" (Tobias 2010, 74).

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[34] In the next chapter we shall further explore the motif of hospitality within religion, which I argue gives credence to a sustainable cosmopolitan ethic.

[35] James Ingram (2007) relates that when Christian universalism becomes entangled with socio-political realities, the Christian empire can no longer be universal in the purest sense (45-46).

[36] John M. Ganim is Associate Professor of English at the University of California, Riverside. He is the author of four books and has published over fifty articles and book chapters on medieval literature; Shayne Aaron Legassie is Assistant Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. His research interests include the literature of medieval and Early Modern Europe, Mediterranean Studies, travel writing, gender and sexuality studies, and critical theory.

Early Christian thinkers sketched a vision of the world that bore similarities to the Cynic or Stoic vision of cosmopolitanism wherein the cosmopolitan ideal was shaped by the event of Jesus Christ's resurrection and defined universalism through specific Christian values and beliefs. The cosmopolitan thread was secured through one's relation to Christ in which faith replaced reason as the measure of inclusion (Alexander 2012; McCarthy 2011). In *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism* Alain Badiou argues that Saint Paul's underlying purpose was "to create a universal Christian truth, a singularity, which transcended the material particulars of nationalism (Roman Empire), law (the rule-of-law), and cultural discourse (Greek and Jewish). For Paul, this universal truth is only found in Jesus' resurrection" (McCarthy 2011, 27).[37] This Christian cosmopolitan doctrine carried a cosmopolitan conviction – also observable in the efforts of the Stoics – aimed at doing away with differences and privileges in favour of the oneness of humanity. This thread of thought is encapsulated in Saint Paul's insistence that "there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Galatians 3:28).

According to Julia Kristeva,[38] Saint Paul adapted the word of the Gospels to the Greek world. In bringing the word to the Greeks, he formed an *ecclessia* or "a community of those who were different, of foreigners who transcended nationalities by means of faith in the Body of the risen Christ" (Kristeva 1991, 77). The *ecclessia* challenged the foundations of the Greco-Roman polis by creating "a new alliance cutting across the political community" while also inheriting the "cosmopolitanism specific of late Hellenism" (Kristeva 1991, 80, 79). In his *Letter to the Ephesians*, Paul writes: "But now in Christ Jesus, you that used to be so far apart from us have been brought very close, by the blood of Christ… So you are no longer aliens or foreign

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[37] See Alan Badiou's *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism,* tr. Ray Brassier (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003). Alain Badiou is a philosopher, formerly Chair of Philosophy at the École Normale Supérieure and founder of the faculty of Philosophy of the Université de Paris VIII with Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault and Jean-François Lyotard. He is currently the Rene Descartes Chair and Professor of Philosophy at the European Graduate School.

[38] Julia Kristeva is a philosopher, literary critic, psychoanalyst, feminist, and novelist. She is best known for her writings concerning linguistics, psychoanalysis, semiotics, and philosophical feminism. Kristeva is Professor Emeritus at University of Paris VII Diderot and holds honorary degrees from many universities in the United States, Canada and Europe.

visitors: you are citizens like all the saints, and part of God's household" (Ephesians 2:11 and 2:19-20). Although there was an aim to include everyone under the rubric of faith, Christian cosmopolitanism was not truly universal in reality, as those who did not share certain 'Christian values' would be excluded from this cosmopolitan frame. "Paul's formulation of Christianity offers a *particular form* of universalism that grants room for cosmopolitanism only if differences are dissolved into a Christian universal, thus creating another pseudo-universal frame after the Roman one" (McCarthy 2011, 27).[39]

Cosmopolitanism and the Enlightenment: A Kantian adaptation

Moving ahead, interest in cosmopolitanism arose once again between the period of 1500 and 1800, through the writings of philosophers such as Francis Bacon, John Locke, Denis Diderot, Hugo Grotius, Thomas Paine, Voltaire and most notably Immanuel Kant (G. Brown 2006). It is Kant – considered the paradigmatic figure of modern cosmopolitanism – who theorized cosmopolitanism in a series of essays over a twelve-year period (Ingram 2007).[40] This conception of cosmopolitanism emerged during the enlightenment under a German term *weltbürger* (world citizen). Similar to *kosmopolites,* the German term also carried the undertones of Stoic cosmopolitanism; that all human beings formed part of a global community (Held 2010). The foundational glue of this shared commonality amongst human beings rested on the concept of 'reason'- the most important shared attribute amongst humanity. Nevertheless, this was not a new invention put forward by Kant but rather an influence of universal morality encapsulated in the cosmopolitan doctrine of the Stoics in Kant's

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[39] Although I make specific reference to Chrisitan 'cosmopolitan' universalism as ascribed to Paul, I do not want to suggest that only Pauline Christianity was understood through a particular lens. Even Jesus placed himself as the 'particular' who could help the believers reach the Father. In addition, many other religious traditions also lay stress on the importance of speficic claims and demands that serve as means to reach the universal. How to access the universal given our situatedness in particular communities is something that arises over and over again as the following chapters showcase. Thus, McCarthy's label of 'pseudo-universal' frame seems unwarranted because the realization of true universal reality is not plausible due to the fact that human beings think and act through the particular contexts that define their worldviews.

[40] The key essays are all collected in Hans Reiss, ed., *Kant's Political Writings,* trans. H.B. Nisbet. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991 [1970]: *Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose* (1785), *On the common saying 'This may be true in theory but it does not apply in practice'* (1793), *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (1795, revised 1796), and *The Metaphysics of Morals* (1797).

own thought (Nussbaum 2010). In his philosophy and in his comments regarding 'Perpetual Peace,' Kant would adopt and ameliorate the moral conception of the Roman Stoics (Dallmayr 2003).

Kant's cosmopolitan project was envisioned during the nascent establishment of nation states in Europe and "on the heels of the Treaty of Basel that brokered a suspension of all hostilities between revolutionary France and Prussia" and as such "Kant's 1795 essay proffers a view of peace as embodying a cosmopolitan orientation" (Todd 2009, 31). His approach towards a cosmopolitan ideal was expressed in terms of principles and institutions' regard for peace and justice (Fine and Cohen 2002, 144-145; Ingram 2007, 5). His engagement with this concept was one that attempted to put the ideal into actions that could promote a universal cosmopolitan framework – a top-down model.[41] As such, Kantian cosmopolitanism rested on the "awareness of obligation and responsibility to others through a kind of humanitarian law" (Badger 2014, 57).

It is Kant's 1795 essay 'Perpetual Peace' that became the basis for thinking of a universal cosmopolitan political theory in which "he bound the rhetoric and sensibility of world citizenship to a constructivist vision that replaced the anarchic energies of Cynics like Diogenes with the systemizing logic of positive law" (Neuman 2011, 146). Kant's essay tried to present the conditions upon which peaceful coexistence among states could be realized wherein participation in a cosmopolitan society is based on entitlement. This is what Kant called a 'cosmopolitan right', a right that all human beings have and should be able to freely exercise. "Cosmopolitan right connoted the capacity to present oneself and be heard within and across political communities; it was the right to enter dialogue without artificial constraint and delimitation" (Held 2010, 42). Thus, Kant formulated a cosmopolitan doctrine that rests on the equal treatment

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[41] The problem with Kant's philosophy is that it offers the consolation of philosophy for violence and suffering of the existing world. His metaphysics of justice ends up trying to instruct what people ought to do without having them participate in the decision-making process of what must and must not be done (See Fine and Cohen 2002, 159-160 for more on critique of Kant). See especially James Ingram (2007, chap. 3) who argues that Kant's account of how cosmopolitan vision can be realized is unsatisfactory: "…contemporary political cosmopolitanism inherits from Kant a deep tension between the ends it seeks and the means it envisions for achieving them…At the same time that Kant *prescribes* a just and inclusive cosmopolitan order, he *proscribes* the very steps by which he imagines it might come about. Worse, the means by which he envisions cosmopolitan principles being realized directly contradict those principles" (161).

under the law predicated on the understanding that each person[42] had a cosmopolitan right to exchange ideas freely with another beyond the confines of their own territorial grounds and political affiliations (Todd 2009). Kant argued for a cosmopolitan order wherein two ideals are established: a lawful external relation among states and a universal civic society.[43] There are four main threads to Kant's argument in defense of cosmopolitanism (Fine and Cohen 2002, 142):

1) The cosmopolitan idea was no more than a recognition of the fact that 'the peoples of the earth have entered in varying degrees into a universal community and it has developed to the point where a violation of rights in one part of the world is felt everywhere'. In this regard it constituted a kind of realism in the modern, globalized age.
2) It corresponded with the necessities of economic life in an age of commerce when peaceful exchange was becoming more profitable than the spirit of war.
3) It corresponded with the interests of nation-states that had been forced to arm themselves in order to encounter other nations as armed powers, but that were now burdened by the increasing costs and risks of war.
4) The spread of republican governments meant both that rulers could no longer declare war without consulting their citizens and the moral maturity of citizens was higher than in monarchical states. Furthermore, he argued that constitutional framework of republican forms of government provided a foundation for the development of cosmopolitan law and cosmopolitan institutions.

Looking more closely at his essay, Kant's third definitive article states, "cosmopolitan right shall be limited to universal hospitality," subjecting his 'cosmopolitan right' to conditions of universal hospitality (Kant 1991, 105). For Kant, hospitality is intimately tied to legality: "It is a 'right' of the stranger or guest and therefore may be endowed with the force of law. It relates also to the law governing territoriality, where territoriality is understood in terms of the exclusive possession, ownership or property in land by one party" (Nursoo 2007, no pagination). In other words, Kant's hospitality

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[42]It should be noted that Kant's cosmopolitan model was by no means perfect. Indeed, he appropriates Cicero's Stoic ideas such as the recognition of "free rational beings" that are able to participate freely in a "virtual polity" (Nussbaum 2010, 33). But, Kant and his Stoic mentors both had their shortcomings regarding the conceptualization of their cosmopolitan framework. For instance, Nussbaum informs us that the Stoics were generally accepting of the "institution of slavery" and Kant struggles with the articulation of "equal person-hood" and "dignity of women" in his cosmopolitan model (Nussbaum 2010, 34).
[43] See (Fine and Cohen 2002, 140).

appears to be "universal" yet remains "conditional" since there are restrictions placed on the stranger or visitor, and hospitality is determined by law rather than human relations (Nursoo 2007, no pagination). Kant's endeavor with the cosmopolitan ideal can, nonetheless, be viewed as a necessary articulation "to combat the evils of war and the 'horrors of violence' evident in the eighteenth century" (Fine and Cohen 2002, 145). It is in this period that we witness a political framework proposed to implement a cosmopolitan philosophy.

Cosmopolitanism in the 19th and 20th Centuries

Approaching the nineteenth century - the period in which the nation-state came to dominate European political expansion – one notices a decline in the cosmopolitan spirit of sharing in the 'light' of existence captured by Stoic thought.[44] The vision of unified progress under the banner of economic trade[45] was embraced as part of the Enlightenment cosmopolitan spirit from either side of the political spectrum (i.e.: liberal and conservative). "[Cosmopolitanism] has a clear genealogy in the European Enlightenment and in its development into a liberal, progressive ideal in the nineteenth century connects nationalism with imperialism" (van der Veer 2004, 14). This period of cosmopolitanism was "the preserve of the rational, civilized and universal West" that served as a form of "colonial universalism" that gave credence to the European conquerors' ability to assert their particular "civilizational exceptionalism" (Manjapra 2010, 8). Indeed, cosmopolitanism in this context was the Western engagement with the rest of the world – a colonial venture to be precise. At this juncture, one is compelled to pause and reflect on how these projects of engagement can be envisioned through a cosmopolitan spirit of 'openness' while also noting the imbrication in power relations

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[44] "Enlightenment cosmopolitans argued that the historically particular projects of European nation-state formation was an outworking of universal history, in terms of the growth of reason, civilized humanity, justice and peace in the world" (Manjpara 2010, 8).

[45] Towards the end of the eighteenth century, cosmopolitanism manifested itself in various trends such as European colonial expansion, the rise of science and most importantly economic trade. Cosmopolitanism, from this point onwards, "comes to rest on 'real universality' - the objective, political, cultural and economic unification of the globe, or what we now call 'globalization'"(Ingram 2007, 51-52). The term 'real universality' is coined by philosopher and Distinguished Professor of French & Italian and Comparative Literature at the University of California Irvine, Etienne Balibar. See his "Ambiguous Universality," *Politics and the Other Scene* (London & New York: Verso, 2002).

that distort the cosmopolitan spirit of contemporary articulations that I discuss later in this chapter.

Re-examining the nineteenth-century link between Enlightenment and Cosmopolitanism, Peter van der Veer (2004)[46] draws attention to a complementary of this outlook in what he calls Christian cosmopolitanism (Catholic and Protestant). For van der Veer, liberal and Christian 'Evangelical' cosmopolitanism had much in common in the colonial era: "Their commonality can be well expressed in the phrase 'the white man's burden'. The terms of engagement with the religious and civilizational other were given in the imperial state. Both the nation-state and the empire were taken as given by secular liberals and religious evangelicals alike" (2002, 173). For example, Missionary movements in nineteenth-century Britain fostered a spirit of brotherhood and salvation as an imperial duty towards the Other (non-European). Power relations in such moments therefore shape what cosmopolitanism can look like: on the one hand, a mode of domination as already mentioned, and on the other hand, a derogatory term[47] used to suspect those people accused of disloyalty, avoiding responsibility and not sharing in the interests of the greater society – acting in self-interest and 'rootless' in nature (Hannerz 2004). Eleonore Kofman,[48] in her review of cosmopolitans, illustrates how the 'rootless', negative and narrow consideration of cosmopolitan was applied to demark Jews as a threat to nations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She explains:

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[46] Peter van der Veer is an anthropologist and is Director of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity at Göttingen and has held numerous visiting positions, some of which include the London School of Economics, the University of Chicago and the University of Michigan. Van der Veer research interest is in the areas of religion and nationalism with a focus in Asia and Europe.

[47] Pratap Bhanu Mehta (2000) in "Cosmopolitanism and the Circle of Reason" also discusses pejorative connotation of the term from Rousseau all the way down to Roger Scruton. Still others regarded it as a dangerous tendency. In *The Encyclopaedia of Sociology* (1931), for example, German sociologist Max Hildebert Boehm categorized cosmopolitanism as 'abstract universalism'. See his "Cosmopolitanism" in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 4, ed., Edwin R. A. Seligman (London: Macmillan, 1931), 457–461.

[48] Eleonore Kofman is Professor of Gender, Migration and Citizenship at Middlesex University. She is also the co-Director of the Social Policy Research Centre and joint research leader for the Department of Law and Politics. Her teaching interests include migration and citizenship as well as Social Science Research Methods. Her areas of research deal with gender, migration and citizenship; in particular she look at gendered migration and welfare regimes, including Cosmopolitanism, national identities and migration.

They had no homeland but had connections with Jews in other countries which they used to build commercial transnational ties; they were therefore international and posed a problematic universal element. As a group, Jews were less than national and thus insufficiently attached to the nation and the land. On the other hand, they were more than national and hence threatened the nation's transcendent, universal status (2005, 89).[49]

Hence, as the above example demonstrates, cosmopolitanism was taken as an ideology that promoted Othering. It took the aftershock of wars to revitalize the positive conceptualization of the term as a resource against parochialisms emanating from extreme allegiances to nation, race, and ethnic groups.

Historical events such as the First World War, the defeat of fascism and Nazism, and especially the fall of the 'iron curtain' brought forward a resurgence of cosmopolitanism in the twentieth century. David Hollinger (2002, 228)[50] avers three historical circumstances that caused a resurgence of interest in cosmopolitanism:

1) The dead ends reached by identity politics within the United States
2) The destruction caused abroad by the ethno-religious nationalism in the wake of the end of the Cold War
3) The challenges to provincial orientations presented by the economic and technological processes that get called 'globalization'.

Still other challenges post World War II, such as economic progression and regression as well as global security, also triggered challenges for the nation state. Some responses led to clashing ethnic, cultural, political and religious movements that sought to do away with unsatisfactory political institutions that failed to recognize the plural realities of the nations' citizens (Said and Sharify-Funk 2003, 18). Nonetheless, efforts to attain some sort of balance between state and society to ensure peaceful coexistence of peoples propelled various mechanisms for unifying humanity and dealing with differences rooted in cultural and ethnic particularities. The rapid emergence of a

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[49] See also Kim Matthews (2007). Ulf Hannerz (2004) also discusses the negative use of 'cosmopolitan' as applied to the Russian Jews under the czars and later during the Soviet period.

[50] David Hollinger is Preston Hotchkis Professor Emeritus in the Department of History at University of California, Berkeley. His specialty is in American intellectual history. Hollinger has also been a Guggenheim Fellow, a Fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, a Member of the Institute for Advanced Study, and Harmsworth Professor of the University of Oxford.

multifaceted global community, Said and Sharify-Funk (2003)[51] argue, elicited some awareness about the importance of social and cultural pluralism. Various social movements, the rise of global markets and new political institutions set forth the creation of the United Nations,[52] tasked with the duty to devise norms and laws to promote peace, tolerance and dialogue (19-20). These situations further attest to the re-envisioning of cosmopolitanism as a crucial theoretical formulation that demands new and weighty explanations to all forms of human interaction.

The resurrection of cosmopolitanism is also intimately tied to liberal theory and its re-conception in the late twentieth century.[53] Amy Gutmann's[54] working definition of liberalism in *Liberal Equality* consisting of four points is worth mentioning in order to capture the essential idealism found in its cosmopolitan version:

1) A liberal theory begins by stipulating what constitutes an individual's interest; 2) Among such interests is an interest in liberty: in doing what one chooses without interference from others; 3) A state is then justified if and only

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[51] Abdul Aziz Said is Professor Emeritus of the School of International Service at the American University. He was also the first occupant of the endowed Mohamed Said Farsi Chair of Islamic Peace and he founded the Center for Global Peace at American University. Said has received numerous honours and awards and has served as an adviser to the United States Department of State. His life-long interest is the proliferation of nonviolence, human rights, political pluralism, cultural diversity. Said's area of expertise include spirituality and global politics, conflict resolution, human rights as well as the study of Islam; Meena Sharify-Funk is Associate Professor and current Chair of the Department of Religion and Culture at Wilfrid Laurier University. She specializes in Islamic Studies with a focus on contemporary Muslim thought and identity. Her research and areas of expertise include, but are not limited to, Women and Islam, the construction of contemporary North American Muslim identities Islamic mysticism, and Islamic mysticism's impact on Muslim social values.

[52] The establishment of the United Nations in 1945 can be taken as a "truly cosmopolitical project" inspired by the tenants of Kantian cosmopolitanism. This institution brought together various countries of the world in a shared quest for international law and security as well as the "the cultivation of a universal doctrine of human rights in the hope of realizing world peace" (Badger 2014, 58).

[53] The emergence and development of Liberalism has been understood in relation to the modern state, whose purpose is to help define the ideal relationship between individuals and states mediated by citizenship (Calhoun 2003, 533).

[54] Amy Gutmann is the current President of the University of Pennsylvania as well Christopher H. Browne Distinguished Professor of Political Science in the School of Arts and Sciences and Professor of Communication in the Annenberg School for Communication. Prior to her appointment as President of the University of Pennsylvania, she served as Provost at Princeton University, and as Dean of the Faculty and as Academic Advisor to the President. She has received many accolades and honours for her work, some of which include the Harvard University Centennial Medal (2003), the Carnegie Corporation Academic Leadership Award (2009) and most recently the Urban Affairs Coalition Doer Award (2015). She has published extensively on many important issues of the modern world concerning democracy, religious freedom, race and multiculturalism, ethics and public affairs, and political theory.

if it satisfies the interests of individuals as previously understood; 4) A liberal theory assumes that a state is necessary to regulate the pursuit of individual interests (1980, 3).

Keeping these definitional elements in mind will enable one to notice the close affiliation of cosmopolitanism with liberal theory.

As wars, capitalism, and the rising concerns of refugee rights and freedoms intensified during the 1990s, liberal theorists were faced with a serious challenge; it became necessary to rethink liberal theory.[55] In this endeavour the notion of cosmopolitanism was adopted as a frame of reference creating a genre of liberal cosmopolitanism, modeled on earlier discussions of natural law[56] as the precedent of universal rights. This formulation of cosmopolitanism was guided by "a post-World War II North Atlantic liberal political culture" and "a discourse of liberal multiculturalism that has its geopolitical roots in the postcolonial period and its effects" (Tobias 2010, 74). This approach takes precedence from Kant's philosophical writings, previously explored, concerned with the development of a legal framework to safeguard individuals' rights on a global scale. Eventually this tradition of cosmopolitanism would be wedded to "the universalism of modern western thought and with political designs aimed at world governance" and be amended by various theorists from a diverse intellectual heritage (Delanty 2006, 26; Tobias 2010). This category of cosmopolitanism prizes the construction of a united human community against all others, witnessed by the Stoic position that eschews "petty allegiance in favour of a universal standard" (Anderson 2006, 72). Nevertheless, liberal cosmopolitanism like its predecessor, Calhoun critiques, "offers no strong account of social solidarity or of the

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[55] Even John Rawls, an important liberal theorist, was called on to revise his very influential theory of justice. The Rawlsian approach is very much in line with the Kantian agenda of the cosmopolitan project of establishing "global institutions to ensure that the rights of people were respected" (Robinson 2014, 22).

[56] The heritage of natural law found within liberal cosmopolitanism is indebted to the works of Hugo Grutius and Immanuel Kant, which was secular in nature. Tobias (2010, 74-75) echoing De Mignolo (2002), writes that its [natural law] purpose is 'to promote a conception of personhood and the moral law that superseded the need for religious support. Hence, in the modern period, the universality of natural law is intended to displace the universality of any one religious tradition.

role of culture in constituting human life" (Calhoun 2003, 535).[57] Liberal cosmopolitans insist that their claims have universal applicability, however one should be skeptical of such a cosmopolitan practice that is defined by an already given ethics. In other words, who is legislating these universal ethics? Liberal cosmopolitanism is fraught with challenges,[58] especially when confronted by religious worldviews that are at odds with classical liberal assumptions such as "the character of universal rights, the privileged role of secular legal and political institutions, or the primacy of a secular worldview" (Tobias 2010, 75).

Although the above factors contributed to the invigoration of cosmopolitanism, it is perhaps Martha Nussbaum's[59] essay "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" (1996) that is taken as the defining moment that opened-up a large debate on the wide-ranging conceptions of cosmopolitanism in our present world. This essay resulted in dozens of intellectuals from various disciplines responding to Nussbaum's claims of cosmopolitanism that is representative of the liberal tradition (Ingram 2007). Her approach to cosmopolitanism repeats the singular cosmopolitanism vision (universalistic or exclusionary), wherein one finds a soft negotiation of particularisms as long as they serve to meet the requirements of a universal good. She presents the cosmopolitan as a "deracinated individual" who must demonstrate "personal strength to achieve this" and break free from those weighty chains we call social norms. This perspective, Calhoun adds, "takes world citizenship as fundamental, clearly and always morally superior to more local bonds – such as ethnic or national solidarities – which are good when they serve the universal good and tolerable only when they do not

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[57] Susan Wolf labels this form of cosmopolitanism as "extreme impartialism" that eschews any other allegiance that is understood as being lesser than our primary obligation to human beings across the globe. See Susan Wolf, "Morality and Impartiality," *Philosophical Perspectives* 6 (1992): 243-259.
[58] For an apt discussion on the concerns of religious and political facets in relation to the pressing issue of universalist notions of human rights see Abdullahi An-Na'im who questions the exclusive prerogative of western secularists to prescribe a normative classification of human rights for all nations and peoples, in "What do we mean by universal?," *Index of Censorship* Vol. 4, 5 (1994): 120-127.
[59] Martha C. Nussbaum is the Ernst Freund Distinguished Service Professor of Law and Ethics, appointed in the Law School and Philosophy Department at the University of Chicago. She also had appointments in the Classics Department, the Divinity School, and the Political Science Department. In 2014, she became the second woman to give the John Locke Lectures, at Oxford. She has previously taught at Harvard University, Brown University, and Oxford University and has received honorary degrees from 56 colleges and universities in the U.S., Canada, Latin America, Asia, Africa, and Europe. Nussbaum has published 24 books and over 500 papers. Her research interests include ancient Greek and Roman philosophy, political philosophy, feminism, and ethics.

conflict with world citizenship" (Calhoun 2003, 538). Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism nevertheless retains a strong universalist undertone that imposes one particular vision of good.[60] Her cosmopolitan community, in essence, is accessible only via abstraction and reflections - what could be, but is not yet.[61] Nussbaum's essay elicited renewed interest in articulating cosmopolitanism through various academic disciplines, promoting multiple definitions and applications of the concept in relation to concrete trends of globalization (migration of peoples, trade, communication to name a few).

Contemporary invocations of the cosmopolitan ideal have attempted to distance themselves from universalism due to suspicion of universalism's association with imperialism. Moreover cosmopolitan's association with elitist fascination (i.e., orientalism) of other cultures under the aegis of colonial programs highlighting European superiority continues to raise suspicion about its meaning and practice. "Indeed, much literature surrounding the recent revitalization of the term has been produced precisely to displace the aloof, globetrotting bourgeois image of cosmopolitanism, in order to propose more progressive connotations" (Nashashibi 2011, 56). This contemporary cosmopolitan position is to a large extent "the very *raison d'être* of postcolonial literary criticism" (Spencer 2011, 4). The discipline of Post-colonial Studies has devoted much of its energy to precisely critiquing imperialism and its European manifestations of culture and philosophy. The field of Post-colonial Studies promotes an awareness of diverse voices that highlight the lasting volatile realities of colonialism and capitalism.[62] Contemporary cosmopolitan thinkers also

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[60] Ironically, Nussbaum's model of cosmopolitanism looks like a liberal-secular version of a Christian universalism, which revealed that religious people could be cosmopolitans. However, I want to draw attention once again to the same problem that plagues discussions on cosmopolitanism – that is how to negotiate the universal and the particular in a way that does not infringe on others' way of life.

[61] See Martha Nussbaum's "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism," in *For Love of Country: Debating the Limits of Patriotism,* ed. Joshua Cohen (Boston: Beacon, 1996).

[62] Post-colonialism is an intellectual movement concerned with issues of power, economics, politics, religion, and culture and how these elements work in relation to the cultural and epistemological authority of colonialism. Examples of well-known post-colonial works include: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds., *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures,* (London: Routledge, 1989); Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994); Gayatri Spivak - *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics* (London: Routledge, 1988), *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues,* ed. Sarah Harasym (London: Routledge, 1990); Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); John Thieme, ed., *The Arnold Anthology of Post-Colonial Literatures in English,* (London: Arnold, 1996).

share this recognition of Western exclusionary ideals that have pervaded normative understandings of cosmopolitanism.

To illustrate, let us turn to the example of Sir Richard Francis Burton. A well travelled European elite who translated numerous texts of the 'mysterious Orient' such as *Thousand and One Nights.* Considered as "the least Victorian of men, and the most…[Burton] had many of the standard racial prejudices of his society. Africans he ranked below Arabs and Indians, both whom of whom were below civilized Europeans" (Appiah 2006, 6-7). Burton's interest in other cultures was only a means to reinforce his own superiority rather than to advance the "first stand of cosmopolitanism: the recognition of our responsibility for every human being" (Appiah 2006, 7-8). More recently, the residue of European cosmopolitanism and the unprecedented freedom of elite travelers mar cosmopolitan's reputation in the twenty-first century, usually denounced for its affiliation with a certain class of individuals – "multinational cosmopolitan elite" (Calhoun 2008, 443).[63] Still other critics suggest that the concern of elitism within cosmopolitanism still circulates in a stereotypical view that considers them as "privileged, bourgeois…wealthy jet setters, corporate managers, intergovernmental bureaucrats, artists, tax dodgers, academics and intellectuals" (Vertovec and Cohen 2002, 7).

This pervasive stereotype goes against the cosmopolitan grain that preoccupied the early Greco-Roman thinkers and inspired the early Christian community. It undermines the cosmopolitan spirit, which seeks to dispense a deep curiosity and tolerance of diversity and a real acknowledgment of the Other.[64] Of course, one cannot ignore the underlying emphasis on the 'rational sage' as the ideal cosmopolitan, which some may object serves as impoverishment rather than enrichment because it goes against the spirit of diversity. However by starting with the above inspiring sentiment, I intend to showcase below that "the idea behind cosmopolitanism" takes a new direction "that helps propel humanity toward change" (McCarthy 2011, 34). Remember that it is easier to stop striving to put into practice an ideal that hopes for a continued cultivation

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[63] For a more detailed discussion around the tension between elitist and egalitarian manifestations of cosmopolitanism refer to Amanda Anderson's *The Way We Argue Now: A Study in the Cultures of Theory* (2006).

[64] "Briefly put, [the Stoic] recipe is that love of humanity as such should be our basic affective attitude" (Nussbaum 2010, 39).

of a common good for our humanity. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that the re-emergence of cosmopolitanism signifies a step towards dealing with the present concerns of global community, post-national structures, multiculturalism as well as pluralism. Understandably, post-colonial literature engenders the kind of critical reflection needed to sustain a nuanced conceptualization of cosmopolitanism. As Spencer[65] reminds us, "[postcolonial] works dramatise imperialism's violence and divisions in addition to – as a vital aspect of their form as well as their content – exploring and even instilling the cosmopolitan forms of relationship that would be required to create and to legitimise a global society that has left imperialism behind" (2011, 3).

A Cosmopolitan Project for the 21ˢᵗ Century

The idea of cosmopolitanism has undergone significant evolution and scrutiny over the twenty-first century with tensions emerging between elitist constructions and more egalitarian versions. Defining what cosmopolitanism means continues to be a never-ending task and fiery debate. There exists a growing body of literature[66] from a variety of disciplines that provide a number of theories of cosmopolitanism that take into account ideas about identity and citizenship as well as the process of globalization (Delanty 2006; Soysal 2010; Tuner 2006; Vertovec and Cohen 2002). These works speak to how much ink has been drawn to refine the term and to capture its long history. Further there is a striking commonality that expresses itself through the complexity and diversity of meanings of cosmopolitanism from different participants of

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[65] Robert Spencer is Lecturer in Postcolonial Literature and Culture at the University of Manchester, UK. He is the author of numerous articles on African fiction, Palestinian literature, postcolonial theory and the work of Edward Said. His research focuses on postcolonial theory and literary criticism.
[66] Some examples include: Bruno Latour, "Whose cosmos, which cosmopolitcs? Comments on the peace terms of Ulrich Beck," *Common Knowledge* 10, no.3 (2004): 450-462; Catherine Lu, "The One and Many Faces of Cosmopolitanism," *The Journal of Political Philosophy* 8, no.2 (2000): 244-267; Gerard Delanty, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitan Studies* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Gill Valentine, "Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter," *Progress in Human Geography* 32, no.3 (2008): 323–337; Kwame A. Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (New York: Norton, 2006); Pheng Cheah, "Cosmopolitanism," *Theory, Culture & Society* 23 (2006): 486–496; Pnina Werbner, ed., *Anthropology and the new cosmopolitanism: rooted, feminist and vernacular perspectives* (New York: Berg, 2008); Seyla Benhabib and Robert Post, eds., *Another Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Ulrich Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Vision,* trans. Ciaran Cronin (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006).

its conception and practice. This, of course, reflects the tortuous historical development of cosmopolitanism and captures its global/local facets:

> In most cases the re-emergence of cosmopolitanism arises by way of a proposed new politics of the left, embodying middle-path alternatives between ethnocentric nationalism and particularistic multiculturalism. For some contemporary writers on the topic, cosmopolitanism refers to a vision of a global democracy and world citizenship; for others it points to the possibilities for shaping new transnational frameworks for making links between social movements. Yet others invoke cosmopolitanism to advocate non-communitarian, post-identity politics of overlapping interests and heterogeneous or hybrid publics in order to challenge conventional notions of belonging, identity and citizenship. And still others use cosmopolitanism descriptively to address certain socio-cultural processes or individual behaviours, values or dispositions manifesting a capacity to engage cultural multiplicity (Vertovec and Cohen 2002, 1).

Overall there is little agreement, if any, about the term cosmopolitanism. "Contemporary cosmopolitans," as David Held[67] suggests, "are divided about the demands that cosmopolitanism lays upon the individual and, accordingly, upon the appropriate framing of the necessary background conditions for a 'common' structure of individual action and social activity (2010, 77). In light of this division, efforts have been put forward to distinguish between "thin cosmopolitanism" and "thick cosmopolitanism" or "weak" and "strong" cosmopolitanism (Roudometof 2005, 113; Held 2010, 78):

> The former holds that "we may owe certain kinds of treatment to all other human beings regardless of any relationship in which we stand to them, while there are other kinds of treatment that we owe only to those to whom we are related in certain ways, with neither sort of obligation being derivative of the other." By contrast, the later holds that "[a]ll moral principles must be justified by showing that they give equal weight to the claims of everyone, which means that they must either be directly universal in their scope, or if they apply only to a select group of people they must be secondary principles whose ultimate foundation is universal" (Miller 1998 as quoted in Held 2010, 78-79).

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[67] David Held is Professor and Master of University College, Durham in the School of Government and International Affairs. He is also Director of the Institute of Global Policy at Durham University. Held has authored and edited more than 60 books and written numerous articles on globalization, governance, global policy, and democracy. He has strong interests in political theory as well as in empirical dimensions of political analysis. Held has also played a pivotal role in the resurgence of cosmopolitanism and of cosmopolitan democracy in political theory.

Caught in between these two extremes, Held advocates for a mixture of ideals and activities that are neither thick nor thin. He puts forward a perspective that is 'layered'. On the one hand such a position "upholds certain basic egalitarian ideas…on the other, it acknowledges that the elucidation of their meaning cannot be pursued independently of an ongoing dialogue in public life" (Held 2010, 80). This approach is, of course, an attempt to rethink Nussbaum's cosmopolitanism that rests on the pre-supposition of a universal moral basis for politics. It is clear that this re-articulation of cosmopolitanism and others take into account the various modes of being, thinking and living cosmopolitanism (Pieri 2014). The multidimensional nature of this concept however, need not be interpreted as a challenge but rather a boon because it allows scholars to ascribe to the concept a number of local and global values (Liechtman and Schulz 2012). All the different formulations are aimed at redefining traditional conceptualizations of cosmopolitanism. For instance Vertovec and Cohen's[68] edited book, *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism* (2002), puts forward a number of formulations for interpreting cosmopolitanism that generally encompass the various articulations of the term presented by various scholars. Their taxonomy consists of six collective perspectives: 1) a socio-cultural condition; 2) a kind of philosophy or world-view; 3) a political project towards building transnational institutions; 4) a political project for recognizing multiple identities; 5) an attitudinal or dispositional orientation; and/ or 6) a mode of practice or competence (9).[69] In addition, Beck and Sznaider's[70] (2006) special

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[68] Steven Vertovec is Director of the Max-Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen and Honorary Joint Professor of Sociology and Ethnology, University of Göttingen. He previously served as Director of the ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society at the University of Oxford. His research interests focus on globalization and transnational social formations, international migration, ethnic diasporas and urban diversities. He has authored and edited over 40 books. In addition, Vertovec has acted as an expert consultant for numerous government agencies; Robin Cohen is Emeritus Professor and former Director of the International Migration Institute at the University of Oxford. Cohen was previously the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town. He has published widely on issues concerning development, migration, globalization and social identity.

[69] Although these formulations provide an excellent starting point, the authors do not offer an evaluation of how these various approaches interact with one another or whether these need to be thought of as mutually exclusive.

[70] Ulrich Beck was a leading sociologist who made a strong impact on academic and public discussions regarding his notion of cosmopolitanism. Together with Steven Vertovec, Beck helped to advance research and theory for the Social Sciences concerning cosmopolitanism and transnationalism. He was Professor of Sociology at the University of Munich and Visiting Professor in the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). He passed away on January

issue of *The British Journal of Sociology* dedicated to rethinking cosmopolitanism from a sociological perspective proposes to pursue an epistemic and analytical project, setting aside the normative concern for an ideal cosmopolitanism (2006, 3). Furthermore, Gerard Delanty[71] envisages a situated cosmopolitanism that is "post-universalistic" and "that takes as its point of departure different kinds of modernity and processes of societal transformation that do not presuppose the separation of the social from the political or postulate a single world culture" (2006, 27). Delanty coins the term "critical cosmopolitanism" which he postulates "concerns the analysis of cultural modes of mediation by which the social world is shaped and where the emphasis is on moments of world openness created out of the encounter of the local with the global" (2006, 27).

It is in this spirit that the renewed interest in the concept of cosmopolitanism for today's world aims "to maintain the commitment to moral cosmopolitanism, while revisiting earlier commitments to a world state or a common global culture, and affirming instead the enduring reality and value of cultural diversity and local or national self-government" (Kymlicka & Walker 2012, p. 3). With this mindset many scholars have aimed to characterize such a cosmopolitanism using different terminologies such as "anchored cosmopolitanism" (Dallmayr 2003), "situated cosmopolitanism" (Baynes 2007), "embedded cosmopolitanism" (Erskine 2008), "vernacular cosmopolitanism" (Bhabha 1996; Werbner 2006), "republican cosmopolitanism" (Chung 2003) or "rooted cosmopolitanism" (Appiah 2005; Kymlicka & Walker 2012). Roudometof (2005, 121) offers yet another qualifier, "glocalized" which resonates with the other adjectives like 'rooted' and 'vernacular'. He states that the concept of "glocalized cosmopolitanism" can be practiced by "degrees of attachment" along a "global-local continuum" (2005, 37). These varieties of

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1, 2015; Natan Sznaider is Professor of Sociology at the Academic College of Tel-Aviv-Yaffo in Israel. He has taught at Columbia University in New York and at Munich University in Germany. He is part of an international research team investigating cultural memory in Europe, Israel, and Latin America. He has published 5 books.

[71] Gerard Delanty is Professor of Sociology & Social & Political Thought at the University of Sussex. He is also the editor of the *European Journal of Social Theory*. He has authored and edited 18 books and published over a hundred papers on various topics ranging from social and political theory to historical sociology of modernity. His research interest broadly concerns globalization and its implications in the social world, however he has also concentrated on the theory of cosmopolitanism and its application to issues of Europeanization and modernity.

cosmopolitanisms underscore that "the outward-bound cosmopolitan perspective requires and involves the very roots it claims to transcend" (Kymlicka and Walker 2012, 1). At the core of this project is the idea that cosmopolitanism as a concept or ideal is rooted and cultivated, since human beings are the product of an amalgam of attachments: local, religious, ethnic, and or national.

Kwame Anthony Appiah's[72] influential moral manifesto *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers* (2006) intertwines two strands in his interpretation of cosmopolitanism:

> One is the idea that we have obligations to others, obligations that stretch beyond those to whom we are related by the ties of kith and kind, or even the more formal ties of a shared citizenship. The other is that we take seriously the value not just of human life but of particular human lives, which means taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance (2006, xv).

Appiah's cosmopolitan premise begins with the requirement of "dialogue among difference" and "conversation among places" affirming that cosmopolitanism is a temperament that develops through immersion and interaction (2001, 207, 225). Appiah's work is essentially a defense for safeguarding human diversity by living according to the obligations persons have to each other; obligations that constitute core moral ideas of basic human rights (Appiah 2006, 162-163). Appiah's cosmopolitanism offers a vision for a harmonious ethical coexistence based on pluralism and tolerance. From this perspective, cosmopolitans are those who construct their lives through a universal ethical paradigm without having to forsake their personal commitments.[73] But

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[72] Kwame Anthony Appiah is Professor of Philosophy and Law in the Department of Philosophy at New York University. Prior to his current position, Appiah taught at many Universities, which included Cambridge, Harvard and Yale. He also held appointments in the Philosophy Department and the University Center for Human Values at Princeton University from 2002 to 2013. He has received many awards and honours including the first Joseph B. and Toby Gittler Prize by Brandeis University for his scholarly contributions to racial, ethnic and religious relations. Appiah's areas of research include ethics, political philosophy, philosophy of race and identity, decision theory and other issues cultural theory.

[73] Although, Appiah's cosmopolites strive to be citizens of the world who have an affinity to the near and far, Mara A. Leichtman (2015) calls into question Appiah's cosmopolitan ideal especially when he labels all Muslim fundamentalists as counter-cosmopolitans who "exemplify the possibility of a kind of universal ethics that inverts the picture of cosmopolitanism" elaborated in Appiah's work (Appiah 2006, 140). This judgmental conclusion, Leichtman argues, undermines the pluralist vision inherent in the notion of cosmopolitanism. See Mara A. Leichtman's *Shi'i Cosmopolitanisms in Africa: Lebanese Migration and Religious Conversion in Senegal* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2015). In Chapter 2, I look at ethical ideals that contribute to the cosmopolitan vision, which this dissertation emphasizes, and that are also grounded in Muslim sources.

how Appiah's cosmopolitan hermeneutic can be successfully employed to inspire rational and empathic engagement requires an ethical consideration of human relationality, which I take up later in this chapter.

Yet another understanding of cosmopolitanism stems from particular accounts of the interplay of culture, society, and religion. The emphasis here lies not in any singular view of the good or universal value, "but for the coexistence and mutual influence of multiple cultural influences and values" (Calhoun 2003, 540). This perspective reinforces culture as an on-going production that reinforces the notion of cosmopolitanism as a dialectic that manifests itself in the cultural fabric of society itself. Here the emphasis lies on participation of cultural production and envisions a cosmopolitanism that is not above and beyond the particularities of his or her context. As such, this approach evokes the possibility of a plurality of cosmopolitan practices.[74] The insistence on multiple cosmopolitanisms rooted in local cultures is also encapsulated by Bruce Robbins's cosmopolitanism in *Secular Vocations* (1993),[75] which is aptly summarized by Amanda Anderson (2006).[76] She explains how Robbins's definition draws attention to a plurality of rooted cosmopolitanisms wherein "the will to transcend local or restrictive identities does not issue in a gray universalism, but rather a vivid spectrum of diverse dialectics of detachment, displacement and affiliation" (79). She further notes that inherent in Robbins's approach is "a vigilant attentiveness to otherness, an ethical stance that cannot be separated from the will to knowledge: 'transcending partiality' is fundamentally both an ethical and an intellectual ideal" (79).

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[74] For example, Robinson's dissertation "Individuals, Collectives, Sisters: Vernacular Cosmopolitan Praxis Among Muslim Women in Transnational Cyberspaces" (2014) aims to provide insight regarding an overlooked area of cosmopolitanism, gender. Her research on Muslim women and the effect of their voices in the digital world is an example of how these women are living out a form of vernacular cosmopolitan practice.

[75] For a detailed explanation of Bruce Robbins's cosmopolitan position see his *Secular Vocations: Intellectuals, Professionalism, Culture* (London: Verso, 1993). He provides a thoughtful and well-developed defense of cosmopolitanism that stresses "a density of overlapping allegiances" (1993,184) and conceives of cosmopolitanism as an ethical orientation that embraces intercultural contact and exchange while being cognizant of particular formations of those interactions which partial at the least.

[76] Amanda Anderson is Andrew W. Mellon Professor of Humanities and English at Brown University and Director of the Cogut Center for the Humanities. She is a literary scholar and theorist whose research focuses on 19th and 20th century literature and culture, addressing broad questions of intellectual history, disciplinary formation, and the relation of art and politics. Anderson is also Director of an interdisciplinary summer institute, The School of Criticism and Theory, hosted by Cornell University. She previously taught at Johns Hopkins and served as chair of the Department of English from 2003-2009. Anderson has written 6 books and written several articles and review essays.

These strategies reflect a desire to cultivate an ethical practice that recognizes the dynamic relation between local and global. This tension is something I believe the term cosmopolitanism itself encapsulates, echoing Delanty who states that cosmopolitanism is "the interaction of the universal order of the cosmos and the human order of the polis" (2006, 36).

It follows logically that one cannot ascribe an absolute definition of cosmopolitanism that can be easily pointed to. It is fraught with a plethora of conceptual and theoretical diversity. Large attempts are still aimed at figuring out why this is so and what cosmopolitanism may be. At this point it would be appropriate to quote Roxanne Euben[77] who provides an apt description of what the new cosmopolitan project is. She writes, "the 'new' cosmopolitanism may be more usefully understood as signaling entry into a debate about the actual or desirable relationship between the local and global, rootedness and detachment, particularism and universalism, rather then denoting a consistent set of empirical or normative arguments" (2006, 176). Euben's take on the term provides us with an entry into relieving this term from its ideological enclaves and to restore the ethic ideal of this multifaceted concept. This rubric of recognizing who or what can be labeled, as cosmopolitanism is at best a continuous effort to rethink identities and loyalties of human beings that are no longer confined by borders of nation states. One thing is certain, that cosmopolitanism becomes a means to work out the appropriate way of 'being' in the world and addressing difficult questions of our times, whose purpose is to define the world in which we live-marked by diversity rather than systems of homogenization. A striking feature of this 'new cosmopolitanism' is the attempt of many scholars to reclaim 'cosmopolitanism' from the huge shadow of the cosmopolitanism associated with the Enlightenment.[78] Can we

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[77] Roxanne Euben is Ralph Emerson and Alice Freeman Palmer Professor of Political Science at Wellesley College. She is known for her work in comparative political theory and she specializes in interactions between Islamic and Euro-American political thought. Euben's scholarly contributions touch on topics such as Muslim cosmopolitanism; comparative knowledge; commonalities between Muslim and European perspectives on science and reason; Islamic critiques of modernity; and the political thought of Muslim thinkers.

[78] David Hollinger (2002, 228-229) explains that the dark shadow cast upon cosmopolitanism from the Enlightenment is its restrictedness to the elite. The new adherents of cosmopolitanism are trying to reclaim a more positive affiliation to the term. This is seen through attempts of modifying the term with adjectives such as: vernacular cosmopolitanism, rooted cosmopolitanism, critical cosmopolitanism and many others.

live together with differences and a compelling intention to know one another? This is the fundamental challenge of the modern world we live in, leading many to conceive of cosmopolitanism as a key expression to this problem. As Seyla Benhabib[79] puts it, "[c]osmopolitanism…has become one of the keywords of our times" (2006, 17).

A 'Cosmopolitanism' worthy of the name: Towards an Ethic of Engagement

As I have tried to demonstrate, the lexicological history of cosmopolitanism and its various manifestations points to a certain "conceptual indeterminacy" (Pollock, Bhabha, Breckenridge, and Chakrabarty, 2000, 577-578).[80] Naturally there are a variety of meanings attached to the notion of cosmopolitanism and therefore it "is not identifiable with the mere condition of pluralism or the attachments of the individual; it is rather more concerned with openness and societal transformative [*sic*]" (Delanty 2006, 39-40). For cultural anthropologist Ulf Hannerz[81] definitions of cosmopolitanism lean in two directions: "one has to do with a knowledge and even appreciation of human diversity" and the other concerns "community, society, and citizenship at a more or less global level, and can be summarized as political (2004, 70)." My strategy in this section will be to keep the meaning of cosmopolitanism fixed on Hannerz's first direction – possessing "an orientation and a willingness to engage with the Other" (1990, 239) – while affirming one's own prejudice.[82] This further requires the

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[79] Seyla Benhabib is the Eugene Meyer Professor of Political Science and Philosophy at Yale University and was Director of the Program in Ethics, Politics and Economics. She is well known contemporary philosopher who combines critical theory and feminist theory in her works. Behabib has written several books and edited 8 volumes, ranging from discussions of communicative ethics, to democracy and difference, to identities, allegiances and affinities. Despite the range of topics Benhabib addresses through her scholarly contributions, the underlying issue that governs her analysis is the reconciliation of universalistic principles with particular markers (language, ethnicity, religion) that reflect the diversity of human communities.

[80] The aim of their *Cosmopolitanism* (2000) anthology is to rethink cosmopolitanism in the plural and to unearth the diverse cosmopolitan practices influenced by local traditions and cultural differences.

[81] Ulf Hannerz is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Social Anthropology at Stockholm University. His research addresses various topics concerning urban anthropology, media anthropology, and transnational cultural. Hannerz has also directed an interdisciplinary research project looking at issues and methods surrounding cosmopolitanism. His interest lies in Hannerz engaging with theoretical debates about culture and globalization while addressing contemporary social issues around how we think and live today.

[82] Prejudice, according to Gadamer, is a "judgment that is rendered before all the elements that determine a situation have been finally examined" (1989, 270). Thus for Gadamer, we understand ourselves through the lenses of the "family, society and state in which we live" (1989, 276). See Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* trans. Joel Winsheimer and Donald G, Marshall (New York: Continuum, 1989).

recognition that there exists a plurality of 'rooted' cosmopolitan expressions and that these cosmopolitanisms involve an ethical stance conceived through difference or strangeness that is interlocked with knowledge. Beck (2004) also promotes an ethical engagement with otherness that is dialogic in nature and that recognizes the simultaneity of both local and global relations. He argues that "a cosmopolitan sensibility and competence" can only be materialized through an "epistemological turn" that allows one to acknowledge pluralism and difference and that represents "the *internalized* otherness of others, the co-presence or coexistence of rival lifestyles, 'contradictory certainties' within the space of individual and social experience" (153). Essential to this form of cosmopolitanism[83] is a desire to *engage* with the near and distant Other, what Beck (2004) calls a "dialogic imagination" – a practice in everyday life "which encompasses an ethical position that denies the superiority of one's own morality while being open to contrary beliefs" (Marotta 2010, 114). It is a state of mind, a mode of being in the world that involves being open and involved with difference of all forms (Hannerz 1990, 230). It is an indication of a world where individuals must labour to understand, reflect and "affirm oneself and others as *different and therefore of equal value*" (Beck 2004, 153).

Cosmopolitans, wherever they reside, are rooted in their own religious, ethnic, and national realities yet strive to create a broader outlook that captures a sense of commitment towards an understanding of diverse universalist aspirations of a global community. Such a movement encourages new interpretations through dialogue and negotiation in order to create a new community identity. It follows then that rooted cosmopolitanism and its many derivatives necessitates religious engagements and interactions that are open to reconfigurations in new contexts. One thing is certain, cosmopolitanism becomes a means to work out what it means to initiate a dialogue that

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[83] In *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995) David Hollinger also describes cosmopolitanism as an orientation that "promotes multiple identities, emphasized the dynamic and changing character of many groups, and is responsive to the potential for creating new cultural combinations" (3-4). Jeremy Waldron's "Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative," in *The Rights of Minority Cultures*, ed. Will Kymlicka (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Ulrich Beck's "Cosmopolitan Realism: On the Distinction Between Cosmopolitanism in Philosophy and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks* 4, no. 2 (2004): 131-156; and Bryan S Turner's "Cosmopolitan Virtue: On Religion in a Global Age," *European Journal of Social Theory* 4, no. 2 (2001): 131-152 also present cosmopolitanism in terms of an orientation.

addresses the questions of our times; whose purpose is to define the world in which we live – marked by diversity rather than systems of homogenization. "[T]he vision of cosmopolitanism developed here," concludes Waldron (1995, 114), "can provide the basis of an alternative way of thinking – one that embraces the aspects of modernity with which we all have to live and welcomes the diversity and mixture that for most people is their destiny, whatever the communitarians say." In this regard, it is perhaps instructive then to comprehend cosmopolitanism qua engagement with the environment in which we live, it shows the boundedness of all types of communities (ethnic, political, religious etc.,) within a larger complex of human socio-cultural realities.

The Turn to Ethics: Recognition, Responsibility and Commitment

Different contemporary scholars are involved in developing ideas of the ethic of cosmopolitanism that reintroduces the ancient spirit of recognizing the virtue of one's existence in relation to every Other. Acknowledging an ethical value of cosmopolitanism embodies an understanding "that we are simultaneously rooted, acting within and embodied in a particular location and context while maintaining moral and ethical commitments to others…as a duty of openness to the Other, cosmopolitanism is an ethical program" (Schaffer 2012, 131). Such an articulation of cosmopolitanism implies a cognizance of diversity and seeks to expand the realm of moral inclusion to include all of humanity. There is a constant negotiation between universalizing ethics and the experiences of the individual who must contemplate his or her own array of affiliations and commitments (Anderson 2006). The cosmopolitan challenge is to acknowledge and embrace the reality that individuals have multiple belongings and divided loyalties and that they co-exist with other individuals of different cultures with similarly divided loyalties and complex identities. As Paul Rabinow[84] (1986, 258) writes:

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[84] Paul Rabinow is currently Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley where he has taught since 1978. He has authored over 20 books and is perhaps most famous for his widely influential commentary and expertise on the French philosopher Michel Foucault. He is also known for his development of 'anthropology of reason,' an approach that takes into account the production of knowledge, thought, and care in relation to shifting relations of power.

The ethical is the guiding value. This is an oppositional position, one suspicious of sovereign powers, universal truths, overly relativized preciousness, local authenticity, moralisms high and low. Understanding is its second value, but an understanding suspicious of its own imperial tendencies. It attempts to be highly attentive to (and respectful of) difference, but is also wary of the tendency to essentialize difference. What we share as a condition of existence, heightened today by our ability, and at times our eagerness, to obliterate one another, is a specificity of historical experience and place, however complex and contestable they might be, and a worldwide macro-interdependency encompassing any local particularity… Although we are all cosmopolitans, *Homo sapiens* has done rather poorly in interpreting this condition. We seem to have trouble with the balancing act, preferring to reify local identities or construct universal ones. We live in-between.[85]

Schaffer[86] (2012) reminds us that cosmopolitanism itself carries no value unless we move beyond theoretical jargon to an understanding that cosmopolitanism is a system that guides lived experiences. This perspective leaves us with an important question: How is it possible to move from an ideology of cosmopolitanism to cultivating a cosmopolitan disposition in everyday reality? Here I turn to Chris Durante[87] who believes that conceiving of cosmopolitanism, as an ethos is far more rewarding and effective than a fixed ideology. Such an approach takes into account the value of human interconnectedness, encounter and engagement that is informed by the plurality of distinct human experiences. "[T]hrough our rootedness in particularity, and our ability to be partial to particular persons and identify with particular cultures, we are capable of fostering a sense of world citizenship that can serve as a foundation upon which we can secure a tenable global ethic for our pluralistic society" (2014, 312). Durante's perspective on cosmopolitanism provides an appropriate mechanism to (re)conceptualize the cosmopolitanism into an ethic that consorts with our previous

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[85] Also quoted in Anderson (2006, 81).

[86] Scott Schaffer is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Western University and a co-coordinator for the Globality Research Group. Schaffer's primary research interests lie in the fields of contemporary and global social theory, social ethics and social inclusion. His work involves understanding the ways in which social theory operates as both a tool for understanding and as a form of social exclusion. His current work focuses on developing a conception of sociology and social ethics that can be used to evaluate current societal phenomena and social policy.

[87] Chris Durante is Visiting Assistant Professor of Religious Studies at Manhattan College. He was previously Adjunct Professor at SUNY, Westchester Community College. He received his Ph.D. in Ethics from the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill University. His work looked at issues in bioethical methodology in relation to the phenomenon of religious pluralism and explored the relationship between religious identity and moral reasoning. His research interests include theories of self and identity, philosophical ethics, comparative religious ethics and bioethics.

discussion of rooted cosmopolitanism.[88] More importantly it integrates the *a priori*
position of a willingness to engage with the other. He writes:

> In order to cultivate a viable cosmopolitanism, members of diverse communities
> must be able to adopt and recognize it as being an authentic expression of their
> unique identities. To do so, we must conceive of cosmopolitanism not as an
> ideology requesting the assimilation of distinct groups, but rather as being based
> upon a sort of sentimentality capable of recognizing differences while
> simultaneously being capable of producing a sense of solidarity amongst the
> distinct communities that occupy our shared global civil society (Durante 2014,
> 314).

Durante's proposal emphasizes the role of human agency in the process of visualizing a
cosmopolitan ethic. He agrees with George Rupp that the creation of an inclusive
global society relies strongly on the participation of local communities[89] that share a
pre-existing ethos "which is concerned with the embodiment of moral sentiments,
dispositions and values" (2014, 314). Hence, before a global cosmopolitan ethic can be
reached there needs to be a civil ethos inspired by a set of cosmopolitan ideals in which
moral sensibilities can take root. Simply put, an overall cosmopolitan ethic is
contingent upon a prior existing ethos. He also claims that a cosmopolitan ethos
requires work; it can only be achieved "through habituation." He further emphasizes
that such an ethos "requires a disposition and even a type of aptitude or willingness to
encounter the foreign" (Durante 2014, 315 and 317).

What constitutes this movement from a set of rules to an active ethic as
discussed thus far requires rethinking the relationship of strangeness and dialogue.
Trying to define the Other presents to us the most important aspect of this ethical
position. Julia Kristeva (1991; 1993; 2000) explicates on the concept of
cosmopolitanism by situating 'otherness' as its core. Her approach is concerned with
carving out a space between universalism and pluralism but not by "turning to a
universal normative theory that would guide our encounters across differences" but by

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[88] Durante's argument provides a basis through which we can examine the appeal of a cosmopolitan ethic
that is expressed by Aga Khan IV; see Chapter 4.

[89] George E. Rupp (2006, 95) writes, "I therefore press for a conception that explicitly incorporates more
local communities within it rather than implying that discrete individuals relate directly to humanity as a
whole." See his, "Another Look at Conflict, Community, and Conviction," in *Globalization Challenged:
Conviction, Conflict, Community*, ed. Geroge Erik Rupp New York: Columbia University Press. Also
quoted in Durante (2014, 314).

locating "universality in a reconception of humanity itself" (Todd 2009, 38). It is Kristeva's turn to 'Otherness' that gives way to a renewed cosmopolitan consciousness; one that places the Other as the starting point of this cosmopolitan sensibility. Her cosmopolitan positioning is an attempt to reconcile the divergences that exist between new cosmopolitan articulations and cosmopolitan universalisms. Through psychoanalysis, Kristeva is able to claim that "only strangeness is universal' (1993, 21). This is the only truth that binds each one of us as reality of human existence. "Otherness, therefore, does not merely signal the 'stranger' or 'foreigner' as a political outsider, but also refers to the very unconscious dimensions of human experience that condition each individual's existence" (Todd 2009, 41). Kristeva's bridge-building argument seeks to reinterpret humanity on different terms by taking pluralism seriously all the while holding on to some idea of universality – of otherness. It becomes the fundamental root that is universally shared by all. This turn to Otherness gives way to a renewed cosmopolitan consciousness wherein "[t]he idea of humanity would therefore be concerned with the way human dignity is attached to each one of us through the fact that we are inherently not completely knowable to ourselves" (Todd 2009, 41). For Kristeva then, only through an exploration of otherness and strangeness within the self can we realize "the imperfectability of the human condition" which in turn allows for cosmopolitanism to embrace otherness for its own sake (Todd 2009, 42; Anderson 2006). The underlying ethic of such an approach rests in the human capability of making space for strangers and more inclusive identities.

In discussing cosmopolitanism this way, Vince P. Marotta[90] posits that there exist commonalities between the concept of stranger and cosmopolitanism "as a mode of being the world" (2010, 105).[91] Sociologists have tried to capture the attributes of a stranger – an individual who lays outside a known culture and who attempts to communicate with those within that given culture (Bun 2003, 148). In his classic 1908

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[90] Vince P. Marotta is Deputy Director of the Centre for Citizenship and Globalisation and is a Senior Lecturer of Sociology in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at Deakin University.
His research and publications focus on social theory, urban sociology, cultural identity, cosmopolitanism and theories of the stranger.
[91] I want to suggest here that discussions on the stranger and cosmopolitanism coalesce, especially when one recognizes that the underlying premise of a cosmopolitan ethic, as articulated by Aga Khan IV, is a disposition that encourages engagement. See Chapter 5.

essay entitled *The Stranger*, sociologist Georg Simmel[92] characterized the stranger as one who is simultaneously near and far, one who is "fond of wandering", a non-member; "The stranger in this formulation epitomizes an in-between ambivalent position" (Bun 2003, 148; Marotta 2010, 108;). Nevertheless, the stranger also holds a unique position, that of objectivity. Simmel's argument illustrates a stranger who is "not strange and marginalized, but objective and critical" (Ossewaarde 2007, 369).[93] In this sense, cosmopolitans embody some of the stranger's attributes: engaging with divergent cultural experiences, demonstrating objectivity by distancing him/herself from any singular loyalty (Bun 2003; Marotta 2010; Ossewaarde 2007). Given these characteristics, strangeness and difference are easily understood as pertinent hallmarks of a cosmopolitan sensibility that encourages new encounters and "fosters a society or urban spaces where strangeness becomes universal," exemplified in Kristeva's ideal cosmopolitan (Marotta 2010, 111). Cosmopolitans seek to recognize human goodness by thinking through human relationships, commitments, and activities that are unfamiliar.

The cosmopolitan worldview proposed in this section echoes the sociological perspective on strangeness in three ways as articulated by Marotta (2010, 115): first there is a continuous straddling between two realities, global and local, giving way for one to be "both socially and ethically close and distant." Second, this position fosters an "intellectual attitude to the world" that is not restricted and echoes the "'subjective objectivity of Simmel's stranger." And third, there is a bent towards adopting "a critical view of binary thinking and the essentialist identities it fosters." From this interconnectedness it is plain to see that at its core, the relation between the characteristic of a cosmopolitan ethic and the nature of a stranger signifies an exercise

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[92] Georg Simmel was a Sociologist known for creating social theories that broke from traditional scientific methods used to study the natural world. Simmel's work further advanced the development of the discipline of sociology and served as an inspiration for the development of structuralist approaches to studying society. Simmel wrote widely throughout his career, writing more than 200 articles as well as 15 very well known books. Despite his scholarly contributions, Simmel suffered the rebuff of academic selection committees for many years until he was granted a full professorship at the University of Strasbourg in 1914. However, before he could make the most of his tenure, the First World War was in its incipient stage. Shortly before the end of the war Simmel passed away in September 1918.
[93] More recently, sociological literature on "the stranger" and "strangeness" builds on Simmel and moves beyond. The concept of the stranger is used to understand "the human condition and cross-cultural interaction" (Marotta 2010, 106).

in engagement. It is important to stress here, that cosmopolitan encounters with difference or strangeness makes dialogue possible. Communication with others occurs not because one wants to follow a universal code, but because without facing what is different there can be no real discourse.

Cosmopolitanism and the (Im)Possibility of Hospitality

Now that I have established the centrality of Otherness in expressing a cosmopolitan ethic, there still remains another criterion that enables one to make room for the stranger. The element in question is relevant to our consideration of a cosmopolitan project governed by the principle of engagement. What is this moral undertaking that seeks to rethink the cosmopolitan claim, which emerges from "the birth act of humanity itself [which] lies in the acceptance of the precept of loving one's neighbour?" (Bauman 2003, 78). If we take cosmopolitanism as engagement across diversity as well as an ethical imperative to account for human worth, rooted within explanations of 'balanced' cosmopolitanisms, then one still needs to think about the terms of that very engagement. This is why I think turning to Derrida's discussion on hospitality helps us define the parameters of our cosmopolitan vision. The relation of 'hospitality' to cosmopolitanism, in addition to 'Otherness,' provides a firm theoretical underpinning for the ethical stance desirable for expressions of cosmopolitanism. The combination of Otherness and hospitality aids the individual to move beyond normative theories and constrained ideologies to an ethic of practice – what is understood as a *cosmopolitan ethic*; an alternative conceptualization that is based on an ethics of hospitality rather than the rights of man and that goes beyond the binaries of universalism and particularism.

This approach to cosmopolitanism serves as an alternative to the well-known model of liberal cosmopolitanism discussed earlier. As one moves from ideology to an overall ethos, the concept of hospitality acts as the ethical paradigm that lends a firm foundation to the cosmopolitan ethic position. Hospitality thus serves as the yardstick for rethinking the place of otherness (difference, stranger, foreigner) and of real. The discussion that follows builds on Kristeva's proposal of recasting universality in light

of Otherness and draws from the thought of Emmanuel Levinas[94] and Jacques

Derrida.[95] In turning to the legacy of hospitality as another piece to the puzzle, my

perspective echoes Gideon Baker who maintains that the concept of hospitality[96] is an

important resource for moving cosmopolitanism from an ideology to an ethic.

Derrida is concerned with finding a balance between a universal right of

humanity and acknowledgment of otherness. He focuses on the problem of welcoming

and engaging the Other. If we begin with the premise that one's responsibility to the

Other should be understood as ethics, then "insofar as hospitality has to do with… the

manner in which we relate to ourselves and to others, as our own or as foreigners,

ethics is hospitality" (Derrida 2001, 17). Here, hospitality is "the name of that which

opens itself up to the face of the Other, what welcomes it" (Baker 2010, 10). The

cosmopolitanism Derrida (1990, 925) articulates is not expressible in terms of rights or

laws: "I want to insist right away in reserving the possibility of a justice, indeed of a

law that not only exceeds or contradicts "law" (*droit*) but also, perhaps, has no relation

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[94] Emmanuel Levinas was a philosopher and Talmudic commentator renowned for his powerful critique of the pre-eminence of ontology (the philosophical study of being) in the history of Western philosophy. During his studies in Philosophy, both Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger would influence Levinas. Levinas's experience as a prisoner and the destruction of Europe's Jewish population during the war would impact his philosophical writings during the fifties. In his first magnum opus, *Totality and Infinity* (1961) Levians claims that the Other is not knowable, and challenges the complacency of the Self through desire, language, and the concern for justice. In this respect ontology is philosophically inferior to ethics, a field that Levinas construes as encompassing all the practical dealings of human beings with each other. Emmanuel Levinas passed away at the age of 89 on December 25, 1995. See Bettina G. Bergo, "Emmanuel Levinas," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta. Chronology and bibliography updated by Gabriel Malenfant (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) and Seán Hand, *Emmanuel Levinas*. Routledge Critical Thinkers (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).
[95] Jacques Derrida was a prolific philosopher. During his career, Derrida published more than 40 books, wrote a number of essays and was invited to speak at numerous public presentations. He had a significant influence upon the humanities and social sciences in general. He held lecturing positions at various universities around the world and was Professor of the Humanities at the University of California, Irvine, from 1986 until his death in 2004. Derrida's work on hospitality and his reading of Levinas are indispensable to this dissertation. As Derrida developed his political criticism, he drew on hospitality – which he saw as a response to contemporary political issues of displacement, dispossession, and expulsion. This endeavour forced Derrida to revisit the Greek, Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions of hospitality. Similar to Levins, Derrida's concern for the other, the immigrant and refugee, was influenced by his own childhood experiences in French Algeria. Certain events such as not being permitted to attend French school because he was Jew and restrictive laws greatly impacted Derrida's thinking. For his own accounts of these events, see Jacques Derrida, "Circumfession," in *Jacques Derrida,* trans. Geoffery Bennington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993) and "Abraham, the Other," in *Judeities: Questions for Jacques Derrida*, ed. Bettina Bergo, Joseph Cohen, and Raphael Zagury-Orly (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007).
[96] It is Jacques Derrida (inspired, in turn, by Emmanuel Levinas), who has expounded on the ethics of hospitality and it is from his work that I draw on in this section in order to help us better grasp what a cosmopolitan ethic necessarily entails.

to law." The Other for Derrida is irreplaceable and irreducible and thus as Baker (2010, 15) explains, "the liberal rights of man are overcome by the practically infinite right of the Other." At the heart of hospitality are two vital notions – 'openness to the Other' and 'beneficence'. Hospitality expresses an *unconditional* welcome or a genuine *openness* to the stranger and/ or foreigner in all her strangeness/ foreignness. "Derrida's challenge to cosmopolitans, whether at home (in asylum policy) or abroad (in humanitarian intervention), is to conceive of how it might be possible to respond to the call of the Other without turning the Other into the same – a homogenised humanity of interchangeable men and women with all the violence which this threatens to unique and irreplaceable lives" (Baker 2010, 2).

Integral to this discussion on hospitality as ethics – drawn from Levinas and after him, Derrida – is the relation between human persons, since ethics occurs only in relation to others. "For Levinas and Derrida, ethics cease to be described in terms of right (of hospitality, or any other) and is found instead in the encounter with the unexpected, unknown Other, an encounter that destabilises ownership, the home, the very identity of the host" (Baker 2011, 73). Ethics is therefore understood as being rooted in an unbounded responsibility to the Other that takes shape through hospitality (Todd and Säström 2008). This is the best practice to ensure moral obligations to the other and hospitality conceived in this sense helps to deconstruct the binary of identity and difference in our relationships between 'us' and 'them.' Levinas, whose work has strongly influenced contemporary ethical thought in the continental tradition, provides an entry point for thinking about Otherness and ethical responsibility. " To recognize the Other" Levinas says "is to recognize a hunger. To recognize the Other is to give. But it is to give to the master, to the lord, to him whom one approaches as 'You' in a dimension of height" (1979 [1969], 75).

Levinas begins with the presence of the Other and focuses attention on the face, since "[t]he face is a living presence; it is expression" (Levinas 1979 [1969], 66).[97] The

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[97] Why does Levinas focus on the 'face'? "Negatively, of course, Levinas appropriates a nontechnical word that is not used in traditional epistemological contexts…Moreover the face is a perspective or aspect, e.g., the face of a cube or triangle. Furthermore, the face is characteristic of a living thing, an animal or person, and its bodily presence. The face is the most expressive physical manifestation of such a living being's inner self, its feelings and thoughts and attitudes. It reveals most vividly its needs, pain and joy, sorrow and suffering. Above all, in its eyes, one sees how the other feels. For such reasons and

term 'face' refers here to "an aspect of *one person's being present to another*" (Morgan 2011, 65). Ethics, for Levinas, arises from the encounter between human beings;[98] the Other "demands my attention and care through the sheer fact of his presence before me, and my readiness to attend to the Other's needs, at whatever cost to myself, is, for Levinas, the truly ethical response" (Attridge 2015, 281). Levinas (1996, 17) illustrates the encounter with the face of the Other as follows:

> The epiphany of the Absolutely Other is a face by which the Other challenges and commands me through his nakedness, through his destitution. He challenges me from his humility and from his height… The absolutely Other is the human Other (*autrui*). And the putting into question of the Same by the Other is a summons to respond… Hence, to be I signifies not being able to escape responsibility.

Levinas further argues "that there is a structure of responsibility built into human relations that precedes other forms of relating such as knowing and perceiving"(Barnett 2005, 5). This responsibility comes before reason, the reason which "makes the Idea of equality an obligation" (Derrida 1997, 276). Responsibility here includes the concept of respect and is not simply a matter of being kind to strangers, neither is it a simple matter of elevating others. Rather it's about "*responding* to her [the Other] specificity in a way that secures her right to be other" wherein "the singular 'I' *gives* in *receiving* the other in all her alterity" (Todd and Säström 2008, 7).

The encounter with the Other opens a doorway into a new world of meaning that 'I' previously did not have access to. More importantly, Levinas explains that discourse and communication are grounded in this face-to-face encounter that discourse happens – that the Other communicates with me (Morgan 2011; Ogletree 1985). Levinas writes:

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more, then, Levinas chooses this term to indicate the mode of presence of the other person to the self" (Morgan 2011, 66). According to Jacques Derrida, "the face always lends itself to a welcome and the welcome welcomes only a face" (1999, 21). In *Totality and Infinity*, Emmanuel Levinas writes at great length of the face. Access to the face is straightaway ethical. "The face is signification, and signification without context. I mean that the Other, in the rectitude of his face, is not a character within a context." Levinas, *Ethics and Infinity* (1985), 86.

[98] Levinas's ethics is not a proposal of moral principles but rather a treatise on the necessary conditions through which ethics can take action. In his discourse of ethics the relation between *I* and *Other* is asymmetrical and responsibility for the Other exceeds reciprocal obligations.

Language presupposes interlocutors, a plurality. Their commerce is not a representation of the one by the other, nor a participation in universality, on the common plane of language. Their commerce, as we shall show shortly, is ethical…This discourse is therefore not the unfolding of a prefabricated internal logic, but the constitution of truth in a struggle between thinkers, with all the risks of freedom. The relationship of language implies transcendence, radical separation, the strangeness of the interlocutors, the revelation of the other to me. In other words, language is spoken where community between the terms of the relationship is wanting, where the common plane is wanting or is yet to be constituted. It takes place in this transcendence. Discourse is thus the experience of something absolutely foreign, a *pure* 'knowledge' or 'experience,' a *traumatism of astonishment* (1979 [1969], 73).

From this line of thinking, Levinas puts the face of the Other and language in a binding relation; one depends on the other through the event of an encounter. Without doubt, it is this very transcendental experience yet particular moment that engenders the ethical engagement underlying our cosmopolitan outlook. The interaction between 'I' and 'Other' "calls into question my egoism, which includes the sovereignty of my own meaning-constituting activity toward the world. It confronts me with an appeal to take into account another center of meaning in my own understanding of the world, a center which in the nature of the case cannot be assimilated into my own processes of self-integration" (Ogletree 1985, 46). It is because of this encounter that the Other and Self come to be in that moment; the totality one's humanity (Morgan 2011). In this moral encounter, the 'I' is opened "to infinity in the self-transcending presence of the Other" which bestows upon 'I' "a readiness to welcome the other, to show hospitality to the stranger" (Ogletree 1985, 47, 48). Hospitality then – another name for this relation – is an opening to the infinite and the unconditional, a bewildering experience. "It is a matter, instead, of cultivating an ethos that welcomes rather than denies the human plurality that is integral to its being. A plurality without which it could not be…" (Dillon 1999, 162).[99] Levinas, and as we shall see in Derrida's contribution to this call of hospitality, challenges a normative understanding of dialogue that reduces Otherness to sameness.

Cosmopolitanism qua hospitality departs from a Kantian interpretation of ethics and hospitality. Derrida points out two limitations in Kant's claims regarding

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[99] Also quoted in Gideon Baker's *Politicising Ethics in International Relations: Cosmopolitanism as Hospitality* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 76.

hospitality: 1) restricting hospitality to the right of visitation and 2) the right of states to their own sovereignty. Derrida shows that authentic hospitality knows no bound, unlike Kant's political hospitality enunciated in *Perpetual Peace.* For Derrida, Kant's understanding of universal hospitality is concerned with rights of strangers "to present themselves in the society of others by virtue of their right to communal possession of the earth's surface" (G. Brown 2006, 67; Kant 1991, 106) and it is this right of hospitality (right of the stranger) – based on certain predetermined conditions – that fosters cross-cultural encounter and dialogue. "In this way, continents distant from each other can enter into peaceful mutual relations which may eventually be regulated by public laws, thus bringing the human race nearer and nearer to a cosmopolitan constitution" (Derrida 2007, 246-247). Derrida's hospitality is unconditional – it is a welcoming of the Other in all her singularity without expecting anything in return. "It is a generosity that indeed exceeds expectations, a giving or offering attentive to the uniqueness of the subject, unsullied by neither wanting something from her in exchange nor demanding that she become someone different. Hospitality thereby acts as the universal law" (Todd 2009, 44). Hospitality as such, is an operative term that governs all human interaction and cannot be limited to a single action. "It is a permanent human condition as long as there is the other human. The subject is not more hosting the other but she is permanently the hostage of the other," a perspective also shared by Derrida who calls Levinas's *Totality and Infinity* "an immense treatise *of hospitality*" and "a first philosophy of hospitality" (Derrida 1999, 21, 59, 20).

> To put it in different terms, absolute hospitality requires that I open up my home and that I give not only to the foreigner… but to the absolute, unknown anonymous other, and that I *give place* to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity (entering into a pact) or even their names (Derrida 2000, 25).

Derrida's discussion of hospitality centers within the home through the relationship of master (host) and guest (foreigner). [100] He posits that in order for unconditional hospitality to take place, "the one inviting becomes the hostage of the one invited" (Derrida 2000, 9). There is a reversal of power roles that take place: the host who

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[100] The French word 'hôte' – like the Latin 'hostis' from which it is derived can mean both 'host' and guest' – plays well into Derrida's conception of true hospitality.

extends unconditional hospitality to his or her guest becomes the subservient (the guest). However Derrida makes it clear that complete openness to the Other or *unconditional hospitality* leads to a paradox in its actual practice because when it is presented, hospitality cannot be "without sovereignty of oneself over one's home, but since there is also no hospitality without finitude, sovereignty can only be exercised by filtering…and doing violence" (2000, 55). There are limits and conditions put in place that betray the law of unconditional hospitality. The host must hold back the unlimited arrival of the other in order to "render the welcome effective, determined, concrete, to put it into practice" (Derrida 2005, 6). Hence, the universal law of hospitality cannot be practiced in actuality without limiting it but it is this delimiting occurrence that creates in return a conscious demand for hospitality's *unlimited* form: "The unconditional law of hospitality, however, requires the particular laws of hospitality that limit it and make it impossible. Without these particular laws, the unconditional law would be utopian, illusory and the opposite of what it is. But they in turn threaten and corrupt the unconditional law of hospitality. There lies the contingency of the unconditional law of hospitality" (George 2009, 36). In hospitality there exists complete selflessness to other and becoming hostage to the other. These two manifestations of hospitality are not to be taken as mutually exclusive and one cannot simply just choose between the two. This a formidable challenge because as Derrida illustrates, these hospitalities do not contradict each other, they are heterogeneous. Through hospitality, Derrida offers us a way of thinking through the tensions that exist in articulating an ethic of humanity, of practicing a *cosmopolitan ethic*. There is an ideal we all strive to achieve but can never actually realize; it is the conscious choice and effort to live up to the ideal that allows one to practice the ideal in its adulterated form. In a similar manner, cosmopolitanism can never be entirely universal since it is practiced through the particular. "Cosmopolitanism thus becomes a project that cannot simply embrace universalism for the very universalism it claims to be embracing is one already laced with the threads of human diversity, which reveals itself to us in singular instances of otherness" (Todd 2009, 46). It should be forgotten however, that it is through the ideal of an absolute cosmopolitan ethic that we are able to discern the best conditions in which to exercise this ethic in its limited form.

Levinas and Derrida give us a practice rooted in ethical universality that does not simply accommodate difference but actually begins with difference and that remains open to it. Hospitality to the Other becomes the vehicle of human coexistence that inspires engagement; the underlying principle of a cosmopolitan ethic. Such a disposition is more than just admitting the other; it requires a genuine attempt to welcome the Other and to make the Other feel 'as if' (s)/he is at home. The outcome of engaging with difference through the lens of a cosmopolitan ethic is simply a process of change in the individual. There perhaps cannot be an absolute guarantee that change will be for consistent or long lasting, but without taking this risk-minimized by the norms of conditions of reality- there would be no genuine openness to the other at all. Both these philosophers help us to think of hospitality and its nuances as a human virtue that defines humanity itself (Siddiqui 2015).

Conclusion

This chapter has presented a broad but short historical overview of cosmopolitanism while paying attention to the divergence of meanings and criticisms of its use. Our point of departure was the early Greek articulation of cosmopolitanism by Diogenes. From here, I noted the contribution of Roman Stoic philosophy to the application of the cosmopolitan vision within socio-political context. The discussion of cosmopolitanism continued through the universal vision offered by Christianity, an important source in preserving Stoic cosmopolitan sensibilities that is often omitted from scholarship on this subject.

This lofty ideal, as I have demonstrated, becomes tied to Western civilization through a history of philosophical engagements, especially during the Enlightenment period. By unpacking the competing claims to cosmopolitanism I have tried to expose the challenges and implications of what needs to be done in order to embrace cosmopolitanism as possible world orientation. As part of our discussion, the chapter showcased the different offshoots of cosmopolitanism that infuse the cosmopolitan resurgence as well as the drive to construct an ideal that is representative of an actual cosmopolitan orientation, which takes place in the everyday reality. Taking this cosmopolitan vocation seriously means that a universalist point of view does not

belittle the significance of particular commitments. The pertinent lesson for our contemporary condition is that:

> Breadth is not incompatible with depth. For the community of man flourishes nowhere but in and through communities of particular men and women. It is true that, when locked in its own specificity, a culture is liable to retreat into isolation. But escape from introversion lies not in the obliteration of specific memory but in an enlargement of its intellectual horizons. Universal awareness is a movement from the inside to the outside. It is not a cancellation of inwardness. It calls for an opening of windows, not a demolition of homes (Esmail 1996, 487).

More importantly, the recent contributions to the cosmopolitan debate – revolving around an approach indicative of a bottom-up perspective – highlight the significance of different practices. The key components of cosmopolitanism (otherness, engagement and hospitality) discussed in this chapter point to an underlying disposition, characterized in the endeavour of defining an ideal that takes into account the alterity of otherness while recognizing the shared qualities of human life – what I choose to call a cosmopolitan ethic. The contributions of Kristeva, Levinas and Derrida, in particular, give us an alternative to thinking about cosmopolitanism wherein we begin with the Other as the only universal reality that acts as the premise upon which the Self is able to situate itself through engagement. In other words, a turn to ethics enables a shift from ideology to an ethics sustained by human effort to comprehend the integrity and identity of creation. One cannot simply be at ease and hope that every person will favour such a disposition. It is constant work that requires continuous effort on behalf of its adherents; it needs to be taught and instilled in the hearts of men, women, and children regardless of race, religion, ethnicity or nationality. Emphasizing this turn to an ethic, rather than a loaded ideology, puts forward an affirmation of a commitment to know one another. I will explore in the following chapter the theoretical basis for such an ethical commitment inspired by scriptural injunctions of human coexistence – a principle that informs the chapters to follow.

CHAPTER 2
In search of a 'Cosmopolitan Ethic':
Islamic[101] Precepts and the Abrahamic Tradition of Hospitality

Introduction

Chapter 1 offered the reader a historical entry point into the multi-faceted concept of cosmopolitanism. Although much can be written about the evolution of this ideal, the first chapter provided important moments of the evolutionary process that have contributed to the conceptualization of cosmopolitanism as it is conceived of in Western thought. In this chapter I begin by offering another legacy of cosmopolitanism that is governed by an Islamic ethos. This perspective of a cosmopolitan Muslim experience proffers another history of the concept, often forgotten in the annals of European history, as it relates to the acquisition of knowledge and the exhortation to travel. This undertaking will further contribute to characterizing the very essence of the 'cosmopolitan ethic' I wish to define. I then explore the tradition of hospitality set forth in the Abrahamic scriptures as a fundamental moral practice that directs all human encounters. This discussion looks at the concept of hospitality in relation to important themes of encountering the Other that are informed by religious thought and practice. After all, 'otherness', since the fall of ancient civilizations, became associated with Abrahamic religions that attempted to create a worldview that recognized the value of other cultures (Turner 2012).

The previous chapter ended on an ethical proposition for cosmopolitanism based on hospitality. The point of this ideal was to qualify the ethical spirit of the term I am trying to define – *cosmopolitan ethic*. The discussion of hospitality sought to rescue cosmopolitanism from the vagaries of European enlightenment. More importantly, it rendered a means through which to contend with the challenges of how individual beings interact with that which is unknown, strange, and different – all that is Other. Hospitality hence acts as a space where the negotiation of unconditional and

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[101] Keeping with the spirit of our theoretical approach to the interconnectedness of religion and ethics, I direct the reader to the following quote that captures the essence of the term Islamic as it is used in this dissertation: "It is a mistake to think of the Islamic as one of the several ways of being religious. Rather, for fourteen centuries the Islamic has been one of the salient ways of being human." Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *On Understanding Islam: Selected Studies* (The Hague: Mouton Publishers, 1981), 12.

conditional acts takes place in the face of the diversities we encounter. It is hoped that the reader will now recognize that the division of human relations into 'known' and 'unknown' is not unique to the contemporary world, rather "[t]he idea of an outside and an inside social world is the basic truism of almost every general theory of society" (Turner 2012, 188). Taking this into account, hospitality is welcomed as an expressive practice of the cosmopolitan ethic, which challenges the dichotomy of 'us' versus 'them'. Mona Siddiqui[102] reminds us that "[h]ospitality is first and foremost a duty towards others, and a way of living in which we are constantly reminded of human diversity" (2015, 12). What remains to be explored is the source of hospitality. From where does the tradition of hospitality emerge? What is the inspiration that implores one to expose herself to the Other and welcome the stranger? In response to these questions, one finds a point of entry through Derrida who suggests that the call to hospitality is one of the "primary injunctions of all the Abrahamic religions" (2001, 19).

Keeping in mind the centrality of practicing hospitality, I turn to the stories of the Prophets Abraham and Lot who represent the ideal figures of hospitality in the Judeo-Christian tradition. I reveal how these champions of hospitality also act as exemplary models in the Muslim tradition. Their attempts to formulate a hospitable ethos are closely aligned with the ethical and esoteric teachings in Islam that inspire a living cosmopolitan orientation. The practice of offering hospitality as divinely ordained duty is associated with a vast lexicon of ethics and spirituality that impregnates the Qur'ān and rich esoteric tradition of Islam. Attention will be made to the plurality of approaches that undergird the spirit of a cosmopolitan ethic by weaving together fundamental precepts inspired the Qur'ān. These experiences and engagements of human relations will serve as a touchstone in which to reimagine the cosmopolitan ethic as a manifestation of faith-based ethics.

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[102] Mona Siddiqui is Professor of Islamic and Interreligious Studies in the School of Divinity and Assistant Principal of Religion and Society at the University of Edinburgh. Her research areas are primarily in the field of Islamic jurisprudence and ethics and Christian-Muslim relations and she has published 4 books. Siddiqui is also a well-known public intellectual and a speaker on issues around religion, ethics and public life, and contributes regularly to various media outlets and newspapers.

The Cosmopolitan Ethos of Islam: Revelation, Knowledge and Morale

The discussion in Chapter 1 revealed that much of the scholarship on cosmopolitanism is monopolized by the intellectual tradition of the West that carries within it experiences and sources (secular and religious) for a theorization of cosmopolitanism. In contrast to such presumptions about a uniquely Western openness to and curiosity about what is unfamiliar, there is a fair amount of scholarship on non-Western cultural traditions. If one starts with Pnina Werbner's description of cosmopolitans as people who familiarize them-selves with other cultures and know how to move easily between cultures[103] then of course it is quite logical to conclude that cosmopolitans exist in all cultures and religious traditions and that such a descriptor is not entirely new.[104] Muslims have interacted with others across politico-cultural and ethnic borders long before the birth of modern nation-states; indeed a cosmopolitan experience. An existing body of literature asserts that the medieval Andalusian empire, Ottoman cities, Mughal courts, African and Indonesian ports had once been centres of multi-religious, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual diversity.[105] Bruce Lawrence (2010, 304)[106] speaking in the context of Islam, points out that religion can no longer make sense on its own as a singular entity, it must be linked to concepts such as 'cosmopolitanism':

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[103] See Pnina Werbner's, "Global Path- ways: Working-Class Cosmopolitans and the Creation of Transnational Ethnic Worlds," *Social Anthropology* 7, no. 1 (1999): 19–20. Pnina Werbner is Professor Emerita in Social Anthropology at Keele University. She is an urban anthropologist who has studied Muslim South Asians in Britain and Pakistan and, more recently, the women's movement and the Manual Workers Union in Botswana. She has undertaken field work in Britain, Pakistan, and Botswana, and has directed major research projects on the Muslim South Asian, Filipino and African diasporas. She has published extensively on a range of issues concern Islamic radicalism, cultural hybridity, migration and culture, religious identity, women and other contemporary social challenges.

[104] It was previously mentioned that all civilizations have attempted to work out a way to recognize the value of others.

[105] See Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Leila Fawaz and Chris Bayly, *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); John Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004); Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Muzaffar Alam, *The Mughal State 1526-1750* (New Delhi, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[106] Bruce Lawrence is Nancy and Jeffrey Marcus Humanities Professor Emeritus of Religion at Duke University. He was also Director of the Duke Islamic Studies Center. His research ranges from institutional Islam to Indo-Persian Sufism and also encompasses the comparative study of religious movements. He has published over 200 articles, book chapters and reviews and has authored several books. Some of his books include *Who is Allah* (2015); *The Quran – A Biography* (2006); *Muslim Networks from Hajj to Hip Hop* (2005, with Miriam Cooke); *New Faiths, Old Fears: Muslims and Other Asian Immigrants in American Religious Life* (2002).

> Religion qua cosmopolitanism confers a special benefit for the study of Islam since it no longer focuses exclusively on Islam or Muslims: instead of privileging or deriding one religious tradition vis-à-vis others, it shows the boundedness of religious communities within a larger complex of commercial exchange and social comity best etched by the term *oikoumene*.[107]

History provides evidence of a cosmopolitan reality among Muslim societies that was based on a pluralist outlook and a cultural exchange inspired by trade, pilgrimage and learning (Eickelman and Piscatori 1990; Karim 2012c; Simpson and Kresse 2008). Shahab Ahmed[108] writes, "Islam has been a global phenomenon from the time it was an infant: it grew up and had to articulate itself in the most ethnically, linguistically and culturally diverse and diffuse historical environment imaginable: its development has been globally-oriented and cosmopolitan from the outset" (2016, 144). Looking back at the moment when the Prophet Muḥammad emigrated with his followers in 622 AD to Medina highlights the first instance in which the Prophet was immersed in a new community and working to construct a polity. At the same time, he was in a city divided between pagan, Christian and Jewish loyalties. The solution to this situation, argues Turner, came about through the Constitution of Medina. This Constitution represents an "early document describing a political solution to social divisions, but one that also recognized, albeit implicitly, the need to engage with the other. Because Islam claims to be the fulfillment of all forms of preceding monotheism and ethical prophecy, this dialogue with other 'people of the book' has had a long history in the development of Islam" (Turner 2012, 189). The constitution was significant in that it provided a

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[107] Greek for the word ecumene, meaning 'entire world.' "*Oikoumene* in Greek originally referred to the inhabited as opposed to the uninhabited world, an opposition that corresponded roughly to the distinction between the Hellenic world and the world of 'barbarians.' The term eventually came to include both Greeks and some non-Greeks as part of the 'inhabited world' and would later denote an even more expansive understanding of 'the whole.' It is the etymological precursor to 'ecumenical,' meaning 'belonging to the whole world'" (Euben 2006, 204 n.61). Also the historian Marshall G.S. Hodgson used '*Oikoumene*' to refer to the Afro-Eurasian agrarian historical complex in order to avoid treating Europe as some wholly independent and self-contained region. See Marshall G.S. Hodgson's, *The Venture of Islam,* vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 50.

[108] Shahab Ahmed was postdoctoral associate in the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University. Ahmed was considered one of the world's most promising and exciting new scholars in Islamic studies. His broad field of study was Islamic intellectual history. Ahmed was also a master of many languages that he utilized throughout his research. His 600-page posthumous magnum opus, called *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (2016) showcases much of Ahmed's brilliance and his bold conceptualization of Islam that challenges dominant understandings grounded in the categories of religion, culture, law and scripture. He died at the age of 48 in September 2015.

model for which a Muslim system of religious pluralism could develop. Muhammad skillfully executed the concern for community security through this constitution relying on Arabian customs and relations (Arjomand 2009). He created an "intertribal security system, a Pax Islamica, around the growing polity in Medina" that was grounded in a religious outlook: "the security of God and his messenger" (Arjomand 2009, 571). Such an example serves as model of an embryonic manifestation of a cosmopolitan consciousness in action through dialogue, addressing communal concerns.

Divine Revelation and the Importance of Knowledge

Following the Prophet's death, Muslims ventured outside the Hejaz to expand their territory. Rapid expansion in the seventh and eighth centuries brought Muslims further into contact with many religions, cultures, and ethnicities. "They encountered multiple forms of Christianity and Judaism as well as Zoroastrianism and other religions that existed then in the Middle East. Among the peoples that the Arab Muslims came across were the Assyrians, Philistines, Arameans, Chaldeans, Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Kurds and Persians" (Karim 2012c, 205). Expansion and encounter was enjoined with the dissemination of the Prophet's teachings and examples. Openness to the Other (foreign, strange, new) was vital to the religious, cultural and intellectual growth of Muslim societies. Engagement with others provided for a two-way flow of ideas, cultures, and languages affecting both the local inhabitants of Muslim territories as well as the Muslim ruling class.[109] These practices of cultural and intellectual exchange, which collectively point to a Muslim cosmopolitan spirit, are directly inspired by a religious sensibility. The Qur'ān encourages the believer to embrace humanity:

> Muslim behaviour toward people of other cultures and religions may similarly be shaped by faith. A strong sense of humanism appears in the Qur'an and the hadith (the sayings of the Prophet). Islamic scripture promotes the recognition of a common origin of humanity, that it comes from a single universal soul, as

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[109] "The major distinctiveness of Muslim cosmopolitanism is the expansive arc of cities that serve as nodes of cosmopolitan networks throughout the Islamicate world. Tracing the influence for Muslim cosmopolitans requires attention to metacities that been eclipsed as well as those just beginning to come into prominence: from Aden to Doha, from Bukhara to Kuala Lumpur, from Harar to Dakar. Other major urban locations that qualify as long-standing Muslim cosmopolitan metacities include: Aceh, Baghdad, Beirut, Cairo, Dacca, Damascus, Delhi, Heart, Isfahan, Jerusalem, Khartoum, Lagos, Lahore, Marrakesh, Muscat, Penang, Sarajevo, Xian, and, of course, Istanbul" (Lawrence 2012, 22).

well as of its diversity. Several verses in the Quran speak of the dignity of human beings, who in Muslim discourses are 'the crown of creation' (*ashraf al-makhlukat*) (Karim 2012c, 203).

Religious precepts drawn from the Qur'ān thus serve as guidance for one's behaviour in all aspects of daily life - influenced by both the sacred (*dīn*) and the profane (*dunyā*).[110] The Qur'ān itself puts forward a comprehensive vision of diversity, difference and plurality not excluding the importance of universality within its words. Muslims' pursuit of knowledge forms an intrinsic part of the Qur'ānic prescriptive of being open to the Other. The injunction to embrace Allah's diversity is clearly highlighted through the acquisition of knowledge, in all forms, and the experience of travel. The commitment to travel in search of knowledge discloses to us the shaping of a Muslim cosmopolitan ethos.

> *Utlub al-'ilm fa lau fi al-Sin* (Seek knowledge even if you have to go to China)
>
> -Hadith of the Prophet Muhammad[111]
>
> *Have these people not travelled through the land with hearts to understand and ears to hear? It is not people's eyes that are blind, but their hearts within their breasts*
>
> -Qur'ān 22:46

Muslims took the above saying of the Prophet to heart. The manifestation and spirit of this outlook expresses itself in "the religious imprimatur for travel in search of knowledge to the Islamic exhortation to extend protection (*ijarah*) and hospitality to strangers and travelers, an exhortation captured in a hadith stating that 'Islam began as a stranger and it will return as it began, [as] a stranger. Blessed are the

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[110] Much evidence exists on the success of fusing the worlds of the sacred and secular -*din wa duniya*- as Amir Hussain in "Islam in the Plural" (2009) has pointed out. Examples range from Mohandas Gandhi to Desmond Tutu as well as scholars such as Abdullahi An-Naim, Zaina Anwar and Meena Sharify-Funk. Their efforts serve as powerful anecdotes for Muslims and non-Muslims alike who are finding ways to engage in a life long dialogue that underscores the commitment to pluralism in all areas of human society.

[111] See al-Suyuti 1979-81, vol. 1, 3207, 3208, 618. As cited in Roxanne Euben's, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 35.

strangers'"(Euben 2013, 209).[112] The underlying assumption behind the pursuit of knowledge is of course driven by religious insight. Indeed, there has been much discussion by Muslim scholars on the processes of knowing and how knowledge was to be understood in relation to God – His omniscience and human beings – their humanly affairs, which lies beyond the scope of this chapter. Of particular interest to us are the motifs of travel and knowledge and how these two objectives serve as the bedrock for a Muslim cosmopolitan sensibility. Travelogues such as the *Safarnāma* of the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i-Khusraw[113] vividly illustrates his various encounters in different cities and narrates the cultural exchanges across the medieval Islamic territories (Firouzeh 2011). Another example is captured in the writings of al-Bīrūnī[114] who wrote about India and extended the notion of *ahl al-kitāb* (people of the book) to Hindus. His writings provide a detailed account about a culture different from his, a pre-modern ethnography of some sorts.

> [Al-Bīrūnī] wrote thorough descriptions of the Indus valley and surrounding regions as well as of the beliefs and practices of their inhabitants…Whereas, his 'patron' treated the land of the Hindus primarily as a place for plunder, the scholar demonstrated great respect for the people of India and wrote about them in a manner comparable to the social scientific approaches of modern scholarship (Karim 2012c, 208).

Even biographies tell of important figures like the philosopher-mystic Ibn al-'Arabī who travelled for many years in search of knowledge and religious enlightenment

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[112] See also 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Nīsābūrī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī and 'Abd al-Hayy al-Farmāwī, *Al-Wasitfi tafsir al-qur'an al-majid*. 4 vols (Beirut: Dar al Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 1994); Montgomery Watt, "Idjara," in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1999).

[113] Abū Mu'in Ḥāmid al-Dīn Nāṣir ibn Khusraw ibn Ḥārith al-Qubādiyānī al-Marvāzī, more commonly known as Nāṣir-i-Khusraw was Persian poet and philosopher. Many Persian-speaking people and others have admired his writings. Amongst the Shi'a Ismaili Muslims, he is also revered as a prominent *dā'ī* of the Fāṭimid era (10th-11th CE century). Khusraw write in three different genres: travelogue, poetry, and philosophical treatises. His poetry focussed on ethics and morals "admonishing the reader to attend to the task of spiritual improvement in place of chasing after the baubles of this material and materialistic world." See Alice C. Hunsburger, *Nasir Khusraw, The Ruby of Badakshan* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), xiii.

[114] Abū Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048) is regarded as one of the greatest scholars of the medieval Islamic era. He was a prolific writer producing around 146 titles devoted to astronomy, mathematics, and natural sciences. He was also a distinguished himself as a historian, chronologist and linguist. His book on Indian culture is by far the most important of his encyclopaedic works. Much of his work on India was done during his captivity in the court of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Although an unwilling guest of his patron, al-Bīrūnī managed to author extensive works on the customs and creeds of 11th century India. See George Saliba, "Al-Bīrūnī: Persian Scholar and Scientist," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* online, https://www.britannica.com/biography/al-Biruni. Accessed August 8, 2017.

(Karim 2012c). Examples of travels linked to a search of knowledge (in all its diversity) are manifested in various forms that include *ḥajj, hijra, riḥla* and *ziyāra*.[115] More importantly, the ḥadīth literature elaborates on the Qur'ānic ethos evident in the above epigraph.[116] Two ḥadīths, for example, state that the Prophet Muḥammad said, "those who out in search of knowledge will be on the path of God until they return" and "wisdom is the lost property of a believer, it is his, wherever he may find it" (Euben 2006, 35). Yet a third ḥadīth reminds the followers of the Prophet that,

> God makes the path to paradise easy for him who travels a road in search of knowledge, and the angels spread their wings for the pleasure of the seeker of knowledge. All those in heaven and earth will seek forgiveness from those who pursue knowledge, even the serpents in the water. The learned person is superior to the worshipper just as the moon has precedence over the rest of the stars" (Euben 2006, 35).[117]

Franz Rosenthal[118]also writes, "ancient use of travel as a metaphor to describe man's sojourn on earth was widely accepted in Islam" (1997, 54).[119] This motif of learning or knowing became the catalyst for the followers of the Prophet to obtain knowledge. Through the Prophet's exhortations and the Qur'ān's encouragement there began a genuine intellectual curiosity prompted by religious faith.[120] "Muslims became the students of the teachers at places like Jondishapur [intellectual centre of the Iranian

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[115] These are: Pilgrimage to Mecca, the 5th Pillar of Islam – emigration modeled on the Prophetic journey to Medina; Voyage – visitation to holy shrines.

[116] In "The search for knowledge in medieval Muslim societies: a comparative approach," Sam I. Gellens also writes that "the hadith literature reminds the believer that search for knowledge is intimately tied to the act of travel" and "embedded deep in Muslim consciousness is an identification of travel with pious activity, an appreciation that achievement in such endeavour is a sign of divine approval and munificence" (1990, 52-53).

[117] The first two quotes are from Muḥammad al-Tirmīdhī, *Sunan al-Tirmīdhī was-huwa al-Jami al-Kabir* (al-Medina al-Munawwara: al-Maktaba al-Salafiyya, 1965), vol. 4, 2:2785, p. 137; 2:2786, p. 138. The last quote is taken from Muḥammad Ibn Yazīd al-Qazwīnī ibn Mājah, *Sunan*, (Cairo: 'Isa al-Babi al-Halabi, 1972), vol. 1, hadith no. 223, 81. Translations from the Arabic by Roxanne Euben.

[118] Franz Rosenthal was an American scholar of Arabic and Semitic Studies specializing in Islamic intellectual history. He was Louis M. Rabinowitz Professor of Semitic languages at Yale from 1956 to 1967 and Sterling Professor Emeritus of Arabic, scholar of Arabic literature and Islam at Yale from 1967 to 1985. Rosenthal was a prolific scholar whose publications ranged from a monograph on *Humor in Early Islam* (1956) to a three-volume annotated translation of the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun (1958) to a *Grammar of Biblical Aramaic* (1961). Rosenthal often worked with manuscripts and unedited sources, demonstrating his mastery of manuscript research and philology. Rosenthal died in April 2003.

[119] An example of this theme is reflected in Qur'ān 5:18.

[120] Some examples include Qur'ān 3:137; 6:11; 12:109; 16:36; 29:20; 30:9; and 30:42.

Sassanid empire][121] in order to fulfill their Islamic obligations with regards to acquiring knowledge" (Karim 2012c, 206).

Knowledge ('*ilm*)[122] in this context is best understood as incorporating both the secular and the religious domains of life – *dīn wa dunyā*. "Within the terms of Islam, all human knowledge – whether of things divine or purely mundane – ultimately derives from God, and thus all potential objects of human knowledge are themselves aspects of divine creation" (Euben 2006, 35). According to the Qur'ān all knowledge comes from God and attaining/discerning knowledge (in all its forms) is one of the most important aspirations of mankind. Therefore Knowledge is, as Rosenthal notes, "the true synonym of religion" (2007, 32). There exists a kindred relation between religious faith and knowledge. In Qur'ān 30:56 'knowledge' and 'faith' are paired as gifts bestowed on human beings. One finds 'believing' and expressions like 'being given knowledge' as parallel expressions in Qur'ān 58:11/12. Furthermore in Qur'ān 2:26, knowledge is positioned as the consequence of faith.[123] Such passages in the Qur'ān serve as reminder that knowledge is in the Divine but also of It. Knowledge is also something of value that ought to be given due attention and must be learned in order to know God and His creation.[124] According to Rosenthal (2007, 31), it is important to acknowledge, "the worth of knowledge and, indeed, the mere fact that something can be considered knowledge depend [*sic*] on the existence of a relationship between such knowledge [acquired by human action] and what is thought of as God's knowledge or as being in harmony with it."

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[121] This would serve as a model for the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mun's (813-833) *bayt al-hikma* (House of Wisdom) in Baghdad.

[122] The concept of knowledge is best explained through a combination of 'way signs' and 'knowledge': The Arabic root ('-l-m) 'to know' has a semantic relationship to the Arabic ma 'lam (sign post) from the same root ('-l-m). This connection derives from the fact that in the pre-Islamic environment "way signs" guided the Bedouin on "his travels and in the execution of his daily tasks" and that constituted "the kind of knowledge in which his life and well-being principally depended"(Rosenthall 2007, 10). It is thus fitting that the Qur'ānic exhortation to search for knowledge also has a relation to signs (*āyā*) of the Creator. However this rendering of '-l-m does not capture all of its contents and expansive reach. It is a complex term that holds deep meaning in Muslim intellectual life, daily life as well as religious and political life.

[123] These and other passages can be found in Franz Rosenthal's *Knowledge Triumphant* (2007), especially Chapter 2.

[124] I discuss the implication of this and knowing the Other based on the teachings of Ibn al-'Arabī later in the chapter.

Within the Muslim context, it is generally accepted that the above perception of knowledge led to advancements in a number of areas within the scope of human learning. For instance, a translations movement ensued and numerous manuscripts were translated into Arabic, reaching its zenith in the ʿAbbāsid Dynasty with a rival centre in Fāṭimid Cairo.[125] Substantial progress was made in the fields of Mathematics, Medicine, and especially in the Sciences (*ʿulūm*). The intellectual centres within Muslim territories fostered intellectual exchanges among thinkers of various origins. "Scholars of Jewish, Christian, Hindu and other backgrounds thrived variously in Baghdad, Cairo, Cordoba, Samarkand, Agra and Istanbul" (Karim 2012c, 208). The practice of direct observation, encouraged by the Qur'an, prompted a proliferation of scientific discovery. For example, the Fatimid optical scientist Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen)[126] is noted for employing the empirical method two hundred years before European scholars and the Geographer al-Idrīsī[127] is credited with producing a series of maps of the known world (Karim 2012c).

The centrality of religious inspiration along with the injunction to seek knowledge and engage in difference opens a door into an alternative cosmopolitanism that is missing in much of Western cosmopolitan literature. What is of importance here is the attitude; the eagerness to learn: "Knowledge, art, and wisdom were eagerly

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[125] ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Ma'mun's *bayt al-hikma* functioned as a library and centre of translation of philosophical and scientific works of Greek authors into Arabic. It also included an astronomical observatory (*marsad*). Fatimid caliph al-Hakim's *dar al-ʿilm* (House of Knowledge) in Cairo functioned as an academy of learning with scholars representing all disciplines of the sciences. The most important scientific achievement produced by this academy was the *zij* – an astronomical chart with comparative data about stars and planets – by the astronomer Ahmad ibn Yunus al-Hakimi (Heinz Halm, *The Fatimids and their Traditions of Learning* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001 [1997]), Chapter 6.

[126] Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham (d. 1040) or Alhazen (in the Christian West) was a mathematician and astronomer who made important contributions in our understanding of optics. He was the first to explain the role of light in the production of vision. He worked with the court of the Fatimid Caliphate and spent most his life under their patronization. His monumental treatise on optics, *Kitāb al-Manāẓir,* which combines experiment with mathematical reasoning, has survived through its Latin translation. This work contains a complete formulation of the laws of reflection and a detailed investigation of refraction. See Abdelhamid I. Sabra, "Ibn al-Haytham," in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* vol. 6, ed. Charles C. Gillispie (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 189–210.

[127] Abū ʿabd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿabd Allāh ibn Idrīs al-Ḥammūdī al-Ḥasanī al-Idrīsī (d. 1165/66) was an Arab geographer and cartographer. Hew as also adviser to Roger II (Norman king of Sicily). He wrote one of the greatest works of medieval geography, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq* (The Pleasure Excursion of One Who Is Eager to Traverse the Regions of the World), also known as *Kitāb al-Rujārī* (The Book of Roger) Under the patronage of Roger, al-Idrīsī also produced a a silver planisphere and a world map. See Dennis Reinhartz "Al-Idrisi," in *Dictionary of World Biography: The Middle Ages,* volume 2, ed. Frank Northen Magill (New York: Routledge, 1998), 506-508.

appropriated, from every source, grasped with all the proprietary zeal of newfound heirs" (Goodman 2003, 6). Reviving this humanistic attitude that took creative forms in the heyday of Islamic culture also serves as a valuable resource for the reworking of contemporary articulations of cosmopolitanisms.[128] The exercise in 'cosmopolitanism' as an alternative to secularism and literalist interpretations within Muslim discourses has emerged among Muslim intellectuals. Exponents of this strand of thought also conceive of Islam as a civilizational and an inclusivist concept encompassing a much broader religious, cultural, and intellectual legacy. Using the concept of heritage or *turāth* in Arabic, these individuals are referred to as the new partisans of the heritage (Kersten 2009, 90). They combine the familiarity of Islamic tradition with human sciences in order to produce rich and varied literature on Islamic heritage. These works can be seen as a means through which contemporary Muslim intellectuals are trying to deal with globalization. Cosmopolitanism within contemporary Muslim discourses is (re)defined through cross-cultural exchange of ideas that aid to create more open processes of thought and action:

> Borrowing eclectically from the Western human sciences, representatives of new cosmopolitanism in the Muslim world appropriate, decontextualize, and reconstitute hybrid forms of an array of concepts and notions in their own constituencies. As exercises of individual agency, these intentional hybridities also preserve a degree of 'rootedness' in – at one and the same time- the global ecumene of the Muslim Umma and regional cultural specificities (Kersten 2009, 92).

The growing tendency of contemporary scholars is to draw inspiration from Islam's rich intellectual history. The 'cosmopolitan' legacy of Islam as well as the bold tradition of hermeneutical imagination being reclaimed is found within the intellectual heritage of Islamic thought. When we turn to Muslim Andalusia for example, we come across a central figure by the name of Ibn Rushd or Averroes. This great Muslim philosopher was based in Cordoba, situated at the center of 'Western' Islam comprising

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[128] We can speak of cosmopolitanisms in the plural since there is still much ambiguity surrounding the definition of what the term signifies. It is a malleable term "whose conceptual and pragmatic character as yet unspecified…it awaits detailed description at the hands of scholarship. We are not yet exactly certain what it is [for it] is awaiting realization" from Carol Breckenridge, Sheldon Pollock, Homi. K. Bhabha and Dipesh Chakrabarty, eds., *Cosmopolitanism* (Duke University Press, 2002), 1.

of the Maghrib and southern Spain.[129] Here I would like to bring attention to Ibn Rushd's arguments regarding the relation between reason and faith found in his text *Faṣl al-maqāl* or simply *Faṣl*. It is believed that when Ibn Rushd penned this book his aim was "to assert both the compatibility *and* mutual distinctness of religion and philosophy, that is, their relatedness without synthesis or coincidence" (Dallmayr 2002, 125). "In the words of Ibn Rushd, 'philosophy (*al-hikma*) is the companion (*sahiba*) and milk-sister (*al-ukht al-radhi'a*) of religion (*al-shari'a*).' They are 'companions by nature (*al-mustahibatan bil-tab'*) and lovers by essence and instinct (*al-mutahabbatan bil-jawhar wa al-ghariza*)'" (Browers 2006, 173).[130]

More important is the book's attempt to demonstrate the connection between various forms of discourse and groups of people. Indeed, Fred Dallmayr[131] suggests that the most apt translation of Ibn Rushd's formative work is *The Book of Differences*. For Ibn Rushd, it was necessary for faith to be in critical dialogue with reason if the rich plurality of meanings, human and divine, were to be properly respected. In *Faṣl,* Ibn Rushd notes that different approaches taken by human beings still share "a common horizon of truth," but he also acknowledged "human articulations of the latter [truth] are necessarily differentiated due both to a diversity of human aptitudes and the variety of available linguistic or discursive genres" (Dallmayr 2002, 126). It was clear to Ibn Rushd that there must be a correlation between universal and particular forms of

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[129] Ibn Rushd was born in Cordoba in 1126 to a family of prominent lawyers. He eventually would come to occupy a high legal position in Cordoba. Ibn Rushd was known for his innovative thinking, his philosophical insight as well as mastery in many other areas of knowledge. There is much evidence that suggests that Ibn Rushd had a profound legal background and received training in Medicine; he also was exposed to theological works. His thoughts would profoundly impact thinkers outside the Muslim world. His work found resonance with Jewish philosophers such as Moses ben Maimon or Maimonides (1135-1204), and also among Christian thinkers in the West (Dallmayr 2002, Chapter 7).

[130] Quote taken from Ibn Rushd's *Faṣl al-maqāl fimā bayn al-ḥikma wa al-shari'a min a-ittisāl* (The Decisive Treatise regarding the Relationship between Philosophy and the Law), ed. Muhammad 'Imara (Cairo: Dar al-ma'rif, 1972), 67.

[131] Fred Dallmayr is Packey J. Dee Professor Emeritus in the departments of Philosophy and Political Science at the University of Notre Dame. He is a political theorist specializing in modern and contemporary thought with an additional interest in comparative or cross-cultural philosophy. He has been a recipient of NEH and Fulbright fellowships and a visiting professor at the New School and the University of Hamburg. Through his scholarly output, Dallmayr had engaged extensively with the ideas of Jürgen Habermas, Martin Heidegger, Michel Foucault, Charles Taylor, Jacques Derrida and Abdol-Karim Soroush as well as a number of non-Western thinkers (classical and contemporary). In general, his works are understood to have made a significant contribution in expanding the field of comparative political thought.

knowledge. As such, "divine knowledge and human knowledge could not be radically separated – but they could also not be simply collapsed or identified (leading to a charge of immanentism)" (Dallmayr 2002, 130). So although he emphasized the differences between religious and philosophical language, He also believed that both "honor the same horizon of truth" (Dallmayr 2002, 142).

Reason and revelation therefore exist through a fundamental bond that draws inspiration form the same source. This relationship as understood by Ibn Rushd is central to the spirit in which cosmopolitanism serves as a qualifier to the common thread of encounter and engagement that contributed to the cosmopolitan environment of Muslim civilization. "For Averroes [Ibn Rushd] the ideal philosopher was one who would combine religious integrity with what he called 'natural reason,' which was available to all human beings, not just Muslims" (Kearney 2010, 25). It is this ethical mode of hermeneutical interaction that occupies an increasingly weighty position in the concept of a 'cosmopolitan ethic' that exemplifies the possibility of what Dallmayr refers to as a "commitment to a shared horizon of praxis" (Dallmayr 2002, 128). What Ibn Rushd offers is a pluralistic brand of Islamic hermeneutics that underscores the value of "differential friendship" and the importance of " a loving relationship that respects differences without fusion or mutual separation" (Kearney 2010, 25). The two forms of knowledge together spawned a tendency toward intellectual pluralism and cultural blending shaping Islam's intellectual history.

Such attempts to offer a means to deal with diversity and difference is evidence that, Muslims have known that they are not all the same and have encountered other Muslims different to themselves for fourteen centuries; "they have long been aware that their identity as components of universal Islam includes diverse experiences, agreement, disagreement, problems, dilemmas, and predicaments; that they mostly agree to disagree and to be different" (Ahmed 2016, 147). The continuous flow of movement and encounter of people as well as the exchange of ideas is definitive of the great cosmopolitan spirit of Islam. Borrowing from Oscar Wilde, Ahmed (2016, 145) notes, "[t]he cosmopolitanism of Muslims is their oldest tradition; it has been going on now for three hundred years."[132] Within this phenomenon is the meaningfulness of

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[132] See Oscar Wilde's, *A Woman of No Importance* (London: J. Lane, 1894), 17.

human engagement that emphasizes "a sense of universal human solidarity" and "a sense of connectedness" (Said and Sharify-Funk 2003, 14; Graham 1993, 501, 502). Cosmopolitanism then is a spirit guided by characteristics that inspire engagement with humanity at large. For Kai Kresse,[133] these characteristics are: "*Weltoffenheit,* openness to the world; *Welterfahrung,* significant experience of the world; and finally, *Weltgewandheit,* the skill of dealing flexibly with the world" (Kresse 2012, 33).[134] The ethos captured in this description speaks to a Muslim cosmopolitanism conceived through a balanced bond of faith, intellect and human relations that form part of an ongoing process of dynamic encounters.

Cosmopolitan Morale

The cosmopolitan ethic I am trying to trace is very much in line with an attitude of openness and self-confidence that existed in the second half of the ninth century "by the leading thinkers of the eclectic philosophical society, Ikhwān al-Ṣafā" (Aga-Oglu 1954, 175; Ahmed 2016, 144). The writings of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā or Sincere Brethren[135] drew from a wide array of sources that included "Greek science and thought" as well as "Babylonian, Indian and Persian traditions of wisdom" which resulted in what is referred to as the *Rasā'il* or *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (Ormsby 2015, 264). The authors of the *Epistles* appear to exemplify an attitude that expressed a cosmopolitan

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[133] Kai Kresse is Associate Professor of African and Swahili Studies in the department of Middle Eastern, South Asian and African Studies at Columbia University. Kresse is an anthropologist and philosopher with an area specialization in East Africa and the Swahili coast. His research interests include African philosophy and intellectual history; social theory; intercultural philosophy, Islam and Muslim debates in East Africa and more. He uses an interdisciplinary approach in his research that engages with the study of history, literature and religion.

[134] According to Kai Kresse, cosmopolitanism is not an exclusively urban phenomenon: "Even though in pronounced urban contexts we are more likely to encounter cosmopolitan attitudes and ways of living – reflecting an open, receptive and well-informed perspective on a world that seems interconnected – this does not mean that people in less urban contexts could not become cosmopolitan" (2012, 31-32).

[135] The exact identity of this "esoteric coterie," to borrow El-Bizri's label has long remained a mystery. El-Bizri further observes: "Some have wondered whether the Ikhwān were exponents of Sunni or Shi'i traditions in Islam. And arguably, if their opus does contain certain motifs that are attributable to concepts associated with Sunni legacies, there is still no consensus as to which school the Ikhwān would have belonged" (El-Bizri 2008, 5). Eric Ormsby agrees with El-Bizri about the mystery behind the members identity however he claims that "The scholarly consensus leans to the likelihood that they were Shi'a and indeed, Ismaili Shi'a; this is supported by the contents of their work" (2015, 263-264). On the other hand, Ian Richard Netton has argued that "in view of the essential nature of the imamate to the Ismā'īlīs, and the inferior role allocated to the imamate by the Ikhwān, it should be concluded that the Ikhwān were not Ismā'īlīs" (Netton 2007, 13); Netton's conclusion is shared by Shahab Ahmed (2016).

outlook that was also supported by the contents of their writings. Their cosmopolitan orientation is best captured in the Ikhwān's description of the ideal man:

> *Faqām 'and dhālik al-'ālim al-khabīr al-fāḍil al-dhakī al-'ābid al-mustabṣir al-fārisī al-nisbah al-'arabī al-dīn al-ḥanīfī al-islām al'irāqī al-adab al-'ibrānī al-makhbar al-masīḥī al-minhāj al-shāmī al-nusk al-yūnānī al-'ulūm al-hindi al-ta'bīr al-ṣūfī al-ishārāt* (Goodman and McGregor 2009, 278).

> Finally arose a learned, accomplished, worthy, keen, pious, and insightful man. He was a Persian by breeding, Arabian by faith, a *ḥanīf* by confession, Iraqi in culture, Hebrew in lore, Christian in manner, Damascene in devotion, Greek in science, Indian in discernment, Sufi in intimations (Ibid, 313-314).[136]

This passage does not represent mere eclecticism; it expresses "a cosmopolitan spirit…that is authentically Islamic" (Goodman 2003, 24). In the above passage we find a glimpse of an authentic expression of Islamic ideals "[t]hat is the spirit of Islamic humanism" which "has inspired marvels of art and literature, philosophy and law. It has been a leaven to institutions that have allowed and encouraged human beings and their communities to flourish" (Ibid, 24, 23).[137] The emphasis on the humanist qualities of Islam's cosmopolitan ethos preserves a reality wherein ideas and values are universal. That is, spiritual and intellectual achievements were integrated and cultivated to foster an unprecedented self-confident openness that is worthy of re-appropriation today. A profound encounter with the "intellectual, moral spiritual, and artistic successes and failures of the past" can help contribute to a social discourse that places a cosmopolitan ethic at the forefront (Ibid, 4). The autonomy of social actors to choose and act on such humanist qualities is strongly connected to our theme of a cosmopolitan ethic:

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[136] Compare this translation with Shahab Amhed (2016, 145).

[137] In Islam, God is considered the ultimate source of all moral values. On the other hand, the philosophical stance of 'humanism' places human desires and needs at the source of all moral values. The terms I employ in this dissertation, such as 'humanism,' 'humanist' and/or 'humanistic' serve as an attempt to account for the secular within the religious sphere. It is symptomatic of a synthesis of religious tradition and intellectual discernment. Such an approach was strongly advocated by Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) who sought to bridge "the gap between a transcendent God and a dynamic society" (Vatikiotis 1957, 71). A key aspect of 'Abduh's approach is his conception of Islam as "a 'social religion,' which has combined in its message the welfare of man in this world and in the hereafter" (Ibid, 59). Of concern was finding a connection between social action and religious values. Belief in God is pivotal here as the primary source of human moral value, while earthly experience offers the means by which to put these values into action. This humanist qualifier is also connected to the medieval literary tradition of *adab* that fused earlier Greek writings with Muslim philosophical premises. More on this is discussed in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

"Thinking, acting and behaving 'with the wider world in mind', so to speak, constitutes a cosmopolitan attitude for individuals" (Kreese 2012, 37). Against this background it would be appropriate to mention the Persian ethicist Aḥmad Ibn Miskawayh who "was one of the first thinkers to introduce philosophical ethics into the Muslim tradition" by drawing from Arab culture, Aristotelian ethics, and Persian courtier tradition (Ormsby 2015, 266).[138] Miskawayh was a defender of Greek sciences profoundly influenced by Aristotle. He would glean from and adapt the Greek philosopher's thoughts within an Islamic context. His *On the Refinement of Character* has been called "the most influential work on philosophical ethics" in Islam[139]:

> There was something revolutionary about Miskawayh's book: this was a work for any intelligent reader, not merely for a privileged elite. He set out to show how a person could be both good and happy in this world without sacrificing his place in the world to come. Instead of holding that character was predetermined, Miskawayh taught that it could be shaped and trained; self-improvement was possible to all (Ormsby 2015, 267).

Miskawayh expressed a cosmopolitan ideal illustrated in Ibn 'Adī's ethics.[140] Perhaps the most apt summary of this cosmopolitan ethic is voiced in a passage by Ibn 'Adī "urging that our highest perfection lies in the universal love of humankind as a single race, united by humanity itself. The core of that humanity, our crowning glory, is the divinely imparted rational soul, which all men share, and by which indeed all are one"

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[138] Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Miskawayh (d. 1030) was an ethicist and historian. He was a Shī'ī Muslim of Iranian origin and wrote in both Arabic and Persian. In addition to his historical works, Miskawayh wrote philosophical and Sūfī treatises. The works of Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle, had lasting influence on Miskawayh. One of his most important ethical treatises is *Tadhīb al-Aklāq* (The Refinement of Character), which provides a philosophical analysis on ethical issues. His ethical system embodied in his *Tadhīb* would serve as important source for later ethical works such as Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Naṣīrī* (The Nasirian Ethics). See Roxanne D. Marcotte, "Ibn Miskawayh's *Tartīb al-Sa'ādāt* (The Order of Happiness)," in *Monotheism and Ethics,* ed. Y. Tzvi Langermann (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2012), 141-161.

[139] See Richard Walzer and Hamilton Gibb, "*Akhlāq",* in *Encyclopedia of Islam* I (1960): 325-29. Majid Fakhry also calls Miskawayh's book "the most important ethical treatise of Islam." *Ethical Theories in Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 130.

[140] Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī (d. 974) was one of the most respected Jacobite intellectuals of the 10th century. He founded the Aristotelian School in Baghdad and translated numerous Greek texts into Arabic in addition to writing a number of treatises on philosophy and theology. Ibn 'Adī is well known for his ethical work *Tadhīb al-Akhlāq* (The Cultivation of Morals) which also served as a basis for al-Miskawayh's book of the same title. See Majid Fakhry, *Ethical Theories in Islam* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), Chapter 5.

(Goodman 2003, 105).[141] For Miskawayh, this teaching was encompassed by *adab* –
"the human wisdom which, in turn, is the observed and considered knowledge about
(*ma'rifah*) the way of life leading to happiness" (Rosenthal 2007, 287). The purpose of
adab, then, is to provide substance to the mind, "[it] is the content of wisdom –
knowledge tested by experience of the good life and its means of attainment. Without
it, reason is not reason" (Goodman 2003, 108). Here we are exposed to a universal
human culture that is required to humanize our existence, inspired by the cosmopolitan
spirit of the Qur'ān and the expression of a "philosophical humanism that embraced the
scientific and philosophical heritage of antiquity as a cultural and educational ideal"
(Kraemer 1986, vii).[142]

  This engagement of faith, culture, and knowledge that I have tried to
demonstrate relates to this dissertation's understanding of a 'cosmopolitan ethic.' It is a
continuous process of interacting with the ancient and the contemporary, the strange,
and the familiar. There is no actual recipe because, as the above examples confer, the
cosmopolitan spirit is created and recreated by individuals and communities. Inherent
in this task is a multitude of discursive traditions through which Muslims imagine
themselves and articulate those humanistic characteristics that emanate from the *adab*
tradition, "which prized the cultivation of civility and refinement – but also courage,
generosity and hospitality to the stranger" (Sajoo 2010, 6). In the process,
"[e]quilibrium is what must be sought. But equilibrium, in any living system, is
dynamic, never static. It must be constantly recalibrated and restored" (Goodman 2003,
28). Further, as most Muslims acknowledge, there is an abundance of signs in nature
(Qur'ān 2:164; 10:5-6; 3:190) for human beings to discern in conjunction with the
Qur'ānic precept of *taqwā* that molds each person's conduct towards others and the

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[141] See Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, *Tahdhīb al-Akhlāq*, in *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā'* 3rd edition, ed. Muhammad Kurd Ali
(Cairo: 1946), 517-18. The passage is also quoted in Joel L Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of
Islam: The Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age,* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 115. "Miskawayh may soft
pedal the monopsychism, but he shares with Ibn 'Adī the view that a chief goal of ethics is control of our
natural irascibility, allowing our deeper unity to surface in acts of love and compassion" (Goodman 2003,
105).
[142] Intimately bound to the concept of *adab* is *akhlāq* (traits of character), which calls for innate
inclination towards virtue. These concepts, Amyn Sajoo explains, were part of a larger conceptualization
that had roots in Greek thought. He writes, "The Hellenic *ethikos* stood for custom, and in the writings of
Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus which were to deeply influence Muslim thinkers, the ideal was to nurture
familiar traits of character" (2010, 6).

divine. "So with knowledge and reason, coupled with the grace of a higher wisdom, one may grasp the teaching and what it implies. The need for such grace is unsurprising: the point is not only to edify but to urge good choices. It brings us back to character-in-action as the core of the teaching, and the community as a vehicle through which it is to be realised" (Sajoo 2010, 5). This brings me back to Ibn Rushd's advice that rationalism does not need to be alienated from faith; sacred concepts demand reflection, (re)interpretation, and reconciliation against a plurality of opinions. It is a continuous engagement of reason and revelation that brings sustenance to a journey of living out a cosmopolitan ethic as everyday reality. It is not surprising then to claim "Islamic culture [as] radically cosmopolitan" and therefore recognizing that, "Muslim cosmopolitanism…is nothing less than the urban, trans-cultural arc of an Islam inspired by engagement with the inclusive, generous and creative imagining of our common humanity" (Lawrence 2012, 19).

Welcoming in God's Name

It is no accident that cosmopolitanism, as I argue in the Islamic context, is intertwined not just with intellectual pursuits but also the cultivation of character and transformative encounter. A primary site for the elaboration of a cosmopolitan ethic lies within the experience of hospitality; the welcoming of the stranger. Before going on to consider the place of hospitality in Islam and its contribution to better understanding the articulation of a cosmopolitan ethic, I want sketch some important arguments in favor of hospitality which is central to the Abrahamic moral tradition. To begin, it is important to realize that hospitality is paramount within Judeo-Christian and Muslim narratives that raise complex ethical questions to its readers and listeners.

The Stranger, in short, is the uninvited one who has nowhere to lay his head unless we act as hosts and provide a dwelling place. There is a sense of radical surprise and irruption about the coming of this estranged and estranging outsider – a sense of unknowability calling for risk and adventure on our part. Hospitality to the radically other does not come naturally. It requires imagination and faith.

-Richard Kearney[143]

By far the most significant aspect of hospitality, as it pertains to this discussion, is "the aura of moral imperative" inherent to the principle of hospitality (Dikeç *et al.* 2009, 3).[144] In this reading of the term, hospitality is about submitting unconditionally to the demands of the Other, which is a shared virtue among the Abrahamic religions (Dikeç *et al.* 2009; Siddiqui 2015). The Abrahamic moral legacy – in which hospitality serves as the ethico-spiritual principle of the three monotheistic religions – provides rich examples that inform of us of encounters with strangers as a portal to the Divine. More generally, all three monotheistic traditions acknowledge "the inaugural moment of religion as an encounter with the Stranger" (Kearney 2010, 16). Turning to Jacque Derrida's *Of Hospitality,* one will find that he chooses to spend quite a bit of ink in order to examine "situations" in which he believes hospitality is "coextensive with ethic itself" and "where it can seem that some people, as it has been said, place the law of hospitality above a 'morality' or a certain 'ethics'" (2000, 151). A powerful motif in the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition is the figure of Abraham, who is recognized as inspiring a tradition of hospitality. These three religions share similar stories of Abraham and his sacrifice, including the story of Lot and the destruction of Sodom. These stories illustrate the potential nature of pure hospitality, which was impressed upon Malcolm X (El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) during his pilgrimage to Mecca.[145] He expressed in a letter, "[n]ever have I witnessed such sincere hospitality and

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[143] Richard Kearney, "Imagining the Sacred Stranger: Hostility or Hospitality," in *Politics and the Religious Imagination*, ed. Jens Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 2010), 19.

[144] The concept of hospitality is fraught with meaning and a thorough analysis of the term is beyond the scope of this chapter.

[145] Malcolm X, original name Malcolm Little, Muslim name el-Hajj Malik el-Shabazz, was an African American leader and prominent figure in the Nation of Islam, who articulated concepts of race, justice, equality and Black Nationalism in the early 1960s. For more on his life, see Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X as told to Alex Haley* (New York: The Random House Publishing Group, 1965).

overwhelming spirit of true brotherhood as is practiced by people of all colors and races here in this ancient Holy Land, the home of Abraham, Muhammad and all the other Prophets of the Holy Scriptures" (Macolm X 1965, 390).

Two Heroes of Hospitality

The story of Lot is recounted in Genesis 19: 1-13. It revolves around Lot who hosts two angels (disguised in human persona) in Sodom (vv. 1-3) and continues with the deliverance of Lot and his family by the angels (vv. 4-16, 17-22). Later on in the story we are made aware of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (vv. 23-29).[146] "Should one hand over one's guests to criminals, rapists, murderers?" asks Derrida. Or should one "lie to them so as to save the people one is putting up and for whom one feels responsible?" (2000, 151). When faced with this difficult situation, Lot seems to put the laws of hospitality above all relations and ethical obligations. It is clear that, for Derrida, hospitality as exemplified in the story of Lot marks the 'ultimate,' 'unthinkable,' 'unconditional' sacrifice and the question of place.[147] He ends his book with the following: "Are we the heirs to this tradition of hospitality? Up to what point? Where should we place the invariant, if it is one, across this logic and these narratives? They testify without end in our memory" (Derrida 2000, 155). This unconditional offering of Lot's daughters to the assailants echoes the shared story of Abraham and his sacrifice. Abraham took his son Isaac (Ishmael in the Islamic tradition) outside the city and was to sacrifice him according to God's command. However, God provided a substitution for Abraham's son and spared him.[148] This sacrificial moment is what captures the underlying essence of unconditional hospitality, which involves both hostage and substitution:

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[146] The names Sodom and Gomorrah do not appear in the Qur'ān. However they are made reference to in earlier commentaries. See Scott Siraj al-Haqq Kuggle's "Sexuality, Diversity, and Ethics in the agenda of Progressive Muslims," in *Progressive Muslims: On justice, gender, and pluralism* (2003), 190-234 and Amreen Jamal's "The Story of Lut and the Qur'an's Perception of the Morality of Same-Sex Sexuality," *Journal of Homosexuality,* 41(1), 2001: 1-88.

[147] At times, Lot's hospitality is looked upon less favourably in traditional Jewish sources as well as in some modern commentaries when compared to Abraham. However, Safren (2012, 162) mentions that there are other traditional sources that recognize Lot's actions as righteous.

[148] See Genesis 22 and Surah 37. Interestingly, the Qur'ān does not name the son, simply referring to him as Abraham's first-born son.

> To be one at the place of the other, the hostage and the hôte of the other;
> therefore the subject of the other, subject to the other, there where not only
> cannot places be exchanged – insofar as they remain unexchangeable and where
> everything withdraws from a logic of exchange – but where this unicity, this
> irreplaceability of the nonexchange poses itself, affirms itself, tests and suffers
> itself, in substitution (Derrida 2002, 387).

In deconstructing Abraham's sacrifice Derrida makes clear the limits of possibility and its impossibility. He also helps us think through the problem of ethics and responsibility to the Other. Following Levinas – whose ethics pertains to the encounter with the Other – Derrida's analysis seeks to show how every encounter with the Other demands a response. Therefore, responsibility to Other is an opening up to the other of welcome and giving to the other, of hospitality (Derrida 2007). Both Derrida and Levinas seem to propose that the transcendence exemplified by God is encapsulated by a trace, which manifests itself through our relations with every other; our encounters with the Other remain an ethical situation. "…[T]here is hence a sense that like Abraham, we all have pacts with people that we can never really know, and we can never adequately justify why the pact is with them and not somebody else" (Reynolds 2001, 47). Inherent in all human beings is the capability to carryout selfless acts of kindness towards others, which is inspired by the "election of the Good that binds us to our neighbor. How exactly we acquire such a responsible subjectivity is beyond the retrieve of consciousness because it occurs anarchically in the realm that is beyond Being" (Tjaya 2009, 177). In emphasizing the fact that the trace of God is inherent in the encounter with the Other, Levinas acknowledges "the ethical relation with the human other is a necessary condition for one's relation with God. Only in the relation with the Other can one find what Levinas calls the traces of God" (Ibid, 21).[149] This perspective challenges us to rethink the Divine, the Stranger, and the Other. "Each human other who faces us…serves as a trace of transcendent divinity is also a portal to humanity in its flesh and blood immanence" (Kearney 2010, 18). Placing the relation of an ethical welcoming in the larger context of religion puts forward the requirement to respond without limit and in good faith, expressed through hospitality: "My hospitable relation with the Stranger gives meaning to my relations with all Strangers: proximate or

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[149] See also Richard Cohen, ed., *Face to Face with Levinas* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), 20, 31.

distant, human or divine. In this sense, it is a political option for justice over murder"
(Ibid, 18).

Abraham and Sacred Hospitality

Offering welcome is intrinsic to the Abrahamic moral tradition. Indeed, it is in the area
of hospitality (as a virtue) that one finds a powerful commonality amongst the three
monotheistic faiths. The sacred duty of hospitality plays a major role in the thinking of
Louis Massignon (d.1962),[150] the Catholic scholar of Islam, who named this virtue
L'hospitalité sacrée or *La parole donnée* (Derrida 2000; Siddiqui 2015). Massignon's
point of reference is played out in the scene of Abraham and the Angels in Genesis 18:
1-10, wherein Abraham treats his guests as if they were divine. This passage teaches us
about redirecting our guise to the Other and confirms that we ought to treat others as
though we were relating to God, as witnessed through Abraham's hospitality. "In
sacred hospitality, then, religion and ethics meet; we encounter both God and the
stranger… In recognizing the sacred potential of daily life, everyday encounters with
strangers and occasions of hospitality are infused with religious significance, as God is
found through hospitality" (Olson-Bang 2012, 340). Fostering such a hospitable
relation, one is brought closer into the presence of God.

Abraham believed that humanity was found outside of one's close personal
group and amidst the potential stranger; We are shown in this story the extent at which
Abraham was willing to fully give himself to someone else:

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[150] Massigion's work it can be argued provided a more benevolent reading of Islam into European
Contemporary Thought. More importantly, Massignion's preoccupation and experience with hospitality
in the Middle East motivates him to place Islam as a faithful heir to Abrahamic hospitality. Perhaps his
understanding of 'sacred hospitality' may have inspired postmodern thinkers such as Jacques Derrida.
Louis Massignon was an Islamic historian and a pioneer of Catholic-Muslim understanding. He sought to
create new thought within Christian theology on Islam and wished to find a space for Muslim belief
within Catholicism. In fact, his personal engagement with interreligious dialogue and his studies of
Islamic mysticism contributed to his own spiritual journey. See Anthony O'Mahony, "Louis Massignon:
A Catholic Encounter with Islam and the Middle East," in *God's Mirror: Renewal and Engagement in
French Catholic Intellectual Culture in the Mid-Twentieth Century*, ed. Katherine Davies and Toby
Garfitt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Massignion was appointed Chair in Sociology and
Sociography of Islam at the Collège de France in 1926 until his retirement in 1954. Massignon authored
one of the greatest studies on Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, which showcase this academic's mastery of languages
and excellent command on the topic. He would go on to influence many generations of Muslim and
European scholars, among them Henry Corbin and Annemarie Schimmel as well as others. Massignon
died in Paris in 1962. See Herbert W. Mason, "Louis Massignon" in *Encyclopedia of Historians and
Historical Writing*, Volume 1, ed. Kelly Boyd (London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999).

[H]e spares no effort in ensuring that his guests would be comfortable, while at the same minimizing his efforts, thus trying to reassure his guests that they are no burden at all. Abraham shows himself to be very sensitive to the needs of his guests. By downplaying his efforts, he accentuates their dignity. For that matter, he does not eat himself, so that he can take even better care of them (Moyaert 2011, 96).

By contrast to the conventional readings of this passage, I want to draw attention to Marianne Moyaert's[151] assertion that suggests Abraham makes God wait to be attended to in order to be a good host to the strangers who have arrived at his tent. She follows an interpretation offered by Rabbi Jonathan Sacks,[152] considered to be far more provocative than the norm.[153] This perspective implies that hospitality to the stranger takes priority over the concerns of God himself. It reveals to us that Abraham willingly chooses to withdraw from an intimate encounter with God for concern of his guests. More importantly, this story suggests a theological basis for hospitality:

God reveals himself in the face of the other. God comes into view as a God incognito, to whom we do or do not offer hospitality. God shows and conceals himself in the stranger, without knowing who we are dealing with, we discover in surprise and only later the attitude with which we have met God.[154] Where one welcomes the stranger, one welcomes God. Where one makes room for the other, one resides in God's presence (Moyaert 2011, 98).

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[151] Marianne Moyaert is a visiting lecturer Postholocaust Theology/Jodendom en christendom at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, K.U. Leuven, Belgium. She is also Professor at the Free University of Amsterdam where she teaches hermeneutics, philosophy of religion, and philosophical and theological anthropology. Her research focuses on hermeneutical, ethical and theological presuppositions of interreligious dialogue. Her most recent book is entitled *Fragile Identities: Towards a Theology of Interreligious Hospitality* (2011), which addresses the tension between openness and religious identity.

[152] Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks is a British rabbi, philosopher and scholar of Judaism. He served as the Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth from 1991 to 2013. Since stepping down from this position, Rabbi Sacks has held a number of professorships at several academic institutions and has been awarded 17 honorary doctorates. Rabbi Sacks is the author of over 30 books. His most recent work, *Not in God's Name* received the 2015 National Jewish Book Award in America and was a top ten Sunday Times bestseller in the UK.

[153] Sack's reading is based on alternate interpretation of the 3rd verse positing that Abraham is talking directly to God and not the three visitors: "Please God, have a little bit of patience. When I am done welcoming these three strangers, I'll come back." Jonathan Sacks, "Abraham and the Three Visitors, *Covenant and Coversation* 11 (November 2006), quoted in Marianne Moyaert's "Bibilcal, Ethical and Hermeneutical Reflections on Narrative Hospitlaity" (2011), 98.

[154] See Mechteld M. Jansen's *Talen naar God: Wegwijzers bij Paul Ricœur* (Amsterdam: Academisch proefschrift ter verkrijging van de grad van de doctor in de Godgeleerdheid, 2002), 229.

Stories around Abraham and Lot provide a means through which to explore the profound theme of "of divine hospitality where God himself steps in by sending angels to proclaim news or help" (Siddiqui 2015, 29). Hospitality therefore is of much greater significance than just welcoming the Divine. What then can we take from this theological and ethical lesson expressed through hospitality? "The hospitable encounter teaches us to value the ordinary as the site of the sacred, to live lives in community, oriented to the ethical life" (Olson-Bang 2012, 340). To welcome the other means acknowledging the sacredness of one's relation to the Divine as well as one's affinity to Other.

Unconditional Hospitality and the Stranger

Among the Abrahamic religions there exist an abundant number of references to the stranger in connection to the Divine (Kearney 2010). From this perspective, the stranger is transcendent to us; she is 'wholly Other.' What is true of the stranger is true of all Others: friend, neighbour, relatives and even God; Each is wholly distinct:

> [W]hat can be said about Abraham's relation to God can be said about my relation without relation to every other (one) as every (bit) other, in particular my relation to my neighbor and my loved ones who are as inaccessible to me, as secret and transcendent as Jahweh. Every other (in the sense of each other) is every bit other (absolutely other) (Derrida 1995, 66).

Every person is created in the image of God. In order to honour this, a fine balance between universality and particularity must be achieved. This interconnectedness is indeed lived through the example of Abraham who points us in the direction of a shared humanity. Adding to this discussion is philosopher John Caputo[155] who undertakes a theology of a weak God – a God that does not exist but arrives as an event in the advent

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[155] John D. Caputo is Thomas J. Watson Professor Emeritus, Religion and Humanities at Syracuse University. He previously was the David R. Cook Professor of Philosophy Emeritus at Villanova University. Caputo sees himself as a hybrid philosopher-theologian who denies fixed boundaries between philosophy and theology. He is well known for the theological movement of 'weak theology' that breaks away with the traditional understanding of the old God-of-power. The 'weakness of God' proposes the idea of God as an unconditional claim without force and is influenced by St. Paul. Caputo specializes in continental philosophy of religion, approaches to religion and theology, contemporary phenomenology, hermeneutics and deconstruction.

of the hospitable kingdom of God.[156] In his *The Weakness of God: A Theology of the Event* (2006), Caputo brings yet another take to the practice of sacred hospitality. Caputo chooses to do away with strong theologies that place importance on power, force, and presence for "a way of thinking about God which is not held captive by determinate confessional boundary" (Leask 2007, 217). His understanding of weakness of God is connected to the concept of *kenosis* wherein God voluntarily empties His self in order to give the world freedom and space. This scheme also gives human beings the ability to assume responsibility for their own lives. For Caputo the thinking behind a weak God provides a means "to stop thinking about God as a massive ontological power line that provides power to the world, instead thinking of something that short-circuits such power and provides a provocation to the world that is otherwise than power" (Caputo 2006, 13). In trying to redescribe God, Caputo helps us to move from power to the plan of an unconditional claim; one that demands from each one of us 'unconditional hospitality,' which is one of the characteristics of God. A paradigmatic example of what Caputo means by the weak force of God is forgiveness. "[He calls] it a weak force because forgiveness represents an ethical claim made upon us not a physical force; it rejects the obvious strength of a 'strong' response, of literal retaliation" (Leask 2007, 224). But of course forgiveness is meant to be offered unconditionally.

This unconditionality, according to Caputo takes shape through the various religious traditions. "[R]eligious discourse is an irreducible way of embodying this notion of unconditionally that I'm advocating… In that sense, I would say the unconditional is the heart of the religious, that it makes up the religious structure of existence" (Ibid 224, 219). It should be noted however that it is not the unconditional that is weak, but the physical and metaphysical force with which it is endowed. Following in the footsteps of Levinas, Caputo (2006, 264, 271) gives priority first and foremost to ethics. The argument found here is one that we have visited earlier: when we turn to the stranger in hospitality; we are essentially turning toward God who loves the stranger. Furthermore, it is only in response to the stranger that God is encountered and theology made possible:

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[156] 'Weak theology' is a phrase Caputo adapts from Vattimo who discuses 'weak thought'. The concept of 'weak thought' provided Vattimo with "a means of describing thinking 'after' metaphysics, which is strong thinking" (Leask 2007, 217).

For it is only by loving and welcoming the stranger, by responding *in the name of* the God who loves the stranger, that God can be God…God is God only if I am speaking to the stranger, only when I *use* the name of God as opposed to mentioning it, only when I *do* the name of God, *facere veritatum*, as when I say '*adieu*' to the Other. That means that the name of God must be *translated into hospitality*…" (Caputo 2000, 302-303).

In addition to hospitality, this 'unconditional call' asks one to generate justice. Using the example of 'love', Caputo (2000) explains that one of the features of love is a certain kind of unconditionality – the sense that when you say to someone 'I love you' you are actually saying something very unconditional; there is also a certain act of fidelity that is also taking place. In his explanation, Caputo brings attention to Augustine's Tenth Book of the *Confessions* in which he asks, "what do I love when I love my God?"[157] What stands out for Caputo in this question is Augustine's assumption that there is a God whom we love. He says, "So the vocabulary of God, the notion of God, the intentional relationship to God, is in place, and in terms of a relationship of love, [it is] the love of something bottomless, mysterious – something that is, in my vocabulary, unconditional, something that unconditionally seizes us" (Leask 2007, 218). For Caputo the drive for such love is fueled by a passion, and this passion is a commitment or an innate desire for goodness that brings richness to our lives. What exactly this passion is remains unclear but it goes by many names, one of which is the name of 'God' (Leask 2007). And so it is this passion that drives each one of us to offer forgiveness, to offer hospitality, to love the stranger in hopes to make us better beings; an inspiration we find in many of the exemplary figures of the Abrahamic religions.

These images of hospitality, love, forgiveness and enacting God's justice aid us in anchoring our concept of a cosmopolitan ethic. The practice of a cosmopolitan ethic rests on these core ethical tenets. Ethics in religion is the footing on which one's passion is activated; it is through relations with others that one can bring meaning and richness to 'God'. Recall Levinas's interpretation of ethics in Chapter 1. Levinas's concept of ethics involves an encounter with the Other and this meeting cannot be

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[157] For Augustine's original quotation see *Confessions,* X, 7. Cf. John Caputo, *On Religion* (London: Routledge, 2001).

separated from the religious dimension – the openness to difference as desire for the Infinite.[158] The ethical relation one holds with the Other is necessary in order to foster a relation with the Divine. It is only through the relation with the Other that one can find what Levinas calls the traces of God (Cohen 1986, 20, 31).[159] Simply stated, an ethical relation with the Other is the manifestation of the desire for the Infinite. On the contrary, when we merely serve our own interest, there is no desire for the Infinite. "Only when we are engaged in the acts of solidarity with fellow human beings do we seek for the Infinite. In other words, we express our desire for the Infinite only when we put into practice the humanism for other people" (Tjaya 2009, 177-178). In this sense, it is only through one's sense of responsibility to the other that speaking of or about God is possible. "'Knowledge' of God, Levinas holds, cannot be separated from my relationship with other people because they are the very locus of metaphysical truth and the manifestation of the height through the face" (Ibid, 294).

Ethics thus serves as a category of pious discourse, not something that lies outside of the religious. It is a passage by which we may encounter the wholly Other (Ibid). Since the face is considered to be the very trace of God, human relations are religious situations. Encountering the other is encountering the trace of the Divine, which can only take place through ethics. As such, religion is action-oriented; it is a response to a call: "To know God is to know what must be done" (Levinas 1990, 17). Religion then is not restricted to simple piety; it also involves the humanistic responsibility to fellow human beings that carries in it the voice of God. Service to others is the ultimate expression of one's relationship with God. This moral priority of the Other over the self is surely motivated by something beyond nature and "God is the Other who turns our nature inside out…God does indeed go against nature for He is not of this world. God is other than Being" (Kearney 2004, 76). Levinas's work emphasizes

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[158] Thomas Tjaya (2009) argues that Levinas's ethics is tied to his perspective on religion, which for Tjaya is critical in understanding Levinas's ethics. These two aspects (ethics and religion) are not divorced from one another.

[159] "[I]t is 'the Infinite' within us, produced as Desire for the Infinite, that orients us toward the Other. The responsibility for the Other, which defines Levinas's ethics, is the order of the Good through the Desire for the Infinite. This ethics is deeply religious not only because it arises from the beyond Being, but also because it is where one may encounter the trace of God" (Tjaya 2009, 23).

the ethical character of religion; religion cannot but be ethical from the basic expression of piety to meaningful offerings. In fact, ethics it can be concluded is spiritual itself since – as Levinas aims to demonstrate – this is where we can encounter God, where the proper meaning of religion takes shape. However, Tjaya warns us that "[we] may not always find the trace of God in every encounter with the Other" because God "is not revealed as presence, but rather as a trace. It is thus not a direct encounter with God, as if God were right in front of us. God is experienced as already departing from our presence, not in the sense that God was there before we realized it. Rather, the encounter with the Other contains within itself the trace of God, which is accessible through our sensibility (Tjaya 2009, 312).

The Making of a Cosmopolitan Ethic: Hospitality and Cognate Precepts in Islam

How does the principle of hospitality within the Islamic dimension measure up to that found in the vocabulary of the Judeo-Christian tradition? The complex and multi-layered phenomenon of hospitality is indeed a cornerstone of Muslim experience. An exploration of hospitality through the shared exemplars, Abraham and Lot, will demonstrate that their unconditional acts are also taken up by Muslims as means by which to orient themselves towards the Divine – an expression of the cosmopolitan ethic that takes shape through an engagement of the Self and the Unknown. In what follows I hope to make evident the merit in seeking to practice such unconditionality to all that is Other, which is harboured in the rich ethical and religious tradition of Islam.[160]

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[160] I do not want to suggest that there exist no limitations to 'openness' expressed by religious traditions such as Islam. It is widely agreed that the Islamic call is for everyone, but those who reject God and turn away are said to be deaf, dumb, and blind. Yet, we find moments where the Prophet Muḥammad extends hospitality to those who do not embrace Islam. For example the covenant of the Prophet with the Christians of Najran encapsulates the cosmopolitan spirit, which is itself wedded to the concept of hospitality. Although the Prophet and the Christian delegates could not come to an agreement on theological grounds, the narrative offers insight about the practice of key ideals such as hospitality, mutual respect, dialogue and benevolence – virutes, I argue, that serve as integreal comoponents of a cosmopolitan ethos. See Craig Considine, "Religious Pluralism and Civic Rights in a 'Muslim Nation': An Analysis of Prophet Muhammad's Covenants with Christians," *Religions – Open Access Theology Journal* 7, no. 15 (2016): 1-21; Riaz Ahmad and Tahira Basharat, "The Present Day Applications of Initial Muslim-Christian Interactions," *Al-Idah* 28 (2014): 72-89. I acknowledge that every approach has a limitation, including the cosmopolitan approach that this dissertation is arguing for. Nonethelss, I am calling for an interpretation of openness that orients itself to an unconditional ideal that has traces within

Hospitality and the Qur'ān

I would like to begin to answer the above question by looking at the Qur'ānic version of Abraham's encounter with the strangers found in Qur'ān 51:24-30:

> **24** Hast heard tell of Abraham's honored guests, **25** when they entered upon him and said, "Peace!" he said, "Peace – an unfamiliar folk." **26** Then he went quietly to his family and came with a fattened calf. **27** He placed it close to them, saying. "Will you not eat?" **28** Then he conceived a fear of them. They said, "Fear not!" and gave him glad tidings of a knowing son. **29** Then his wife came forward with a loud cry; she struck her face and said, "A barren old woman!" **30** They said, 'Thus has thy Lord decreed. Truly He is the Wise, the Knowing."[161]

Although there are slight differences in the narrative account of Abraham (Ar. Ibrāhīm)[162] and the honoured guests with more details in the Biblical version, the moral message, Siddiqui (2015) affirms, remains consistent. Both versions describe a hospitable Abraham who welcomes his unusual guests. " With Abraham revered as the patriarch of the monotheistic religions, this story has been understood by many as a story of selflessness and openness in welcoming strangers and guests. In welcoming strangers to our homes with concern and care, not simply tolerance, we do not know how their presence might become a blessing for our own home" (Siddiqui 2015, 25). It is interesting to note that even Abraham conceived a fear of his hosts initially; a fear of the unknown due to a different response to Abraham's offering. However Abraham insists on carrying out his duty to welcome these strangers. Indeed the moral obligation to offer hospitality to the unknown is an indispensible trait of living a cosmopolitan ethic; he attends to his strange visitors as though he were relating to God. The Abraham we encounter here is the knight of faith who responds the call of duty, fulfilling his act of giving. The compassion with which Abraham treats others is recognition of the intrinsic dignity and sacredness of the Other.

Muslim practice that underscores a moral aptitude for living an ethical life. Indeed, I follow Derrida who believes that human beings must try to live up to an 'unconditional ideal,' which in reality can only be executed within earthly limits due the vagaries of human nature. But if we do not strive for the ideal, then how will we ever be able to express love to the Other?

[161] The account of Abraham provided in these verses are also reflected in Q11: 69-76 and 15: 51-60. Translation of this passage is based on (Nasr et al. 2015, 1276-1277).

[162] For example, the 'honoured guests' do not partake of the offered food striking fear in Abraham at first. Also commentaries from the Muslim tradition indicate that God gave glad tidings through the angles as intermediaries in comparison to some Judeo-Christian interpretations mentioned previously.

Across Muslim literary genres, from folk narratives to the Qur'ān, we notice that God is described as "a guest for whose visit one must be prepared, since a visit by a stranger, be he friend or foe, offers an opportunity to transform rancor and anger" and "[t]hose who are capable of attaining such equanimity are considered the epitome of the traditional spiritual hero" (Akpinar 2007, 24). Indications of this virtue are also expressed in the esoteric poetry of Ṣūfī mystics like Rūmī, Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj and even Kabīr. Their writings exemplify the "notion of hospitality to the Stranger" wherein "we find God being referred to again and again as the uninvited Guest" (Kearney 2010, 26).[163] One particular example that deserves close attention is the story of Abraham's sacrifice discussed earlier through Derrida's philosophical insight. The story in the Qur'ān has the same basic outline as the one presented in the Hebrew Bible with some stylistic, structural, and procedural differences. Interestingly, the Qur'ān is not specific and merely refers to the sacrifice as "O my son!" (Q 37:102).[164] The story of the

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[163] Mawlānā Jalāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī (d. 1273) was a Persian poet, Ṣūfī master, jurist and theologian. He is considered as one of the greatest spiritual poets in history, and his poetry continues to be read and praised to this day. The underlying theme of Rūmī's writings –the longing for union with God (the Beloved) – has touched the heart's of many readers, making one of the most popular and best-selling poets in the Western world. In addition to his legacy as a poet, Rūmī is also connected to the Mevelvi Order in Turkey. Rumi's major works include his *Mathnawī-e Ma`nawī* or commonly refered to as '*Masnavi*' (Rhyming Couplets of Deep Spiritual Meaning), a series of six books of poetry that together amount to around 25,000 verses or 50,000 lines and *Dīwān-e Shams-e Tabrīzī* (The Works of Shams of Tabriz). See Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mystical Poems of Rumi,* trans. A. J. Arberry (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d.922) was a Persian mystic, writer and teacher of Ṣūfism. Attracted to an ascetic way of life at an early age, al-Ḥallāj withdraw from the world seeking the company of individuals who were able to instruct him in the Ṣūfī way. He was one of the most celebrated Ṣūfī mystics who wrote about the oneness of existence and the ultimate essence of God, love. "[W]ith Hallāj, Sufi history and, in a certain way, Sufi poetry reached its climax" (Schimmel 1982, 35). Unfortunately, his ecstatic teachings would be misunderstood, leading to his execution. For more on Hallāj and his poetry see Annemarie Schimmel, *As through a veil: Mystical poetry in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Kabīr (d.1518) was an Indian poet-saint revered by Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs. Kabīr beautifully penned works of enlightenment that combine the teachings of esoteric truths found in different religious traditions of South Asia (Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism). He brought together what he considered to be the most promising aspects of both Muslim and Hindu faiths. Regarding his life, little is know with historical accuracy about Kabīr's background and upbringing as well as the circumstance that pushed Kabīr to write the way he did. Hagiographical accounts inform us that Kabīr's generosity and spiritual charisma attracted the attention of many. His poems emphasized complete love and devotions for the Divine, which formed part of the *bhakti* movement in north India. See John Stratton Hawley and Mark Juergensmeyer, *Songs of the Saints of India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[164] The most thorough discussion of the sacrifice and the surrounding stories of Abraham (Ar. Ibrāhīm) is *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham/Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* by Reuven Firestone. "The early history of Islam seemed to favor Isaac as the son to be sacrificed but later developmental changes in Islam and an emphasis on the descendance from Ishmael tended to influence later Islamicate scholars to name Ishmael as the son who was sacrificed. While the difference between the sons does not at first seem to have that large of an influence on intellectual debates, the solidifying of

sacrifice (of Isaac or Ishmael) appears in sūra 37: 99-113 and informs us that the son is chosen to be sacrificed by the knife and consoles his father (Abraham) and asks him to accept the will of God with equanimity. According to Snjezana Akpinar,[165]

> It was a lesson that he [Ishmael, Ar. Ismāʿīl] surely must have learned from his Bedouin hosts. Thus, thanks to having understood the deeper transformative values of hospitality in all its totality Ismail is taken as the symbol of bravery, heroism and chivalry. These virtues lie at the root of religiosity in Islam, which is based on the continuous act of surrendering and thus transforming the passionate energy of youth into docile and cultivated force capable of benefitting all mankind (2007, 25).

The act of this sacrifice highlights a mode of religiosity that is driven by powerful concepts such as hospitality, generosity, sacrifice, and mercy. It demonstrates the capability of each individual to serve as a receptacle of a religiosity that rejuvenates this long tradition of *futūwwa* for the good of the world.

The Turkish shaykh Bayrak al-Jerrahi, in his foreword to the translation of Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī's[166] *Kitāb al-futūwwa* (The Book of Chivalry) points to the convergence of the values exemplified by Ismāʿīl, what is collectively referred to as *futūwwa*:

> Futuwwah is the way of the *fata*. In Arabic, *fata* literally means a handsome, brave youth. After the enlightenment of Islam, following the use of the word in the Holy Koran, *fata* (plural: *fityan*) came to mean the ideal, noble and perfect man whose hospitality and generosity would extend until he had nothing left for himself; a man who would give all, including his life, for the sake of his friends.

support behind Ishmael as the sacrificial son shows a general strengthening of the Islamic identity" (Peters 2009, 4).

[165] Snjezana Akpinar She is President Emerita of Dharma Realm Buddhist University in Ukiah, CA. She obtained her Ph.D. in Turkish Studies from the University of Istanbul, and an M.A. in Oriental Studies from the University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia. She has lectured at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, on Islam and comparative religion and Eastern traditions. Her most recent book is entitled *Buddhist Meditations on Islamic Contemplative Paths: Less Traveled Roads and Abandoned Junctions* (2015).

[166] Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Khālid ibn Salīm ibn Rawlā al-Sulamī was born in 937 to Ṣūfī family in Nishapur. He received his early training in Ṣūfism from his parents, which continued on under the tutelage of his grandfather Ibn Nujayd, an eminent Malāmatī shaykh and Shāfiʿī scholar of ḥadīth. In his youth al-Sulamī also studied theology, jurisprudence and traveled extensively to learn from many great Ṣūfī masters. In addition to his work on *futūwwah* he is best known for his biography of five generations of Ṣūfīs entitled *Tabaqāt al-sūfiyya* (al-Sulamī 1983; Ridgeon 2011).

According to the Sufis, Futuwwah is a code of honorable conduct that follows the example of the prophets, saints, sages, and the intimate friends and lovers of Allah (al-Sulamī 1983, 6).

A strong ethos of hospitality was also part of tribal Arab society when the Prophet Muḥammad was receiving revelations, and remained an integral component of the socio-cultural reality of the many Muslim empires. "The values of tribal Arabia – generosity, magnanimity, clemency, endurance, and fortitude – were adopted by Islam but reoriented to the face of God rather than to personal and tribal reputation. Ethics was now to have a religious purpose, namely, heavenly reward, informing relations with all peoples regardless of affiliation" (Heck 2009, 100). The Qur'ān and the Sunna usually frames the act of hospitality with the act of giving based on exhortations to spend on others and to give to the poor. But the ethical imperatives to give and share were already to be found in the pre-Islamic milieu where Arab tribes viewed hospitality as a noble character. Akpinar discusses traditions of hospitality that were central to pre-Islamic Arab culture. "Linked closely with honor and chivalry, hospitality was considered as an act of unconditional surrender to the needs of others" (2007, 23).[167] As Islam spread across the Arabian Peninsula, these central tenets of pre-Islamic society would morph into Islamic virtues in accordance with the Divine message. For instance, Izutsu writes, "Almsgiving provided in this way a new outlet for the old instinct of generosity that was deeply rooted in the Arab soul, but it was so calculated at the same time, as to work as a powerful regulator of its excessive energy" (Izutsu 2002, 78). The Islamic imperative of giving is connected to the belief that those who are generous are closest to God. Giving as well as charity and generosity became religious obligations that occupied many theological treatises of the Muslim world. So much so that "[t]he theological works differentiated between themselves as to where giving to others should feature in the hierarchy of virtues and the formation of good character" (Siddiqui 2015, 65).

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[167] Toshiko Izutsu claims that generosity and hospitality were natural impulses that served as markers of nobility ingrained in pre-Islamic Arabia. For the pagan, charity went beyond feelings of tribal solidarity, often extending "beyond the members of his own tribe to the strangers…It was first and foremost an act of chivalry A man who could make a royal display of his generosity was a true dandy of the desert" (Izutsu 2002, 76).

Thinking of Islam in terms of hospitality, Ahmad Achrati[168] remarks that the welcoming of Hagar and her son Ishmael (Ar. Ismāʿīl) by the Bedouin tribe whilst abandoned in the desert serves as "the event that changed an act of abandonment into abandon to Allah" (2006, 503). He reminds us that hospitality in Islam is never complete; it is something that "is yet to come" (2006, 505). The richness of hospitality in the Qur'ānic sense, Achrati posits, is encapsulated by its synonym *karam*, which "connotes the cosmological ennoblement of man" that inspires each person as an inter-mediate inclined towards hospitality, justice, and forgiveness (Ibid, 504). As such, hospitality is a response to which man renders himself capable of sympathy and compassion, the necessity of all relations. This is ultimately what 'sacred hospitality', to use Massignon's words, is all about. It demands a commitment as reflected in the stories of Abraham who showed courage in the face of fear; who chose to show dignity and care to those who were unknown to them. The lesson here is not simply about taking time to invite strangers into our homes or offering charity to the needy when possible, "it's essentially about the transformation of persons and societies" (Siddiqui 2015, 30). On this note, I would like to turn to the story of Lot whom Derrida lauds for taking 'sacred hospitality' seriously. The story of Lot (Ar. Lūt) is spread amongst fourteen *sūras* in the Qur'ān since there is no single chronological or biographical account of religious figures. As such, the narrative of Lot and many others serve as reminders to the reader about the underlying moral behind the stories that are somewhat parallel to those told in the Bible before. The passages with reference to Lot are as follows:

> Qur'ān 6: 85-87, 7: 78-82, 11: 77-83, 15: 57-77, 21: 70-71 and 21: 74-75, 22: 43-44, 26: 160-173, 27: 54-58, 29:28-35, 37: 133-138, 38: 11-14, 50: 12-13, 54: 33-38.[169]

Similar to other prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān, Lot is depicted as being a believer and a righteous individual who informs his people that he is the Messenger of God. "He

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[168] Ahmad Achrati is a scholar of Islamic philosophy and ancient cultures. He teaches at Howard Community College in Columbia, MD.

[169] These verses are based on a combination found in Amreen Jamal's "The Story of Lot and the Qur'ān's Perception of the Morality of Same-Sex Sexuality" and Nasr et al.'s *The Study Quran.* There are some slight differences in the selection of chapters and numbering of verses. In addition, Jamal notes that verse 66:10 refers to Lūt's wife rather than Lūt himself.

is portrayed as having been 'elected,' as having been given 'judgement and knowledge' and as being 'one of the Envoys' (Jamal 2001, 18).[170]

The verse of interest that exemplifies unconditional sacrifice towards Lot's guests is found in *sūra Hūd* (77-84):

> **77** When Our messengers came to Lot, he was distressed on their account, and felt himself powerless concerning them. And he said, "This is a terrible day!" **78** And his people came hurrying toward him, while earlier they had been committing evil deeds. He said, "O my people! These are my daughters; they are purer for you. So reverence God, and disgrace me not with regard to my guests. Is there not among you a man of sound judgment?" **79** They said, "Certainly you know that we have no right to your daughters, and surely you know that which we desire." **80** He said, "Would that I had the strength [to resist] you, or could seek refuge in some mighty support!" **81** They said, "O Lot! We are the envoys of thy Lord. They shall not reach thee. So set out with they family during the night, and let none of you turn around, save thy wife; surely that which befalls them shall befall her. Indeed, the morning shall be their tryst. Is not the morning nigh?" **82** So when Our Command came, We made its uppermost to be its lowermost, and We rained down upon them stones of baked clay, one upon another, **83** marked by thy Lord; and they are never far from the wrongdoers.[171]

Taking into account Jamal's[172] conclusion together with the previous discussion on Lot as an exemplary host, it is plausible to concur that God did not destroy all the men, women and children because of intercourse between men. Like the Torah and Christian Bible, the Qur'ān presents the mistreatment of strangers as an action that is deserving of

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[170] The more common conclusion from the story of Lūt's people is that they were eventually destroyed by God's punishment for their wicked actions. What remains open to discussion however, is whether the wrath of the Divine upon these people is a direct response to same-sex relationships. Using semantic analysis to look at terms specifying sexual acts, Jamal concludes that there remains a certain ambiguity around the theme of same-sex relations. More importantly, her research affirms that same-sex sexuality is not the conclusive act that causes people to be alienated from God. Jamal further suggests that the *ḥadīth* literature has exclusively connected the story of Lūt with same-sex activity thus influencing later attitudes toward same-sex sexuality. According to al-Ṭabrisī's *Majmaʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān* there is a report indicating that the people of Lūt engaged in such practices only with those considered outsiders in the town (Nasr et al. 2015, 436).

[171] In the Biblical account, Lot's wife leaves with him but then turns to look back and thus becomes a pillar of salt (Genesis 19:26). Translation of this passage is based on (Nasr et al. 2015, 581-582).

[172] Amreen Jamal completed her M.A. specializing in western religions with a specialization in Islam from the University of Calgary in 1998. Her M.A. thesis looked the moral terminology that the Qurʾān uses to discuss same-sex relations. She presently lives in Canada and works in the Financial Industry. She published an article based on her thesis in the *Journal of Homosexuality* (2001).

divine wrath. Moving beyond Jamal's initial study, Scott Kugle[173] approaches the story

of Lūt through a thematic analysis of the Qur'ān that he sees as being "indispensable"

when interpreting the Qur'ān's narrative passages like the one in question. To engage in

thematic analysis of the Qur'ān Kugle turns to 'narrative re-constructions' in the form

Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā' or Stories of the Prophets. Like the previous discussion on the story of

Lot in the Judeo-Christian tradition, the *Qiṣaṣ* depict Lūt as the host par excellence.

Distinct from the *tafsīr* tradition (classical commentaries), the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Stories

of the Prophet) was a genre a form of "thematic analysis of the Qur'an" through the

telling of stories. Kugle argues that these stories were in actuality a form of

commentary on the Qur'ān (Kugle 2003, 209). For the story of Lūt,[174] Kugle focuses on

the writings of al-Kisā'ī,[175] who wrote in the twelfth century CE. Al-Kisā'ī interprets

the Qur'ānic verses and presents the story of Lūt in a narrative sequence while holding

true to Islamic tradition.

What is noteworthy of Kugle's discussion for our purposes is his analysis of the

story of Lūt. He showcases though al- Kisā'ī's narrative that the story of Lūt highlights

the most basic and profound ethical principles expressed in the Qur'ān. Lūt in the *Qiṣaṣ*

displays the utmost generosity and kindness like the Prophet Abraham (Ar. Ibrāhīm)

who demonstrates, in Derridian terminology, 'unconditional hospitality'. "Lūt was

related by family ties to Ibrāhīm, and their prophetic missions were similar in opposing

idol worship and espousing an ethic of care for vulnerable, weak, and marginalized

people of their societies" (Kugle 2003, 212). This sets up the narrative of the story

where Ibrāhīm and Lūt are thought of as exemplars of hospitality in contrast to the

people of Lūt in the Cities of the Plain. "This narrative commentary"[176] as Kugle

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[173] Scott Kugle is Associate Professor of South Asian and Islamic Studies in the department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies at Emory University. Previously Kugle was an Assistant Professor of Religion at Swarthmore College. His areas of expertise include Sufism, Islamic society in South Asia, and issues of gender and sexuality. He is the author of 4 books and numerous articles.

[174] Kugle's chapter reproduces parts of the story of Lūt as narrated by al-Kisa'i. Kugle's enagagment with this genre of writing rests on a thematic approach to the study and interpretation of the Qur'ān. His efforts are aimed at re-thinking sexuality in Islam and issues of same-sex activities.

[175] Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kisā'ī is thought to have lived in the 12th or 13th century. He wrote some of the most famous *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'* (Stories of the Prophets). His work can be found in English in *Tales of the Prophets* (*Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*), trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Chicago: KAZI Publications, 1997).

[176] Although this narrative style has been critiqued for framing the Qur'ānic verses as a fictional story, there is evidence, according to Kugle, of scholars who produced similar narratives in the form of reports

explains "does not interpret the verses [of the Qur'ān] against their literal meaning; it places them in a social and historical context in which their literal pronouncements make sense" (2003, 213). Hospitality in this context is understood as a duty that goes beyond the act of giving. Lūt displays the best of hospitality ethics "when [he] offers up his family members (who happens to be female daughters) in exchange for his guests (who happen to be male visitors), he displays in most extreme terms the sacredness of protecting guests who are elevated even above the status of offspring" (Kugle 2003, 215).[177]

Embodying Sacred Hospitality through Qu'rānic Precepts

By now the reader will have noticed the intentionality of raising the above-mentioned examples, which connote a clear affiliation and even a continued thought process in conceiving of sacred hospitality. I am aware, however, that it would be foolish to look for a simple replication of this loaded concept. Indeed, I am not implying here a parrot-like imitation of the values discussed. Rather I emphasize that one should take advantage of the insight shared, apply them creatively and responsibly to contemporary conditions – a task I shall later argue preoccupies Aga Khan IV's interpretive approach.[178] Ancillary to such an interpretation is the place of the Qur'ān as a guiding resource (see Qur'ān 3:58, 32:3, 39:41, and 42:52). Frederick Denny[179] provides insight into the Qur'ān's nature as an ethical source:

(āḥadīth) from the Prophet and early companions. In general, one could argue, as does Kugle, "that authors of Stories of the Prophets are actually articulating the fundamental ethical principles of the Qur'an better than do the authors of *tafsīr*, since they are not confined to grammatical and lexical commentary on each verse" (2003, 215). For an example see al-Rāwandī's (d. 573 *hijrī*) book circa twelfth century CE: Quṭb al-Dīn Saʿīd ibn Hibbat Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, ed. Ghulam Riza-yi ʿIrfaniyan al-Yazdi (BeirutL Mu'assasat al-Mufid, 1989), 117-125.

[177] It should be noted that Kugle does not make reference to other scholars studying the story of Lot from a Judeo-Christian perspective who have highlighted the significance of this narrative in terms of hospitality, which I believe would have further supported his own interpretive agenda.

[178] See Chapter 5.

[179] Frederick Denny is Professor Emeritus of Islamic Studies and History of Religions in the department of Religious Studies at the University of Colorado Boulder. His long-term areas of interest have been Qur'ānic Studies, Muslims and their communities in North Africa, South Asia and North America. His current research and writing has focuses on topics such as Islam and human rights, religion and ecology and more. He is author of many books and numerous articles including the widely used college textbook *An Introduction to Islam* (4th edition, 2010).

[T]he Qur'an is neither a work of systematic theology[180] nor an essay in the science of moral discourse. Like the Bible of the Jews and Christians, the Qur'an is a sourcebook for faith and order and not a textbook of definition and regulation… But often the Qur'an has been the prisoner of the interpreters rather than their source and guide. Perhaps it is because of this that the Qur'an has not been as prominent a source for Islamic ethics as might be expected by someone coming to the subject for the first time within the Islamic context (1985, 103).[181]

In putting forward this statement, Denny suggests an approach by which to unveil the elements of this complex phenomenon (sacred hospitality) within Muslim experience, which also recognizes the multifaceted product of human engagement with the Divine. In following this assertion, it will become apparent that the applicability of sacred hospitality is sustained through the practice of fundamental precepts inspired by the Divine Revelation. Islamic precepts such as oneness, respect, tolerance and pluralism – expressed as openness towards the other – add another layer in the search to uncover the inspirational basis of a cosmopolitan ethic. I follow Siddiqui's lead who contends "that offering hospitality as a way of imitating the divine, as well as being obedient to God, is embedded in the rich vocabulary of charity, generosity, mercy and compassion which permeates the entire Qur'ān and is found in so many of the *hadiths*" (Siddiqui 2015, 124-125). As such, one could argue that the main concern of the Qur'ān is ethics aimed ultimately at coexistence. Abdulaziz Sachedina[182] argues that the Qur'ān places emphasis on an "ethical public order" to "protect the divinely ordained right of each and every person to determine his or her spiritual destiny without coercion" (2006, 295). Turning to the Qur'ān as a guide facilitates our understanding of the true spirit of what we have labeled as 'sacred hospitality'. It is not a single concept but rather a sacred framework that sustains and advances ethical precepts that are intimately tied to

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[180] The Qur'ān is unique in its texture and form in comparison to Hebrew Torah and the Christian Gospels. The Qur'ān's verses are organized into chapters that resemble "a kaleidoscope than a chain and its themes emanate out "in patterns from a central point"(Kugle 2003, 207).

[181] Also cited in Emmanuel Choudhury's "Virtue Ethics and the Wisdom Tradition: Exploring the Inclusive Guidance of the Qur'ān," *Global Virtue Ethics Review* 3, no. 2 (2001): 38.

[182] Abdulaziz Sachedina is Professor and IIIT Chair in Islamic Studies at George Mason University. He has been conducting research and writing in the field of Islamic Law, Ethics, and Theology (Sunni and Shiite) for more than two decades. In the last decade he has concentrated on social and political ethics, including interfaith and intra-faith Relations, and Islam and human rights. He has published numerous articles and authored 7 books, which include *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism* (2002); *Islamic Biomedical Ethics: Theory and Application* (2009) and *Islam and the Challenge of Human Rights* (2009).

cultivating relations. It is suggested that religious traditions such as Islam offer an array of sources of ethical teachings that call attention to hospitality as a virtue. "In recognizing the sacred potential of daily life, everyday encounters with strangers and occasions of hospitality are infused with religious significance, as God is found through hospitality" (Olson-Bang 2012, 340).

Muslim practices and teachings hold precepts that inspire inward and outward manifestations of tolerance, diversity and pluralism.[183] Nathan Funk and Abdul Aziz Said assert that Islam carries within itself a basis for tolerance.[184] They affirm that: 1) Islamic precepts provide a coherent and affirmative position on the desirability of peace for human flourishing, and 2) Islamic culture provides numerous paradigms through which efforts to translate these precepts into reality may be pursued (2009, 50). Hospitality as a virtue may not be directly addressed in the Qur'ān but is experienced in the numerous references that frame this concept within the broader conviction of giving, which include acts such as forgiveness, friendship and charity. Hospitality understood within the Qur'ānic configuration is malleable; it is a multilayered concept that incorporates a combination of the innumerable forms of giving but also goes beyond the simple act of giving itself. Islam, as do other religious traditions, works for peace that understands difference; it strives to honour the sacredness of each individual regardless of one's religious tradition, ethnicity, and culture.

Forgiveness and Friendship

Forgiveness is intimately tied to hospitality as Derrida remarks: "Whoever asks for hospitality, asks, in a way, for forgiveness and whoever offers hospitality offers forgiveness – and forgiveness must be infinite or it is nothing" (Derrida 2002, 380).

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[183] There is of course the possibility of a narrow and illiberal reading of the Qur'ān, which have been misappropriated by Muslim puritans and extremists in order to support their exclusionary and intolerant orientation. See Khaled Abou el Fadl, *The Place of Tolerance in Islam,* ed. Joshua Cohen and Ian Lague (Boston: Beacon, 2002).

[184] Nathan Funk is Associate Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Conrad Grebel University College. Previously, he was Assistant Professor of International Relations at American University and Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University. He has published a number of writings on peacebuilding and international conflict resolution in general. He has also written extensively on a number of related issues concerning Islamic-Western relations, identity conflict and the role of cultural and religious factors in localized peacebuilding and social change processes. For bio of Abdul Aziz Said see Chapter 1, fn. 51.

Derrida's insight does not fall too far outside the bounds of Islamic ethics. Indeed, deep commitments to forgiveness have had an indelible impact on Islamic thought. Traces of forgiveness as a virtue and other associated notions are expressed throughout the Qur'ān and Sunna as well as in the broader textual tradition of medieval Islamic ethics, *adab* – considered a complex ideal that incorporated a variety of moral principles that were considered virtuous.[185] Ethical literature concerning *adab* began to flourish around the eighth century and was aimed at instructing human beings on ethical principles and codes of conduct (Kia 2014; Yazaki 2015). "In Islam, the primary ethical corpus derived from Qur'anic and prophetic direction and, additionally for the Shi'a, the guidance of designated Imams, is interwoven with literary and social mores (*adab*)"(Sajoo 2004, 2). Muslim authors of *adab* literature and *akhlāq* (Islamic ethical discourse) integrated principles of forgiveness inspired by the Qur'ān and Sunna. Muslim scholars also gleaned from Greek texts, especially Aristotelian virtue ethics[186] and imported it into an Islamic framework that grounded the Islamic textual tradition of *adab* (Powell 2011).

The verb 'forgive' and its variations appears approximately 128 times in English translations of the Qur'ān,[187] and indeed Muslims who look to the Prophet Muḥammad as an exemplar are taught to forgive even those who may not have asked for forgiveness (Powell 2011, 18-19). It is worth remarking that the prescription of forgiveness offered by the Prophet prefigures Derrida's writings on unconditional forgiveness. "Forgiveness is not, it *should not be*, normal, normative, normalising. It *should* remain exceptional and extraordinary, in the face of the impossible: as if it interrupted the ordinary course of historical temporality" (Derrida 2001, 32). The concept of forgiveness for Derrida rests in tension between two poles: the unconditional

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[185] *Adab* is also connected to *akhlāq,* whose literary tradition concerns moral thought. Together these types of literature imparted knowledge on ethical themes and cultured behaviour. For more on *adab* see Shawkat M. Toorawa, "Defining *Adab* by (Re)defining the *Adīb*: Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr and Storytelling", in ed. P.F. Kennedy, *On Fiction and Adab in Medieval Arabic Literature* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 287-308.

[186] In particular, Proclus's commentary on Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* was an important reference for the development of Islamic virtue ethics. For more on this, see Majid Fakhry's, *A History of Islamic Philosophy* 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). It is worth noting that it is through the Arabic translations of Aristotelian ethics that European scholars such as Thomas Aquinas were able to introduce Aristotle into Christian ethical thought.

[187] Some examples include Qur'ān 2:175, 4:106, 4:110, 39:5 and 39:53.

and the conditional, as does the concept of hospitality. The pure notion of forgiveness must always exist in tension with a more conditional forgiveness where apologies are actually demanded. Unconditional or pure forgiveness then is a gracious gift that is unrestrained and without condition; it explicitly precludes the necessity of an apology or repentance by the guilty party. Pure forgiveness is impossibility in itself since genuine forgiving involves the forgiving of an "unforgivable" transgression (Derrida 2000, 39; 2001, 32). As such, forgiveness Derrida asserts must be "mad" and "unconscious" (2001, 49), and it must also remain outside of political and juridical rationality. However, our practice of conditional forgiveness must continue to be inspired by a pure forgiveness (a virtue) otherwise there would be no forgiveness to practice at all.

From a theological perspective Islam offers, according to Funk and Said (2009), a strong moral approach to resolving conflicts and unjust actions. They discuss the persistence of a strong Islamic tradition affirming forgiveness of human shortcomings as an essential basis for social existence. More importantly, "the need of the human soul for forgiveness (*maghfira*) from God," write Funk and Said, "is a constant theme of Islamic spirituality, and this motif of forgiveness also carries over to Islamic social teaching" (2009, 150).[188] Forgiveness or pardon (*'afū*) is cherished as a source of "moral good" and "social good" as the following Qur'ānic passage evokes: "The recompense of an injury is an injury the like thereof; but whoever forgives and makes reconciliation, his reward is due from God; and God loves not those who do wrong" (Q 42:40).[189] Although a cursory look at the concept of forgiveness in the Qur'ān may leave one to believe that pardon is only limited to Muslims, the signs point to the opposite – an all-encompassing virtue for all human relations: "It may be that God will grant love [and friendship] between you and those whom ye [now] hold as enemies. For God is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful?" (Q 60:7).[190] For Funk and Said (2009) this verse and others are signs that human beings are responsible to embody and act on the divine

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[188] Even the *ḥadīth* collections refer to similar categories of forgiveness as in the Qur'ān and include a number of other examples that provide more elaborate accounts for understanding forgiveness in Islam (Powell 2011).

[189] As translated and quoted in Funk and Said (2009, 151). This sentiment is also expressed in Qur'ānic verses (2:178 and 5:45).

[190] Translation of this verse is from Funk and Said (2009, 152).

attributes of compassion and mercy evoked throughout the Qur'ān at the beginning of each Qur'ānic verse: *Bismillah al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm* (In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate). Indeed, such Islamic teachings promote forgiveness as a noble act, even in the face of the gravest offence – forgiving the unforgivable, what Derrida refers to as "unconditional [or pure] forgiveness" (2001, 36).

A closer look at the Qur'ān will reveal yet another concept, friendship, that is closely related to hospitality. The idea of friendship in Islam has been conceived of in numerous ways. Al-Ghazālī[191] (d. 1111), who was a prolific writer and sought to orient all knowledge and experience to the unseen world of mystery, offers insight about the nature of friendship that has worth for our discussion here on the spirit of hospitality. "He sees friendship as a mystery: a relation that by no means operates above normal human affairs but that nevertheless draws people's attention to the transcendent in their midst" (Heck 2011, 2). Even Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī,[192] a tenth-century litterateur, places friendship at the core of human existence – it is about harmony and coexistence. "Friendship here is simply what is most human, and for Abū Hayyan, what is most human about humans, namely friendship, is worthy to be called divine" (Heck 2011, 4). Heck draws from a section[193] of al-Ghazālī's magnum opus *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*. Although al-Ghazālī's conception of friendship operates according to Islam of the eleventh century and is limited to those who share a common faith, there

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[191] Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) known as 'al-Gazel' in the Christian world, was one of the most prominent and influential philosophers, theologians, jurists, and mystics of Sunni Islam. A learned scholar himself, al-Ghazālī absorbed and understood the writings on *falsafa* (philosophy) and actually developed a complex rejection of much of its teachings that is embodied in his Incoherence of the Philosophers (*Tahāfut al-falāsifah*) – considered a landmark treatise. The Grand-vizier Nizām al-Mulk (1018–92) of the Saljūq court appointed al-Ghazālī to the prestigious Nizāmiyya Madrasa in Baghdad. His other well-known work, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences), is understood to have made Ṣūfism an acceptable part of orthodox Islām. See Ebrahim Moosa, *Ghazālī and the Poetics of Imagination* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), especially 2-8.
[192] Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 1023) was a writer and philosopher, who studied jurisprudence, grammar, philosophy, literature, and Ṣūfism. Early in his life he was part of Ṣūfī group and later on he took on various roles of scribe, secretary, and courtier in various courts. He is however most known for being an accomplished prose writer. Al-Tawḥīdī's importance to Islamic thought lies in the nature of his works, which contain significant information on the cultural and social history of his age. See Wadād al-Qāḍī "Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī: A Sunni Voice in the Shi'I Century," in *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honour of Wilferd Madelung,* ed. Farhad Daftary and Josef W. Meri (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 128-159.
[193] The section is titled: "Kitab Adab al-Ulfa wa-al-Ukhuwwa wa-l-Suhba wa-l-Mu 'ashara" in *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*, vol. 2, ed. 'Abdallah al-Khalidi (Sharikat Dar al-Arqum Ibn Abi al-Arqam: Beirut 1419/1998), 201-291.

is still much we can draw from – mainly "the possibility that we might look at others as a source of mystery even when manifestly different from us…"(Heck 2011, 2). Friendship therefore is what shed's light on one's relation to the transcendent. Al-Ghazālī's conception of friendship and its importance is significant to rethinking the ways in which people relate to one another. At the heart of al-Ghazālī's account of friendship is our encounter with the other, highlighting the bonds of humanity amidst diversities of all kinds. Al-Ghazālī presents to his audience a reconsideration of friendship as part of something greater – life in God. Al-Ghazālī reminds us that the particularities that highlight an individual's unique characteristics need not be the only markers of each person and community. They also do not have to impede our relatedness to others. "Within our individual and communal specificities, we can also look at the other as a mystery to be discovered…who may or may not believe and act as I do and who may or may not share my physical and character traits, as a mystery, i.e. not as someone obscure and inscrutable but rather as a source of infinite insight and thus someone in whose company I can be pulled beyond myself to greater things" (Heck 2011, 21). The underlying spiritual ethic expressed through al-Ghazālī's writing on friendship requires a call to intimacy with God and a genuine bond of fraternity with humanity. Such an awareness of 'life in God' and love for God's creation through friendship is a reflection of soul's quality of servitude towards God and His creation.

Tawḥīd and the Face of God

The intersubjective nature of human life means that living with others always alludes to the question of being: who am I? Questions about the Other (stranger or foreigner) necessarily involve questions of the Self. In almost all religious teachings, the love and mercy of God point towards the purpose of encountering 'the face of God'. What is meant by the face of God? Does it manifest itself in the affairs of our everyday life? Can the idea of the face of God act as a source of our ethics? Ibn al-'Arabī (1165-1240) is particularly pertinent to the our discussion regarding a cosmopolitan ethic because as Bryan Turner (2008, 68) rightly affirms, "Ibn al-'Arabī provides an alternative to both Kantian Enlightenment universalism, on the one hand, and post-modern cultural

relativism, on the other."[194] Ibn al-'Arabī known as *al-Shaykh al-Akbar* (the Great

Master) and *Khatam al-Awliyā'* (the Seal of the Saints) represents the "zenith of

philosophical development in Sufism" whose thought has had a vast impact on the

study of Qur'ān, *ḥadīth*, and jurisprudence (Fakhry 2004, 261; Chittick 1996). To speak

then of a cosmopolitan ethic as an encounter with the face of God is to speak of

relations with the Other. The Qur'ān expresses the face of God as displaying majestic,

ennobling, and omnipresent qualities. Muslims know Allah not just as a distant,

transcendent God (*tanzīh)* but also as a tangibly close God (*tashbīh*), what Heck calls "a

face at once majestic and beautiful" (2009, 85). In the Islamic tradition these categories

are known as the majestic, transcendent *jalāl* and the beautiful, immanent *jamāl*, which

encapsulate "the divine qualities of perfection" (*al-asmā' al-ḥusnā* or ninety-nine

names of God) (Sharify-Funk 2001, 280).[195] The majestic qualities suggest a separation

between creation and the creator implying the necessity for rules and regulations in

order to emphasize the greatness of God, His incomparability (*tanzīh*) and wrath. In

contrast, the attributes underscoring God's beauty emphasize God's nearness (*tashbīh*)

– "[He] manifests, to a greater or lesser extent, through human thoughts, words, and

deeds" (Sharify-Funk 2001, 281).[196] The basis of this interpretation comes to us

through the Qur'ān 50:16 which states, "and We are nearer to him than his jugular

vein."[197]

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[194] Turner also notes in his article that social scientists have begun to recognize "the importance of his [Ibn al-'Arabī] writing on the diversity of religions…in recent analyses of the problems of multiculturalism" (2008, 68). He refers to two sources (Douglas Hatmann and Joseph Gerteis "Dealing with diversity: mapping multiculturalism in sociological terms," *Sociological Theory* 23, no.2 (2005): 218-240 and Joshua Parens "Multiculturalism and the problem of particularism," *American Political Science Review* 88, no.1 (1994): 169-181. However, these articles actually make reference to al-Fārābī's work and not Ibn al-'Arabī as stated by Turner.

[195] Sharify-Funk's article goes on to explore the role of the Feminine in Islamic thought through a reconceptualization of the *jamal* qualities of God. She gleans from the work of Ibn al-'Arabi who aimed to bring forth the Feminine focusing on five qualities of God and Islam: *dhat* (Essence), *raḥma* (Mercy), *ṣifat jamāliyya* (Qualities of Beauty), *muḥabba* (Love), and *nafs* (Soul).

[196] See also Sachiko Murata's *The Tao of Islam: A Sourcebook on Gender Relationships in Islamic Thought* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), 52.

[197] In regards to verse 50:16, Nasr et al. note that it indicates the Immanence of God in all of creation: "that the Divine Reality is the substrate of every reality, and that God is the nearest and closest Reality to the human being. God is with human beings wherever they may (see 57:4) and is always close to them, but human beings, nonetheless, often fail to be with or close to God and thus remain far from Him" (2015, 1267).

A balance between the transcendence and immanence of God comes together through the concept of *tawḥīd*, an Arabic term usually translated into English as 'divine unity' or 'oneness.' Seyyed Hossein Nasr[198](2003, 31) explains that the term holds two meanings: 1) the state of unity and oneness and 2) the act of integration. As such *tawḥīd* affirms that the material world and the spiritual world, or the 'private' and 'public' are in reality one. The term also declares, "one cannot claim to be spiritual if one is unable to make a good thing of this life. Conversely, one cannot make a good thing of this life unless one is able to order one's spiritual life properly" (Said and Sharify-Funk 2003, 29). *Tawḥīd* serves as the founding principle that brings an overall harmony to the world all the while appreciating the diversity of existence:

> *Tawhid* is a conception whose reality enters into human life at many levels. Beyond the doctrinal and ideological planes, where the oneness of humanity is stressed, *tawhid* mediated one's personal relation to the Absolute, and the maintenance of harmony with the universe. It is a kind of ecology of the spirit that reconciles the apparent multiplicity of created things with the unity of existence (Said and Sharify-Funk 2003, 29).

Sharify-Funk further emphasizes that *tawḥīd* is "the unity that transcends yet manifests and embraces all diversity and multiplicity" and "affirms that the manyness of reality [*kathra*][199] is itself a pattern of connectedness. In other words, multiplicity has to be seen within the concept of divine Oneness that both transcends and includes created things" (2001, 278-279). *Tawḥīd* therefore acts as the defining principle of religious diversity and since creation derives from the One, God must care for *all* of humanity – the manyness of reality (Lamptey 2014). What is essential to this approach and for bringing a cosmopolitan ethic into existence is the relationship between unity and multiplicity, between Oneness in diversity and diversity within Oneness. Reza Shah-

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[198] Seyyed Hossein Nasr is perhaps one of the most prominent scholars of Islamic, Religious and Comparative Studies in the world today and has written over 50 books and 500 articles that have been translated into several major languages. He is currently University Professor of Islamic Studies at the George Washington University. He was the president of the Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy and was the first Muslim to give the Gifford Lectures (1980-81). His research and writing focus on a wide variety of subjects, including Perennial Philosophy, Sufism, comparative religion, and metaphysics. Although he is an accomplished and active intellectual he also leads a very intense spiritual life spent in prayer, meditation and contemplation while providing spiritual counsel for those who seek his advice and guidance.

[199] See William C. Chittick's, *Imaginal Worlds: Ibn 'Arabi and the Problem of Religious Diversity* (Albany: state University of New York Press, 1994), 15.

Kazemi[200] echoes Sharify-Funk when he writes, "the One, therefore, does not simply negate or transcend the many; rather, it projects, embraces, encompasses, penetrates and re-integrates the many: phenomenal multiplicity is thus not just the manifestation of the One, it is an integral dimension of it –'integral' here in the sense that the One integrates within itself all multiplicity" (2006b, 97). So regarding humanity at large, diversity is the expression of the One true essence. More importantly, this sentiment is captured through the revelation of the "hidden treasure" that "loved to be known" as noted in the *Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*,[201] so central to the *taṣawwuf* (Ṣūfī) perspective,[202] wherein God yearns to be loved and known: "I was a hidden treasure, and I loved to be known (*fa ahbabtu an u'raf*), so I created the world."[203]

Another concept connected to *tawḥīd* that I would like to focus on is *taqwā*. What is *taqwā* and why is it relevant to our discussion? *Taqwā* most often is translated as piety or God consciousness. However, Lamptey asserts that such a translation "falls short" and "does not convey many of the key intricacies of the concept or its paramount significance. *Taqwā* is piety, but piety is devotion to God, awe of God, mindfulness or consciousness of God, worship of God, and even fear of God" (2014, 145). The general command to strive for *taqwā* is directed to all humanity not just the believers as pointed in Qur'ān 22: 1 "O mankind! Be mindful of your Lord. Truly the quaking of the Hour is a mighty thing." *Taqwā* however is not simply about belief; it is both an attitude and

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[200] Reza Shah-Kazemi is the founding editor of the *Islamic World Report* and is a research fellow in the Department of Academic Research and Publications at the Institute of Ismaili Studies. He received his Ph.D. in comparative religion from the University of Kent and his research focuses on mysticism, Islam, Sufism, and Shi'ism. He previously served as a consultant to the Institute for Policy Research in Kuala Lampur. Some of his well-known publications include *Paths to Transcendence: According to Shankara, Ibn Arabi and Meister Eckhart* (2006); *Justice and Remembrance: Introducing the Spirituality of Imam 'Ali* (2006).

[201] Sacred utterance in which God speaks through the Prophet Muḥammad.

[202] *Taṣawwuf* or Ṣūfism is derived from the Arabic word 'ṣūfī', which comes from 'ṣūf' meaning wool – plausibly a reference to the woolen garment of early Islamic ascetics. The emergence of Sufism is usually traced back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. However the idea of Sufism as a social phenomenon transpires in reaction to Islamic communities consumed in the acquisition of worldly power (Funk and Said 2009, chap. 8).

[203] Also quoted in (Shah-Kazemi 2006: 112) and (Sharify-Funk 2001, 280). Shah-Kazemi explains that this *ḥadīth* is not found in the canonical collections, its chain of transmission not being regarded as sound. This does not diminish its importance in the Ṣūfī tradition, nor does it prevent various exoteric authorities from accepting its meaning, for the meaning harmonizes with the interpretation given by Ibn 'Abbas to the verse, 51: 56. See also Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam,* p. 10. She notes that this *ḥadīth* "epitomizes the metaphysical underpinnings of the Sufi school of thought."

action as understood by Amina Wadud.[204] It is "a pious manner or behavior which observes constraints…and 'consciousness of Allah,' that is, observing that manner of behavior because of one's reverence towards Allah" (Wadud 1999, 37). *Taqwā* is exhibited through one's relationship to God as well as to God's creations involving a sense of responsibility towards God and Others.[205] As such, *taqwā* denotes an active quality "that must be constantly striven for and sustained, not simply achieved or professed" (Lamptey 2014, 148).

The emphasis on humankind as God's wish to manifest the Divine qualities stresses the centrality of *wujūd* (Being/God), wherein God is understood as a mirror whose qualities are reflected in us (i.e.: creation) and as a result each of God's creation acts as a mirror to one another becoming a reflection of each other and of God. Thus, God (the unconditional Reality, *al-ḥaqq*) is greater than the sum of all creation but is simultaneously present within each and every part of creation rendering each of His individual creation as sacred and irreplaceable (Shah-Kazemi 2006). These signs are everywhere in the cosmos and have a dual function: they hold meaning in themselves and also point to something other then themselves – the Face of God from which all reality is conceived. Shah-Kazemi (2006, 107) emphasizes that "[t]he sign performs this double function inasmuch as it functions as a mirror that reflects the one and only *Face* – but doing so in a manner conforming to its own particularity, its own contours, its own colour and character." This position makes it possible to affirm the recognition of the Divine in each Other, which also necessitates a safeguarding of difference and distinctness as well as uniqueness of each personhood and their respective religious traditions. The result implies that the divine reveals itself in the heart of every

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[204] Amina Wadud is an African American scholar of Islam, gender and the Qur'ān. She received her Ph.D. in Arabic and Islamic Studies from the University of Michigan. She was Professor of Religion and Philosophy at Virginia Commonwealth University and one of the founders of the group Sisters in Islam. After her early retirement from academia in 2008, Wadud has been active as a public intellectual speaking on various issues concerning pluralism, equality and LGBT rights, and serves a consultant at the International Centre for Islam and pluralism in Indonesia. She made headlines in 1994 when delivered the Friday sermon at the Claremont Main Road Mosque in Cape Town, South Africa and again in 2005 when she led a mixed congregation of women and men in prayer in New York.
[205] It is striking to see that the concept of *taqwā* expressed here bares similar traces of Levina's discussion on 'ethics as religion,' the basis of which responsibility to Other takes primacy as an encounter with the *Face*.

individual assuring a heightened spiritual awareness that upholds the innate holiness of the Other; the divine Face within the near and distant neighbour.

The combination of *jalāl* and *jamāl*, through the concept of *tawḥīd*, as we have seen, is central to the perspectives of Ṣūfīs, such as Ibn al-ʿArabī, who describe this condition as *waḥdat al-wūjūd* (translated as Oneness of Being or Unity of Existence) which, places God as the only true reality and creation as the expression of that reality (Funk and Said 2009).[206] *Waḥdat al-wujūd* expresses the affirmation that nothing truly exists except Being (Ar. *wujūd*). As William C. Chittick[207] notes, "*wujūd* is the absolute and nondelimited reality of God, the 'Necessary Being' (*wājib al-wujūd*) that cannot not exist" (1994, 15). For Ibn al-ʿArabī the purpose of creation is to manifest the divine essence; every created entity displays some aspect of *wujūd*. He argues that the divine attributes are part of human nature (*fiṭra*) and are given to each person at the time of creation. *Fiṭra* provides value to relations within multiplicity and situates every human being with the innate capability of righteousness. "Every human is created not only with a soul that knows *taqwā* and a *fiṭra* that is disposed toward *taqwā* but also with the capacity to reflect rationally upon the signs (*āyāt*) of God that are readily available in the natural world" (Lamptey 2014, 153). *Fiṭra,* according to Sharify-Funk, provides the potential for forging harmony amongst human beings and with God. It also serves as a constructive "safeguard against dehumanizing 'the other'…Affirmation of *fiṭra* undermines prejudice against any human being on the basis of gender, race, religion, or ethnicity" (Sharify-Funk 2001, 279).

The implication of Ibn al-ʿArabī's thought, according to Shah-Kazemi (2006b, 259), is that it "permits one to maintain openness to the other without undermining the normativity of one's own tradition, and at the same time it ensures that fidelity to this

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[206] Although he is credited with coining the term *waḥdat al-wujūd,* Ibn Sabin first introduced the term. Nevertheless, it is through the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī that *tawḥīd* comes to be interpreted monistically as a philosophical concept through the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd*. See Toby Meyer's, "Theology and Sufism," *The Cambridge Companion to Classical Islamic Theology*, ed. Tim Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 277.

[207] William C. Chittick is one the world's leading translators and interpreters of the mystical poetry of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. He is also recognized for his translation and interpretation of the writings of the great Sufi theorist and poet, Ibn al-ʿArabī. He is the author and translator of over 25 books and one hundred articles on Islamic thought, Ṣūfism, Shīʿism, and Persian literature. He is Distinguished Professor of Persian Languages in the department of Asian and Asian American Studies at Stony Brook University. His overall research looks at pre-modern Islamic intellectual history and its relevance for contemporary humanistic concerns.

normativity does not compromise one's openness to the other." It is Ibn al-'Arabī who referred to the cosmos as an unpolished mirror and to human beings as the reflection of that mirror: "God is your mirror in which you contemplate yourself [i.e. your own innermost nature and you are His mirror in which He contemplates His divine attributes" (Freke 1998, 14).[208] Ibn al-'Arabī's mirror-analogy provides us with an image that presents to us the signs of the cosmos as the many faces of God and beautifully captures the principles of transcendence and immanence.[209]

Ḥadīth al-Qudsī and the Divine's Desire to be Known

Let us take a moment to pause here and take another look at the aforementioned *ḥadīth al-Qudsī* through the lens of Islamic mysticism. Let us recall, then, that there is the God which "originates... the *Theos agnostos*, the unknowable and impredicable God" (Corbin 1969, 112).[210] And then there is the revealed God, who maintains the divine attributes and is capable of relations. It is by maintaining the simultaneity of the two notions that we can speak of a pathetic God. And then there is the revealed God "who maintains the divine attributes and is capable of relation" (Ibid). In his *Creative Imagination in the Ṣūfism of Ibn 'Arabī*, Henry Corbin[211] argues that the two categories

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[208] Also quoted in (Sharify-Funk 2001, 280).

[209] "[T]he object and the mirror are totally separate, but the image seen in the mirror has no reality other than that of the object. The object is mysteriously one with the image, but the image is reduced to sheer nonexistence without the object: its reality is totally dependent upon the object, while the object is totally independent of the image. Just as God says in the Qur'an that He is *nearer to him* [man] *than the jugular vein* (L: 16), so we can say that the object is closer to the reflected image than the image is to itself, in the sense that the image is more real as the object than it is in and as itself: its true identity is thus the object, not itself " (Shah-Kazemi 2006b, 111).

[210] Corbin translates the epithet *Man lā taǧāsaru naḥwahu'l-khawāṭir*, given to the 'unknowable originator' in Ismāʿīlī theosophy, as "He whom the boldness of thought cannot attain" (Corbin 1969, 293).

[211] Henry Corbin was a prolific scholar of Islamic mysticism. He was also a philosopher, theologian by training. Corbin was Professor of Islam & Islamic Philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris and at the University of Teheran. At the age of 19 received a certificate in Scholastic philosophy from the Catholic Institute of Paris and then obtained a degree in philosophy in 1927. In 1929 he obtained a diploma in Oriental Languages (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) and in that same year he encountered Louis Massignon, director of Islamic studies at the Sorbonne, and it was he who introduced Corbin to the writings of Suhrawardi, the 12th century Persian mystic and philosopher whose work was to profoundly affect the course of Corbin's life. His writings combined a spiritual sensibility with profound erudition and impeccable research. One of Corbin's aims was to unveil the third realm, what he termed *mundus imaginalis* between the intellect and the senses, which is portrayed in the teachings of Ibn al-'Arabī and Rūmī. "To read Corbin is to learn what it means, at the level of thought, to take the wisdom of the east and the knowledge of the west as the basis of the search for truth." Jacob Needleman, foreword to *The*

of religion (what Abraham Heschel labels as prophetic religion and mystical religion) are not antithetical.[212] Through his reading of Ibn al-'Arabī, Corbin posits that the two forms of religion are reconciled and synthesized through the mysticism of Ibn al-'Arabī in which he distinguishes between "*Allah* as God in general and *Rabb* as the particular Lord, personalized in an individualized and undivided relation with his vassal of love. This individualized relationship on both sides is the foundation of the mystical and chivalric ethic of the *fedele d'amore* in the service of the personal Lord whose divinity depends on the adoration of his faithful vassal and who, in this interdependence, exchanges the role of lord with him, because he is the First and the Last" (Corbin 1969, 94). Corbin opines that by maintaining simultaneity of the two notions we arrive at what is termed in Islamic theosophy the 'pathetic God'. The notion of a 'pathetic God' places importance on a God who is passionate and who experiences suffering from the lack of creation's unity with him (Mehdizadeh 2013, 166). In his study of Ibn al-'Arabī, Henry Corbin offers a more faithful translation of the *ḥadīth* in question: "'I was a hidden Treasure and I yearned to be known. Then I created creatures in order to become in them the object of my knowledge." He continues with his analysis and suggests that the desire for God to reveal Himself (Divine passion) is the underlying motive of an eternal cosmogony. "This cosmogony is neither an Emanation in the Neoplatonic sense of the word nor, still less, *a creation ex nihilo.* It is rather a succession of manifestations of being, brought about by an increasing light, within the originally undifferentiated God; it is a succession of *tajalliyāt,* of theophanies" (Ibid, 114).

The above *ḥadīth* is the foundation of this sadness of a 'pathetic God'. "The 'pathetic God' brought into existence the named things for the sake of the primordial sadness of the divine names. The infinite thirst of the pathetic God is, in a certain way, reflected in the infinite thirst of his creatures, who long for home – the concept of *khamyāza*, literally 'yawning,' i.e., 'infinite longing' (the longing of the shore to

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embrace the whole ocean)…"(Schimmel 1975, 268).[213] Consequently, the pathos of God and the sympathy existing between Him and his creatures results in positing love as the cause of creation, of being known. In this we see, that, creation is the manifestation of Divine love through the merciful breath that yearns to be revealed by His attributes. Corbin continues his analysis by turning to Ismāʿīlī Gnosis which suggests the divine name *Al-Lāh* is connected to the word word *ilāh* from the root *wlh* connoting to be sad, to be overwhelmed with sadness, to sigh toward, to flee fearfully toward" (Corbin 1969, 112).[214] *Al-Lāh* therefore expresses sadness and nostalgia "of the revealed God (i.e., revealed *for man*) yearning to be once more *beyond* His revealed being" and "we can know only as much of it as it reveals of itself in us…since this revelation itself is only *for* us and *through* us" (Corbin 1969, 113). This conceptualization is related to Ibn al-ʿArabī's doctrine of *Divine Names*. Corbin explains that these names are not identical with the divine essence but contain attributes that are not different from the essence. They are the means by which God reveals himself to us through a succession of *tajalliyāt* mentioned earlier (Corbin 1969, Siddiqui 2015). The Divine's longing to be known sets in motion a "Sigh of Compassion, *Nafas Raḥmānī*" that releases the divine Names that have remained hidden for so long. Corbin eloquently describes the unfolding of divine mercy:

> This *Sigh* marks the release of the divine Sadness *sym-pathizing* with the anguish and sadness of His divine names that have remained unknown, and in this very act of release the Breath exhales, arouses to active being, the multitude of concrete individual existences by which and for which these divine names are at last actively manifested. Thus in its hidden being every existent is a Breath of the existentiating divine Compassion, and the divine Name *Al-Lāh* becomes

[213] "Taken in this sense, [as a transitive passion, that is, the relationship between man and his God in a *sym-pathesis*], the category of *pathos* spontaneously gave rise to the category of the *tropos*, that is to say, the revelation of God to man as the 'conversion' of a God turning toward man; a divine initiative, an anthropotropism reserving and sanctioning the divine sovereignty, or theonomy, and contrasting with any idea of a 'conversion' of man toward God, that is, *theotropism* which would be a movement resulting from human initiative" (Corbin 1969, 108).

[214] In his study of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ismāʿīlī Gnosis, Corbin opines that the Great Shaykh would have absorbed much of Ismāʿīlī esotericism before leaving the Maghrib. "We find indications in his familiarity with the school of Almeria and in the fact that he composed a commentary to the only surviving work of Ibn Qasi, initiator of the movement of the Murīdīn in southern Portugal, where many characteristic traits of Ismailian-Shīʿite inspiration are discernable" (Corbin 1969, 25). More will be mentioned about the connection between Ibn al-ʿArabī and Ismāʿīlī Gnosis as well as the impact of Ṣūfī ideals on modern Ismāʿīlī practice in Chapter 3.

purely and simply equivalent to *al-Raḥmān,* the Compassionate" (Corbin 1969, 115).

Divine Names serve as expressions of God, as ways of knowing. However they correspond to the beings that name them because God describes Himself through our own mode of being (Corbin 1969, 114-115). Therefore, the divine attributes have meaning and full reality only through and for the forms in which they are manifested. It is worth quoting Corbin at length who explains this phenomenon:

> For the divine Names are not the attributes conferred by the theoretical intellect upon the divine Essence as such; they are essentially the vestiges of their action in us, of the action by which they fulfill their being through our being, and which in us then assumes the aspect of what, in accordance with the old medieval terminology, may well be called their *significatio passive.*[215] In other words, we discover them only insofar as they occur and are made within us, according to what they make of us, insofar as they are our *passion* (Corbin 1969, 116).

Divine love and mercy are thus the cause of Creation and her substance. The key notion here is that of pathetic God, the Lord that desires to be loved by her vassal, who's Sigh of Compassion liberated the divine attributes out of their occultation. As a result, humanity reflects the divine attributes like a mirror through recognition of the unconditional love and awareness of God's names. Through this process, each created being is able to recognize his or her ultimate goals and "[humanity] discovers that [her] own being is the accomplishment of this *pathos*" (Ibid 1969, 125).

Knowledge

Human beings are perceived as the cognizant 'Other' to whom and through whom these qualities are revealed. The encouragement to see the reflection of God in others is also

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[215] This term figures prominently in Corbin's study of medieval philosophy and represents a fundamental turning point in his understanding of 'being' and 'knowing.' Corbin suggests a parallel example of this concept in Ibn al-'Arabī's theosophy wherein "the divine attributes are qualifications that we impute to the Divine Essence not as convention might bid us to postulate, but as we experience it in ourselves" (Corbin 1969, 300, fn. 25). *Significatio passiva* or passive meaning was discovered by the theologian Martin Luther in understanding and interpreting the Word. In response to the dilemma posed by the Psalm verse "*In justitia tua libera me,*" Luther was trying to understand what relation existed between justice in this verse and his deliverance. He suddenly realized that this quality of justice, God's attribute, cannot be understood as something that we confer upon God. It can only be understood in as much as it occurs within one-self, through *significatio passiva* (Mahmoud 2006; Corbin 1969, 300).

connected to the importance of knowledge, as we explored previously. Ṣūfī teachings also relate, "the purpose of real knowing, therefore, is transformation – becoming free from illusions, especially the illusion of one's own separate existence" (Funk and Said 2009, 210). Thus the foundation of all knowledge is interconnected to self-knowledge and for Ibn al-'Arabī the only way to attain real knowledge is for human beings to strive for a view of ourselves and all of creation that is ultimately God's view of his creation – it is our obligation to figure out who and what we are. Based on this model there is a perfect correspondence between the knowledge one has of God and the knowledge God has of him. It is through this reciprocity that God knows himself through creation, "because only the knowledge which the *fidele* has of his Lord is the knowledge which this personal Lord has of him" (Corbin 1969, 94). The journey to know ourselves, the Other, and ultimately God lies at the heart of the all-encompassing spirit of the cosmopolitan ethic. It is fortuitous that one of the meanings of *wujūd* is to 'to find.' "[T]he way of finding is 'to know ourselves' in order to know God, of which we are, Ibn 'Arabi insists, in reality, no other. This is the fundamental logic of Ibn 'Arabi's deployment of the concept of Being" (Coates 2002, 32).

At this point it is fitting to situate Ibn al-'Arabī's metaphysics within the context of knowledge and diversity. There is an inherent oriented desire for human reason to seek explanations of different human experiences is foundational to the tradition of *ṭalab al-'ilm* which we shall discuss later. The concept of *al-ta'aruf* or 'knowledge of one another' is fundamental to the metaphysics of Ibn al-'Arabī since recognition of the signs or the Face of God in all creation requires knowledge. The idea here is clearly founded upon Qur'ānic verses such as the following (45:3-5):

> **3** Truly in the heavens and the earth are signs for the believers. **4** And in your creation and in what He has scattered of animals are signs for a people who are certain. **5** And in the variation of the night and the day, and in that which God sends down from the sky as provision whereby He revives the earth after its death, and in the shifting of the winds are signs for a people who understand.[216]

Knowledge of one another based on the acknowledgement of diversity and difference is found in Qur'ān 49:13: "O humanity! We have created you from a male and a female,

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[216] As translated in Nasr et al. (2015, 1216).

and made you into nations and tribes, that you might know one another. The noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is most righteous. Truly, God is all knowing, all aware." Distinction and difference are affirmed in this verse. They are decreed as being divinely willed and knowledge is understood as the reason for diversity. This verse is a crucial proof-text used to invoke key tenets such as: divine sanction of religious pluralism, peaceful coexistence, inter/intra-faith dialogue and elimination of all forms of prejudice (Afsaruddin 2011; Shah-Kazemi 2006b). A closer look at the context of this verse also affirms that every being holds the same relationship with God with natural disposition towards God. According to Wadud (1999, 37) the two *āyāt* preceding Q 49:13 criticizes groups for taunting one another[217]:

> **11** O you who believe! Let not one people deride another; it may be that they are better than them. And do not defame yourselves or insult one another with nicknames; how evil is the iniquitous name after having believed! And whosoever does not repent, they are the wrongdoers. **12** O you who believe! Shun much conjecture. Indeed, some conjecture is a sin. And do not spy upon one another, nor backbite one another. Would any one of you desire to eat the dead flesh of his brother? You would abhor it. And reverence God. Truly God is Relenting, Merciful.[218]

Let us pause and ask ourselves, what is the value of knowing one another as exhorted by this verse? What is important to realize according to Jerusha Lamptey (2014, 243)[219] is "[f]irst, whatever the value is, it cannot be achieved in isolation; becoming acquainted with each other requires engagement. Therefore, it is safe to assume that God is encouraging interaction across the boundaries of lateral difference." A second take away from this verse reveals something about God's nature, which is expressed in a conscious and engaged encounter. Lamptey continues:

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[217] Jerusha T Lamptey (2014) also agrees with Wadud that value is only ascribed to *taqwā* as a criterion of distinction and is carried out on an individual level. See her argument in *Never Wholly Other,* Chapter 6.

[218] As translated in Nasr et al*., The Study Quran,* 1261-1262.

[219] Jerusha Tanner Lamptey is Assistant Professor of Islam and Ministry and Director of the Islam, Social Justice, and Interreligious Engagement Program (ISJIE) at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. She earned her Ph.D. in Theological and Religious Studies with a focus on Religious Pluralism from Georgetown University. Her research focuses on theologies of religious pluralism, comparative theology, and Muslima theology.

This is similar to the often reiterated value of reflecting on other natural *āyāt.* Specifically, the *āyā* of lateral difference reveals that the later Other – despite his or her lateral particularities – is also the creation, concern, and subject of God. This underscored the singular status and infinite capacity of God as Creator, but it also reveals something about the self: that the self and the Other both stand in the same relationship with God. Lateral difference does not place one in a privileged status before God or reduce the other simply to a marginal or derivative status (2014, 243-244).

Moreover, when closely examining the word *taʿarafu* within the context of verse 49:13, Asma Afsaruddin[220] turns to the medieval Muslim exegete Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923)[221] who explains that differences between human beings can only be distinguished through piety. Afsaruddin also refers to Ismāʿil ibn Kathīr's (d. 1353)[222] exegesis of the same verse and points out that the term *al-muslimūn* is best understood as "those who submit [to God]" in contrast to Muslims, since this inclusive attitude is accordance with the Qur'anic usage of *al-muslimum* exemplified by verses 3:67, 3:84, 5:44 and others (2011, 69). In addition, Shah-Kazemi brings to attention the verb *taʿarafu* used in this verse and the word for being 'known' as seen in the *ḥadīth* of the hidden treasure, *uʿraf* are both derived from the same Arabic root *ʿarafa*. He also draws a connection between *taʿarafu* and *maʿrifa* as expressed in the following hadith: "Whoso knows himself knows his Lord' (*man ʿarafa nafsahu faqad ʿarafa rabbahu*)"

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[220] Asma Afsaruddin is Professor of Islamic Studies in the Department of Near Eastern Languages & Cultures at Indiana University, Bloomington. She is the author and editor of 4 books, including *The First Muslims: History and Memory* (2008) and *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (1999). Most recently she published *Striving in the Path of God: Jihad and Martyrdom in Islamic Thought* (2013), which received he *Jayezeh Jahani* (World Book Prize) for the best new book in Islamic studies by the Iranian president Hassan Rouhani in 2015. Afsaruddin also publishes extensively on topics such as pluralism in Islamic thought; interfaith relations and violence in Islamic sources; and gender in Islam.

[221] Abū Jaʾfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) was an early Muslim historian, *sharīʿa* scholar and jurist. Al-Ṭabarī wrote a substantial commentary on the Qur'ān, collecting the chief interpretations and offering his own perspective. One of his most influential and best known works is his Qur'ānic commentary known as *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*. Al-Ṭabarī made a distinct contribution to the consolidation of Sunni thought during the 9th century. "Tabari, Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Jarir al-," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, ed. John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2292 (accessed January 15, 2017).

[222] Ismāʿil ibn Kathīr (d. 1373) was a leading Muslim theologian, historian and Muslim exegete. Ibn Kathīr is known for his 14-volume history of Islam, *Al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah* (The Beginning and the End). He also wrote a famous commentary on the Qur'ān, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, which reflects ibn Kathir's conservative approach that strongly depended on past authorities; A methodology that was influenced by Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328). See "Ibn Kathir, Imad al-Din Ismail ibn Umar," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, ed. John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e947 (accessed January 15, 2017).

(2006b, 113).[223] Simply stated, knowledge of self, knowledge of the other and of God are all interconnected. "Reason" as Lamptey explains "is something that is instilled by God in all humanity through creation; thus, it is integrally associated with *fiṭra* (human nature). Every human is created not only with a soul that knows *taqwā* and a *fiṭra* that is disposed toward *taqwā* but also with the capacity to reflect rationally upon the signs (*āyāt*) of God that are readily available in the natural world" (Lamptey 2014, 153). Verses like 49:13 and its exegeses should be understood as divinely ordained directives of morality and ethics that emphasize a genuine understanding between individuals, communities, cultures and nations. Afsaruddin further argues that "Qur'an 49:13 goes beyond simple toleration of our diversity of background; it further advocates that one should proactively get to know one another (Ar. *li-ta'arafu*) so as to inspire in us affection for the other and to appreciate *in genuine humility* the diverse gifts and richness that we bring, in accordance with God's plan, to one another" (2011, 72).[224] Coming full circle and recalling the nostalgia of the "Hidden Treasure" as the root of the Divine's longing to be known, it follows that the Other comes into being as the expression of that nostalgia. "Alterity, or otherness/difference, then, has its roots in divine reality and is a necessary condition for expressing our humanity and out ability to express love" (Barlas 2006, 248).[225] Asma Barlas[226] aims to demonstrate through her hermeneutical approach that difference is divinely orchestrated to encourage mutual recognition and sincere encounters. She writes:

> In terms of Qur'anic teachings, then, differences rather than
> identicalness/sameness enable mutual recognition and inasmuch as they do, the
> absence of difference (the Other) renders self-knowledge incomplete or

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[223] Reza Shah-Kazemi (2006b, 113) recognizes that this *ḥadīth* is not accepted as a sound hadith in the Sunni tradition, but is regarded as authentic in the Shi 'i tradition, where it is attributed to 'Ali b. Abi Talib. See the compendium of sayings compiled by Muhammad Rayshahri, *Mizan al-hikma* (Tehran/Qom: Maktab al-I'lam al-Islami, 1362 Sh. / 1983), vol. 6, 142.

[224] In her analysis of al-Ṭabarī and ibn Kathīr's explanation of *ta 'arafu*, Afsaruddin indicates that both exegetes interpret the verb *ta 'arafu* as a command to know others in order to come nearer to God and to foster love among people (2011, 72).

[225] See also R.W.J. Austin's commentary in *Ibn Al 'Arabi: The Bezels of Wisdom* (Austin, NJ: Paulist Press, 1990), 27 and 28-29.

[226] Asma Barlas is Professor in the Department of Politics at Ithaca College and served as the director of the Center for the Study of Culture, Race and Ethnicity for twelve years. She also held the Spinoza Chair in Philosophy at the University of Amsterdam. Her expertise includes, Islamic religious/ intellectual history; Qur'ānic hermeneutics; Muslim women's rights; colonialism and race; and women and gender. She has authored 5 books and written over 30 book chapters and journal articles.

unattainable. However, even though we need Others in order to understand ourselves, this does not means that the Other serves as a mere foil for the Self against which it must construct itself oppositionally, as in Orientalist thought. Rather, the 'knowing one another' the Qur'an speaks of indicates mutuality and dialogue. As such, it may be argued that difference in the Qur'an serves as essentially moral function by providing the framework for mutual regard (Ibid, 246).[227]

How we choose to arrive at the best reading of the Qur'ān in the context of relations to the Other affects our understanding of sameness and difference in both the moral realm and the social realm. In proposing a framework that acknowledges differences between men and women while affirming sameness, Barlas and other Muslim women interpreters provide us with more tools that are consistent with our theme of a cosmopolitan ethic, which reflects the complex mystery of the Divine's relation with creation and the transformative potential of a constructive dialectic between theology and ethics. For example in arguing for women's equality based in accordance with the scripture Barlas writes, "if we believe that God is just and never transgresses against the rights of humans (never does *zulm* to them), then we also should not read the Qur'an as allowing men to transgress against women's rights by discriminating against them" (Barlas 2006, 243). The implied foundation of this interpretive tendency focuses on the beautiful attributes of the Divine especially love as explicated through Ibn al-'Arabī's work. Complexity therefore is the illumination of the Divine spirit that human beings must embrace, engage and grapple with. Thinking of difference as a sign and the will of the Divine, is integral to the pursuit of *taqwā* in order to foster relations with others, which in turn allows us to attain a relation with the One. The purpose of this verse invites each being to ponder the traces of the Divine in the other. A deeper appreciation of valuing both difference and oneness ensures that humanity can "learn more about the divine Reality-and about themselves-through the other" and orients us to submit to the claim that "the divine One is really present in the other: therefore the other must be seen in the light of the One" (Shah-Kazemi 2006b, 115).

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[227] See also her "*Believing Women" in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Qur'an* (Austin: University of Texas, 2002).

Conclusion

The current chapter together with the previous chapter have helped to showcase the roots and branches through which to navigate an articulation of a loaded concept such as 'cosmopolitanism.' – a term laced with tensions arising from historical processes and conceptual shifts. Chapter 1 ended with an ethical dimension of cosmopolitanism inspired by humanistic principles and hospitality. This chapter commenced by tracing the Muslim experience of cosmopolitanism grounded in faith-based ethics and the importance of seeking knowledge. In this endeavor the reader was exposed to the pluralistic and rational elements associated with the cosmopolitan spirit introduced in Chapter 1. Following this discussion, the chapter focused deeply on the innate quality of 'sacred hospitality' that I believe forms the very core of the Abrahamic religious heritage or Judeo-Christian-Islamic experience: "The very identity of the people of God as sojourners and aliens is a deep reminder of our dependence on God as host and of responsibility to deal graciously with literal aliens in our communities" (Pohl 2002, 35). It is the application of hospitality, as moving beyond boundaries, that steers a path towards inculcating an ethics of encounter that is indispensable to the 'ethic' of a cosmopolitan worldview.

In our context, hospitality is understood in connection with encounter and engagement, thus adding a slightly different spin to this ancient virtue. Hospitality becomes more than just an act of kindness to another in need; it is morphed into a doorway or portal that offers an active route to openness that brings credence to the notion of a cosmopolitan ethic. To better understand this metaphor it is worth drawing from the thought of French philosopher Paul Ricœur.[228] He introduces his readers to the

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[228] Paul Ricœur was a distinguished French philosopher of the 20th century. He was known for combining phenomenological description with hermeneutics. During his career he wrote on a variety of issues. In addition to the many books he wrote, Ricœur published more than 500 essays, many of which appear in collections in English. Ricœur taught at the University of Strasbourg between 1948 and 1956 and then took up a position at the Sorbonne as the Chair of General Philosophy. From 1970 to 1985 Ricœur taught in the Divinity School at the University of Chicago. He has received many honorary degrees and awards, among them are the Karl Jaspers Prize (Heidelberg, 1989), the Leopold Lucas Prize (Tübingen, 1990), the French Academy Grand Prize for Philosophy (1991), the Kyoto Prize (2000), and the Pope Paul VI International Prize (2003) and many others. "A major theme that runs through Ricoeur's writings is that of a philosophical anthropology. Ricoeur came to formulate this as the idea of the "capable human being". In it he seeks to give an account of the fundamental capabilities and vulnerabilities that human beings display in the activities that make up their lives, and to show how these capabilities enable

notion of 'narrative hospitality,' which is about "taking responsibility, in imagination and in sympathy, for the story of the other through the narratives which concern that other" (Ricœur 1996, 7).[229] Here importance is placed on flexibility and reciprocity to allow for a plurality of experiences. Ricœur's narrative hospitality creates a sense of hope to move beyond constrained ideologies to a new horizon where differences are welcomed; "Ricœur places the virtue of hospitality as a model to integrate identity and otherness" (Moyaert 2011, 103). Further, in his philosophical role as translator, Ricœur understands the role of languages as mediator and notes "that good translations involve a crucial openness to the other" (Kearney 2007, 151). Ricœur's perspective offers a trajectory upon which we can extrapolate new and surprising interpretations that are free of rigid and arrogant conceptions. Essentially, Ricœur provides a hermeneutical model that situates the art of translation as an art of negotiating and mediating between Self and Other. As Fatima Mernissi[230] expresses in her autobiographical work, "Words are like onions…[t]he more skins you peel off, the more meanings you encounter" eventually discovering "multiplicities of meanings" (Mernissi 1995, 61). The parallel between Ricœur's translation model and the Abrahamic practice of 'sacred hospitality' is telling; it allows for another mode in which the paradigm of encountering takes precedence. After all, a fundamental aspect of sacred hospitality is reciprocity, which is also found in many of the other great traditions not discussed here – the *golden rule*: "so in everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up

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responsible human action and life together." He passed away in May 2005. See David Pellauer and Bernard Dauenhauer, "Paul Ricoeur", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Winter (2016) https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ricoeur/ (Accessed January 12, 2017).

[229] Also quoted in Marianne Moyaert's "Biblical, Ethical and Hermeneutical Reflections On Narrative Hospitality," 104.

[230] Fatima Mernissi was a Moroccan sociologist, writer and one of the best-known Arab-Muslim feminists. She is sometimes referred to as a founder of Islamic feminism. She obtained her Ph.D. in Sociology from Brandeis University and returned to Morocco to join the Sociology department at Mohammed V University. She also held a research appointment at the Moroccan Institut Universitaire de Recherche Scientifique. Mernissi's writings fall into two main categories: sociology and literature. She critically challenged injustice based in gender and sexual relations of power in the Muslim-majority world through her work. Overall, her works explore the relationship between gender identity, socio-political organizations and the status of women in Islam. Her best-known English-language books include Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society (1975) and Islam and Democracy: Fear of the Modern World (1992, trans. by Mary Jo Lakeland). She died 2 years ago at the age of 75.

the Law and the Prophets" (Matthew 7:12) or as the prophet Muhammad said "None of you believes until he wishes for his brother what he wishes for himself."[231]

The ethical component of our concept (cosmopolitan ethic) is precisely inspired by the complex ideal of sacred hospitality. It is also expressed, in the case of Islam, by the Qur'ānic precepts and Divine attributes that are manifest throughout creation. Taking the concept of a cosmopolitan ethic seriously is what faith traditions have attempted to do for centuries, an endeavor the Muslim *umma* is well aware of since we know the community did not emerge from an abstract ideal. Rather, it came into being as "an effort to live out its values as everyday reality" (Sajoo 2010, 1). From this perspective, religion becomes the effort of the human self to find meaning of transcendence and immanence through human relations. And ethics serves as the discourse through which one may encounter God. As I have tried to illustrate through the thought of Emmanuel Levinas, religion is the vessel that holds rich traditions conducive for moral actions and ethical obligations; it ceases to be simply about lofty ideals of God; it concerns relations to one another but more importantly a relationship with God that is irreducible. This relationship is however inspired by relations, prayer and knowledge working in unison bringing meaning to human experience. Levinas's emphasis on the face of the Other bearing the trace of the transcendent, lead us to uncover related precepts found in the Sūfī mystical understanding: In order to know God you must know yourself, know one another. An important ingredient of these approaches is an effort to consciously prioritize an intellectual openness of interpretation. For instance, Corbin's explanation of Ibn al-'Arabī's conception of the Divine's passionate yearning to be known through creation bears similarity to what Caputo termed the 'weakness of God.' In their attempt to shift our conception of God and humanity, these thinkers underscore the importance of love and relations with the Other through a burning passion – a desire to displace the God of 'power' with a conception of God as an unconditional claim. Although there is no denying the differences in how Caputo and Corbin conceive of this passion, both prioritize an

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[231] See *An-Nawawi's Forty Hadith,* tr. E Ezzeddin Ibrahim and Denys Johnson-Davies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), hadith 13; also mentioned in *Sahih Muslim* "…Whoever wishes to be delivered from the fire and enter the garden should die with faith in Allah and the Last Day and should treat the people as he wishes to be treated by them…"(Book 20, number 4546).

unconditionality that is fueled by love. There is a notable universal metaphysical basis that stands out through these diverse voices. As can readily be seen, like the human experience of encounter (vertical and horizontal relations), there is a cosmopolitan foundation that interconnects the various narratives of worldly and spiritual communication. In contemporary parlance, what is too often neglected are these cross-cultural human experiences that demonstrate a shared cosmopolitan ethic in hopes to bring a more balanced relation between reason and faith, which is inspired by a kind of ethico-spirituality sensitive to both religious and philosophical teachings.

The religious injunction 'to seek knowledge' would further legislate an enduring desire to find and understand creation's mysteries. In recognizing that creation was created to know one another, seeking knowledge is prioritized as an endeavor to engage with the past and the contemporary. All knowledge is to be obtained in both realms of *dīn* and *dunyā* bringing further insight into seeking a "balanced path" (2:143) accessible to all who make the effort. Rooted in this search, as we explored, was the coupling of belief with good works, bringing the practice of *adab* to the forefront of being Muslim – one who submits (to a higher calling). Humans can only know their creator after they know each other, bearing in mind the limitations of human knowing and wisdom. It follows that the Qur'ān and scriptures of the Abrahamic religions carry a cosmopolitan ethic emphasizing character and human virtues rather than abstract values. In this sense, the cosmopolitan spirit has always expressed itself through the exhortation of sacred concepts and the call for a contemporary cosmopolitan ethic is simply an attempt to remain true to what human beings have been doing for centuries.

PART II:
Decoding the Cosmopolitan Ethic in the Thought of the Aga Khans

CHAPTER 3
Rooting the Cosmopolitan Ethos in the Shīʿī-Ismāʿīlī Worldview

Introduction

The previous chapters explored the theoretical underpinnings (ideological and ethical) that contribute to an understanding of the notion 'cosmopolitan ethic'. Chapter 1 offered an entry into a long history of the spirit of cosmopolitanism from the Greeks to the Enlightenment period that evolved in complex and multi-forms. I added to this history in Chapter 2 by trying to break out of the religious-secular binary that increasingly identified cosmopolitanism in a domain that was seen as anything but religion. In this line of thought, I unveiled the ethical undertones characterized by the virtue of hospitality that was an essential component of the Abrahamic moral tradition; a lens through which to conceptualize the ethical aspect of cosmopolitanism. I set out to explain how such a perspective was always part of the Islamic worldview and subsequent discourses surrounding the relationship between the Divine and creation.

Recognizing these facets in our attempt to define the cosmopolitan ethic is helpful in laying out the diversity of attitudes while striving to articulate a more meaningful understanding that captures not only theoretical conceptualizations but also the phenomenon of human engagement throughout history. It is difficult nevertheless to understand the effect of this ideal – encountered throughout the speeches of Aga Khan IV– without an analysis of the Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan footing and ethical approach to Islam informed over the course of centuries by the many theological shifts in Ismāʿīlī history. It should be recalled that the Islamic approaches used in Chapter 2 to expose the various precepts connected to the 'cosmopolitan ethic' share one common thread – a spiritual/esoteric interpretation. These of course, as will be demonstrated below, are in line with Ismāʿīlī understandings and indeed form part of Aga Khan IV's interpretive tendency.

This chapter begins with a discussion on the origins of Shīʿism and the concept of Imāmate, which serve as the cornerstone of the Shīʿī tradition. What is crucial in this discussion of the Shīʿī conception of Imāmate is the continuation of the ethical dimension of the Prophet Muḥammad, embodied in the Qurʾānic message, and a

sustained divine inspiration invested in a guide whose purpose is essentially to enable humanity to realize God's wish to manifest the Divine qualities in this world. These guides are understood to possess the essence of the Qur'ān: to truly 'know' the creator, oneself, and one another, which we previously established as being the purpose of creation – the valiant struggle to manifest the cosmopolitan ethic. This is followed by an overview of the Ismāʿīlī community's historical phases in order to showcase the evolution in Ismāʿīlī thought centred on the importance of esoteric practices. The various periods of Ismāʿīlī history highlight the interpretive tendencies that continue to play an important role in Ismāʿīlī thought and practice. The theological evolvement of Ismāʿīlism provides a point of departure to capture the nuance of Ismāʿīlī identity and thought, which has contributed to preservation and construction of an identification that is crafted by the Imāms' interpretations and socio-cultural environments of the community. I then explore the affinities of Shīʿī and Ṣūfī theological understandings, paying close attention to the shared esoteric thread within Ismāʿīlism. Consideration will also be given to the complex socio-cultural context in which these traditions flourished and impacted one another reiterating that the source of inspiration is the One.

This background will aid in better comprehending the interpretive perspective of Aga Khan IV in relation to the Islamic discourse introduced in Chapter 2. As I discuss the topic at hand, I am reminded of an important statement made by Aga Khan III[232] in his *Memoirs* that instructs our current analysis: "Ismailism has survived because it has always been fluid. Rigidity is contrary to our whole way of life and outlook" (1954, 65). This suggests a certain dynamism that is integral to the kinetics of our everyday lives and ideas, and when examining Ismāʿīlī history and thought one is reminded of the constant endeavor to continue developing an Ismāʿīlī interpretation as we progress with time under the guidance of the current Imām, Aga Khan IV. The point is that a successful conceptualization of Aga Khan IV's vision of a cosmopolitan ethic must account for all the varied articulations of this same ideal, albeit in different forms, and its meaning informed by Ismāʿīlī history itself. This includes paying attention to the organic socio-cultural impacts inflected by the ubiquitous esoteric spirit of Muslim mystics and thinkers engaged in making sense of the relationship between self and

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[232] More about Aga Khan III will be taken up in Chapter 4.

meaning. This means taking seriously a "full spectrum of intellectual, material, spiritual, bodily, imaginal, psychic, social, and discursive engagements by Muslims to order and give meaning to their lives in the world through reference to and in terms of the Divine Revelation – which range of engagements are all, first and foremost, predicated upon the *various determinations* by Muslims of what Divine Revelation itself *is*" (Ahmed 2016, 345).

Shī'ism and Imāmate[233]

Let me begin by unearthing a set of events that resulted in the formation of a distinct conscious identity that confined the expressive locus of an Islamic cosmopolitan ethos to the chosen progeny of the Prophet Muḥammad. I am referring here to the shaping of a Muslim community known as the Shī'a, which has its roots in the succession crisis immediately following the death of the Prophet Muḥammad in 632. A small minority who supported 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib maintained his right as the legitimate successor to Muḥammad based on his blood kinship to the Prophet and early conversion to Islam (Hamdani 2006).[234] In Shī'ī interpretation, importance is placed on the family of Muḥammad which is understood to be limited to the household of 'Alī. One of the most prominent sources that serve to authenticate this interpretation is the tradition of *al-thaqalayn* (the tradition of the two 'safeguards' or 'weighty things'); a text that is

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[233] For detailed scholarly works, in the English language, on Twelver Shī'ī origins and doctrines refer to Lynda G. Clarke, "Early Doctrine of the Shi'ah, According to the Shī'ī Sources" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1994); Jassim Hussain, *The Occultation of the Twelfth Imam* (Cambridge: Muhammadi Trust, 1982); Syed Husain M. Jafri, *Origins and Early Development of Shi'ite Islam* (London: Longman, 1978); Etan Kohlberg, ed., *The Formation of the Classical Islamic World: Shi'ism* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2003); Wilferd Madelung, "Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology," in *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985); M.A. Amir-Moezzi, T*he Divine Guide in Early Shi'ism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, trans. David Streight (Albany: SUNY, 1994); Hossein Modarresi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam* (Princeton: Darwin, 1993); Mojan Momen, *An Introduction to Shi'i Islam: The History and Doctrines of Twelver Shi'ism* (New Haven: Yale, 1985); Seyyed H. Nasr *et al.*, *Shi'ism: Doctrines, Thought and Spirituality* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1988); Abdulaziz A. Sachedina, *Islamic Messianism: The Idea of Mahdi in Twelver Shi'ism* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1980); Likayat Takim, *The Heirs of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in Shi'ite Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2006).

[234] For a comprehensive account about the succession crisis that pays close attention to the Shī'ī narrative see Wilferd Madelung *The Succession to Muḥammad: A study of the early Caliphate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Madelung offers a reinterpretation of early Muslim history in presenting 'Alī as the natural successor of the Prophet Muhammad emphasizing the importance of hereditary leadership, the Prophet's own wishes, and 'Alī's own beliefs.

viewed as establishing an unbreakable bond between the Prophet's family (*ahl al-bayt*) and the Qur'ān (Haider 2014).

One of the central and key characteristics of Shī'ī Islam is the importance it places on the Imāms.[235] Among the Shī'a, Imāms (spiritual authorities)[236] have always had great veneration from and power over their followers, and the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs, alone among the Shī'a, recognize a living Imām today – Aga Khan IV, considered the 49th hereditary Ismā'īlī Imām in a lineage beginning with the Prophet's son-in-law Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the first Imām in this Shī'ī tradition (Karim 2015c).[237] Historically, the foundational basis for the Shī'ī institution of the Imāmate is tied to the belief in the special qualities and role of 'Alī, the cousin and son-in-law of the prophet Muḥammad. According to the Shī'a, 'Alī was the first Imām based on Qur'ānic verses and the distinctive charismatic bond (*walāya*)[238] he held with his followers that transcended

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[235] "Shī'ism has usually been explained with reference to political and social factors. More emphasis needs to be placed on the religious phenomenon of Shī'ī Islam which was the crucial factor in determining its external history" (Lalani 2000, 2). My modest contribution in this chapter is to emphasize the esoteric thought that is integral to Shī'ī interpretation and its connection to *taṣawwuf*. It is this esoteric character that will enable us to situate Aga Khan IV's articulation of a cosmopolitan ethic, which is inspired by the tenets of 'sacred hospitality' covered in Chapter 2.

[236] The Sunni view of the Imām's role is restricted to the realm of politics according to which "he is a protector and executor of the shari'a, not divinely appointed, but installed by a consensus."Arzina Lalani, "Imam/Imama," in *The Qur'an: an Encyclopedia*, ed. Oliver Leaman (London: Routledge, 2006), 292.

[237] Another branch of the Ismā'īlīs (not discussed here) are the Da'ūdī Bohra Ṭayyibīs who belong to the Musta'lī branch of the Ismā'īlīs. Due to a number of internal schisms, there exists today a number of Ṭayyibī Bohra sub-branches which have to do with whom they accept as the legitimate *dā'ī*. Of these sub-branches, the Da'ūdī Bohras are the largest. They are more commonly referred to as 'Bohras' which is a Gujarātī term ('honest' or 'trustworthy') pointing to their indigenous origins as Hindu merchants who converted to Islam around the 11th century through the missionary activities of the Fāṭimid dynasty. The Bohras believe their current Imām is hidden and not in occultation (as the Twelver Shī'īs believe); rather he is considered to reside in this world but concealed from the people's eyes. As such, a number of *dā'īs* (based on Fāṭimid hierarchical leadership) have been bestowed with the authority to guide the community on behalf of the Imām, the most important of which is the *dā'ī al-muṭlaq* (the absolute missionary). The *dā'ī al-muṭlaq* thus serves as the most direct access to the Imām's grace and knowledge and his command is regarded as the final decree granted by the divine support of the Imām. See Rizwan Mawani, "The Bohras: Understanding Shi'a Succession in a Muslim Community," *The Huffington* Post, January 22, 2014 [updated December 6, 2017], https://www.huffingtonpost.com/rizwan-mawani/understanding-shia-succession_b_4624082.html; Tahera Qutbuddin, "The Da'udi Bohra Tayyibis: Ideology, Literature, Learning and Social Practice," in *A Modern History of the Ismailis; Continuity and Change in a Muslim Community,* ed. Farhad Daftary (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011), 331-354. Also refer to Jonah Blank, *Mullahs on the Mainframe: Islam and Modernity among the Daudi Bohras* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

[238] The concept of walāya represents "a principle of spiritual charisma that lies at the heart of all major Shī'ī sectarian beliefs and embodies the Shī'ī religious ethos" of unwavering faith and obedience owed to the Imāms. The acknowledgment of 'Alī' as the rightful charismatic leader of the ummah, after the prophet Muḥammad, is legitimized through an episode that occurred near the end of the Prophet's life at Ghadīr Khumm. 'Alī's supporters expressed their loyalty through their unbreakable bond of walāya

everyday loyalty and support exercised by other Muslim leaders (Haider 2014). The notion of walāya in connection to the necessity of the Imāms – the proof of God on earth (*ḥujja*) – arises from the *ḥadīths* as well as sayings attributed to ʿAlī such as the *khuṭbat al-bayān* (The Sermon of the Clear Declaration).[239] The concept of walāya does not have a single equivalent term in English, rather it holds a number meanings ranging from friendship to authority and is almost always tied to the functions of a spiritual guide. Maria Massi Dakake[240] defines *walāya* as "a principle of spiritual charisma that lies at the heart of all major Shīʿī sectarian beliefs and embodies the Shīʿī religious ethos" which subsequently serves as an articulation of unwavering faith and obedience owed to the Imāms (2007, 7). What is noteworthy is that the concept of *walāya* took shape and garnered a theological basis in relation to the designation of the Imāms who descended from the Prophet's family, *ahl al-bayt*. More importantly, the coupling of *walāya* and the *ahl al-bayt* placed the Imāms as the rightful mediators between God and mankind forever eternalizing the concept of Imāmate. This is captured in a famous saying of Imām ʿAlī, "'I was a walī even when Adam was still in the mixture of water and clay (*kuntu walīyan wa-Ādam bayn al-māʾ waʾl-ṭīn*)'" (Rizvi 2014, 395). As such,

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(allegiance) to him. As the holder of spiritual authority, ʿAlī's supporters considered him as the walī of God. See Maria Dakake *The Charismatic Community* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), 7, especially chap. 2. Also see Mohammed Ali Amir-Moezzi, 'Notes à propos de la walāya imāmite', *JAOS* 122 (2002): 722–740. In Ismāʿīlī theology, the principle of walāya is regarded as the first pillar of faith. See Al-Qādī al-Nuʿmān, *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* (trans.), Asaf A.A. Fyzee and completely revised and annotated by Ismail Kurban Hussein Poonawala. *The Pillars of Islam*. 2 vols. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002-2004).

[239] "The *khuṭbat al-bayān* is often part of an 'eschatological prophecy' attributed to ʿAlī. It was analysed and partially translated by L. Massignion in his article on the Perfect Man ["L'homme Parfait en Islam et son originalité eschatologique", *Eranos Jahrbuch,* 15 (1984): 287-314 (now in *Opera Minora* vol.1 (Paris 1969): 107-125]." See M. A. Amir-Moezzi, *The Spirituality in Shiʿi Islam* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 123, fn. 57. An extensive list of sources on the *khuṭbat al-bayān* (and its versions and excerpts) is mentioned by Amir-Moezzi.

[240] Maria Massi Dakake is chair and associate professor of Religious Studies at George Mason University. She is also is a founding member and director of the interdisciplinary Islamic Studies program. Dakake researches and publishes on Islamic intellectual history, Shīʿī and Sūfī traditions, women's spirituality and Qurʾān and commentary. She is currently co-editing the *Routledge Companion to the Qurʾan* (forthcoming, with Daniel Madigan). Some of her recent publications include, *The Study Qur'an* (2015, with S.H. Nasr, C. Dagli, J. Lumbard, and M. Rustom); "Writing and Resistance: The Transmission of Knowledge in Early Shi`ism" in *The Study of Shi`i Islam: History Theology, and Law* (2013, ed. Farhad Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda); *The Charismatic Community: Shi`ite Identity in Early Islam* (2007).

'Alī – the first Imām – became the "archetype of *walāya*…the supreme symbol of imamate or of all the imams as a whole" (Amir-Moezzi 2011, 248).[241]

The Ismāʿīlī Imām embodies in many ways the social, political and spiritual roles attributed to the historical ideal of a Shīʿī Imām. "He is an intermediary between the divine and human realms, and only he is sanctioned to prescribe doctrine and practice" (Steinberg 2011, 10). More recently, in an address to the Canadian parliament Aga Khan IV had to say the following about his role as Imām:

> The Ismaili Imamat is a supra-national entity, representing the succession of Imams since the time of the Prophet. But let me clarify something more about the history of that role, in both the Sunni and Shia interpretations of the Muslim faith. The Sunni position is that the Prophet nominated no successor, and that spiritual-moral authority belongs to those who are learned in matters of religious law. As a result, there are many Sunni imams in a given time and place. But others believed that the Prophet had designated his cousin and son-in-law, Ali, as his successor. From that early division, a host of further distinctions grew up – but the question of rightful leadership remains central. In time, the Shia were also sub-divided over this question, so that today the Ismailis are the only Shia community who, throughout history, have been led by a living, hereditary Imam in direct descent from the Prophet. The role of the Ismaili Imam is a spiritual one; his authority is that of religious interpretation. It is not a political role. I do not govern any land. At the same time, Islam believes fundamentally that the spiritual and material worlds are inextricably connected. Faith does not remove Muslims – or their Imams – from daily, practical matters in family life, in business, in community affairs (Aga Khan IV, 2014).

The Ismāʿīlī doctrine of Imāmate accords the Imām with "absolute political and religious authority and affirmed their privileged connection with God, their access to hidden knowledge, and their spiritual perfection" (Haider 2014, 123). The Imāmate is acknowledged by Shīʿī Muslims as a divine hereditary institution. Husain Jafri[242] roots this institution upon two fundamental principles as expounded by Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq.[243] The first principle refers to the designation of an Imām wherein "the Imamate

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[241] In Shīʿī Imāmī literature, the Imāms are identified as heirs of all prophets, including the Prophet Muḥammad.

[242] Syed Husain Mohammad Jafri obtained two doctorates from the University of Lucknow and the other from the University of London. He has been teaching since 1962. Jafri joined the University of Karachi as founding Director of the Pakistan Study Centre and as founding Chair and Professor of Islamic/Pakistan Studies at the Aga Khan University, Karachi in 1983.

[243] Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (d. 765) is a leading personality in the early period of Islam portraying the teachings of the Prophet's family. Attempting to apply a particular label to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq is exhausting since his

is a prerogative bestowed by God upon a chosen person, from the family of the Prophet, who before his death and with the guidance of God, transfers the Imamate to another by an explicit designation, [*naṣṣ*]" (Jafri 1979, 290). For the Shī'a, the concept of *naṣṣ* refers to the process and principle of the appointment of the Imām, meaning the Imām's authority is attributed by divine appointment alone. This concept was later made into a doctrine that explicitly lays out the significance of hereditary succession (Lalani 2006, 449).[244] The second fundamental principle is that of *'ilm*, "this means that an Imam is a divinely inspired possessor of a special sum of knowledge of religion, which can only be passed on before his death to the following Imam" (Jafri 1979, 291). Hence, the Imām is the sole authority in religious knowledge, which encompasses both the external (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) meanings of the Qur'ān. This authoritative knowledge (*'ilm*) was embodied in Imām al-Bāqir's[245] theory of *naṣṣ*. He maintained that this knowledge was first granted to Adam and was inherited from generation to generation by the chosen ones. He also argued that this knowledge was imparted to 'Alī from

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personality was far too complex to be easily contained in one category. Born around in 699 or 702 he is a frequently cited authority in almost all fields of knowledge related to Islam. His thoughts permeated both Ṣūfī and Shī'ī traditions that came after him. He was the son of the fourth Imām, Muḥammad al-Bāqir and inherited the position of leadership from his father. In this position he would contribute to the formulation of the Imāmate doctrine in Shī'ī theology. He also provided a momentum for the development of law and theology. For Ja'far, the prophets and the Imāms were the bridge between man and contact with God. Ja'far also occupies an important position in Ṣūfī tradition where he is believed to have associated with a number of Ṣūfīs and is lauded for his knowledge on topics of spiritual progress within Ṣūfī circles. In addition, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was a teacher and peer to many authoritative Sunnī theologians such as Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 767), Mālik b. Anas (d. 796), and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 767). One cannot ignore the extensive influence of Ja'far's teaching among the various traditions of Islam and the different fields of Islamic learning. The following quote aptly captures Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's charismatic persona: "By all accounts, Ja'far's profoundly God-aware ethics of truthfulness, justice, tolerance, and peaceability, were exemplary indeed. Reports in Muslim sources…reveal his ontological role towards God and creature; when he faced creation he was a divine ambassador, manifesting God's constant and patient availability, transmitting the divine qualities, guiding to that wise proximity to God that comes through living in a godly manner, in harmony with the divine; when he faced God, he was an intercessor for creation." Farhana Mayer, trans. , *Spiritual Gems: The Mystical Qur'an Commentary Ascribed to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq as contained in Sulamī's Ḥaqā'iq al-Tafsīr from the text of Paul Nwyia* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae), quote at xiv. For more on the thought and lasting influence of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq see also John B. Taylor's "Ja'far al-Sadiq, Spiritual Forebear of the Ṣūfīs" *Islamic Culture* 40 (1966), 195-206.

[244] Recent scholarship has shown that it was Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's father, al-Bāqir who was the first to initiate the hereditary characteristic of the nass in the appointment of an Imam. Al-Bāqir argued that the Prophet had explicitly designated 'Alī as his successor by naṣṣ al-jalī. For more on the elaboration of naṣṣ and its development in Shī'ī understanding see Arzina Lalani, *Early Shī'ī Thought* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000).

[245] Imām al-Bāqir (d. ca. 737-739) was the fourth Imām in the Shī'ī Ismā'īlī line of Imāmate and the father of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. He is considered one of the most erudite Muslims of the 8th century and played a vital role in the formulation of the function and nature of the Imāmate. For more on al-Bāqir's contributions to Islamic thought in the early formative period see Arzina Lalani, *Early Shī'ī Thought* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000).

Muḥammad, making ʿAlī the sole successor of the Prophet. It thus follows that the Shīʿī Imāms are the proofs of God on earth (ḥujja), the repository of His knowledge and the interpreter of His revelations without whom the world could not exist according to the Shīʿī collective consciousness (Lalani 2000).

Who are the Ismāʿīlīs?

The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community, more commonly referred to as the Ismāʿīlīs, constitutes a part of the Shīʾī branch of Islam. They are a minority tradition that emerged through a number of divisions that took place within the Islamic community on the issue of succession. The Ismāʿīlīs derive their name from Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's second son, Ismāʿīl (Asani 2002; Daftary 2007; Nanji 1983). The complex and turbulent history of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs can be deduced into five historical phases based on the model introduced by Daryoush M. Poor (2014). Through this chronological development of the community, the different phases will highlight occasions of what can be considered as 'cosmopolitan moments', admitting that such a declaration is indeed guided by an acceptance of a continued cosmopolitan spirit influenced by the inseparable realities of *dīn* and *dunyā*.

1) The early period of Ismāʿīlī history saw the development of an Ismāʿīlī gnostic system that integrated the concept of Imāmate with a particular cosmology and cyclical view of history. This interpretation of time and religious history was also applied to the Judeo-Christian revelations and other pre-Islamic communities. In this complex system, the early Ismāʿīlīs conceived of time through a progression of cycles or eras influenced by Greek and early Gnostic eschatological ideas: "It was in the light of such doctrines, rooted in a syncretic and ecumenical worldview, that the early Ismailis developed their system of thought, a system that appealed not only to Muslims belonging to different communities of interpretation and social strata but also to a diversity of non-Islamic religious communities" (Daftary 1998, 54).[246]

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[246] For a more detailed account of Ismāʿīlī gnostic thought see Farhad Daftary *A Short Hisotry of The Ismailis* (1998), Chapters 2-3; *Mediaeval Ismaili History and Thought* (1996) *Ismailis in Medieval Societies (2005);* also see Henry Corbin *Cyclical Time and Ismaili Gnosis* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul International, 1983).

This early period is known as the first period of Concealment (*dawr al-satr*) and is perhaps the most obscure phase in Ismāʿīlī history. It has its roots in the dispute surrounding the succession of Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq around 765, which produced a number of splinter groups. The most important of these groups were the Mubārakīs[247] who continued to trace the Imāmate through Ismāʿīl's son Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl (d. 795). The Mubārakīs would soon split into two groups with a majority denying Muḥammad's death, waiting for his return as the Mahdī (Daftary 2007; Haider 2014).[248] In waiting for Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl's return (the Mahdī), the Ismāʿīlīs placed the Mahdī within their gnostic system referring to him as the seal of the seventh and final era or cycle that began with the prophet Muḥammad.[249] Najam Haider[250] explains,

> Each historical cycle was initiated by a prophet (referred to as a *nāṭiq*, 'enunciator'), who brought a revealed law, and an executor (referred to as a *wāṣī*) who explained the inner meaning of that law. The executor was followed by seven Imāms, the last of which abrogated the law, rose to the rank of prophet, and presented a new religious law (2014, 124).

Accordingly, the first six eras or cycles were inaugurated by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muḥammad. Each of these 'enunciators' were succeeded by a 'spiritual executor' also called the silent one (*ṣāmit*), who revealed the spiritual interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of the *nāṭiq*'s revelation and law to the elite of the community. The first six waṣīs were Seth, Shem, Ishmael, Aaron, Simon Peter and ʿAlī. In each era, the *waṣī* was succeeded by seven Imāms understood to be the holders of the exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and esoteric (*bāṭin*) truths of divine scripture. In the seventh and final messianic era Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl would reveal the greater truth, *ḥaqāʾiq* (Daftary 1998, 53-54; Haider 2014, 43). This gnostic system would be revisited with the establishment of the

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[247] "This group is named after the epithet *al-Mubārak* (the Blessed One) given to Ismāʿīl during his lifetime" (Daftary 1998, 35).

[248] Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was understood to fill the position of the eschatological Mahdī in order to bring justice to earth. The title of Mahdī is also synonymous with the term Qāʾim used by the Ismāʿīlīs as well.

[249] The majority who supported this theological understanding are considered to be the immediate predecessors of the dissident Qarmaṭī Ismāʿīlīs.

[250] Najam Haider is Assistant Professor in the Department of Religion at Barnard College of Columbia University, where he teaches courses in Islamic studies and history. He previously taught at Franklin & Marshall College, Georgetown University, New York University, and Princeton University. His research interests include early Islamic history, the methodology and development of Islamic law, and Shīʿism.

Fāṭimid empire under the rule of a living Imām (Daftary 2007; Haider 2014; Poor 2014).

2) The Fāṭimid era is often labeled as the 'Golden Age' of Ismāʿīlīsm because of the cosmopolitan sensibilities cultivated through the Ismāʿīlīs high regard for learning and pragmatic governance. The desire to establish systems of learning is reflected through the private and public teaching sessions held by the Fāṭimid state. [251] Private lectures known as 'wisdom sessions' (*majālis al-ḥikma*) were held under the auspices of the Imām. These sessions were meant to impart believers with inner knowledge (*bāṭin*), while public lectures concerned exoteric subjects such as Ismāʿīlī law – the contents of which are captured in the writings of the renowned Ismāʿīlī scholar and foremost jurist al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (Daftary 1998; Haider 2014).[252] An important feature of al-Nuʿmān's work, worth mentioning, is the document on governance known as the *'ahd* document, which prescribes principles by which a ruler is able to maintain a ideal socio-political state. As Wadad al-Qadi[253] notes,

> [T]he *'ahd* represents the first political *constitution* of the Fāṭimid state after its final establishment as a *Dawla*. It is for this very reason that al-Qāḍi al-Nuʿmān had to record it, perhaps under the influence of al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh, in his *Daʿāʾim al-Islām,* the book which contained the final statement of the Ismāʾīlī Fāṭimids on matters pertaining to the law. With the *'ahd's* incorporation in the *Daʿāʾim*, the *Daʿāʾim* came to represent not only the paramount *divine constitution* of the Fāṭimid State but also *civil constitution* of state (1978, 104).

The document carries a non-denominational tone placing importance on the satisfaction of the common people. It thus serves as a marker of governance that was inclusive in nature. "Doctrinally, their model [Fāṭimid governance] was underpinned by a universalist notion of authority of the divinely designated imam-caliph. Pragmatically,

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[251] 'Wisdom sessions' were also available to women of the Fāṭimid court and *daʿwa*.
[252] Al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān was born around 903 CE into a learned family in Qayrawan, in North Africa. He entered into the service of the Ismāʿīlī Imām-caliph ʿabd Allāh al-Mahdī and served the first four Fāṭimid Imām-caliphs in different capacities. Al-Nuʿmān was a prolific author and wrote over forty books ranging from legal texts to collections of ḥadīths and works on esoteric Ismāʿīlī doctrines.
[253] Wadad al-Qadi was Professor of Islamic Thought at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago since 1988. She was appointed The Avalon Foundation Distinguished Service Professor in 1997 and since 2009 she is Professor Emerita. Some of her areas of expertise include Islamic Political Thought, Islamic Theology and Heresiography, Qurʾān and Arabic Literature. Al-Qadi has written books and over 60 articles in various areas of Islamic thought and classical Arabic prose.

the model evolved with their experience of governing diverse communities across a vast terrain" (Jiwa 2015, 111). The Fāṭimid policy was aimed at finding a balance between Ismāʿīlī doctrine and recognition of non-Ismāʿīlī subjects by the Fāṭimid rulers (Hamdani 2006). The inclusive approach of governance represented in the *ʿahd* would be further articulated in another declaration known as the *Aman* document.[254] This document was issued as a guarantee of safety and justice, further highlighting the Fāṭimid commitment to uphold ideals of inclusivity, equity, justice and peace. More importantly, the document was a manifestation of religious pluralism in that it provided freedom of worship to the Egyptian population who belonged to different *madhāhib* (legalistic schools);[255] it essentially "contained the blueprint of Fatimid rule in Egypt over the course of the next couple of centuries" (Jiwa 2009, 163). Together, the *ʿahd* and *Aman* documents serve as key examples of the pluralist ethos promulgated by the Fāṭimids who ruled in a cosmopolitan milieu shaped by Egypt's ethnic and religious diversity.[256]

The Fāṭimid Period (909 – 1094) is known to have started with the installation and acknowledgement of the first Imām caliph ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī of the Fāṭimid dynasty – the twelfth Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs. He openly claimed the Imāmate of the Ismāʿīlīs for himself and his ancestors under the epithet of 'al-Mahdī.' It was in reaction to this that the Ismāʿīlī movement in the ninth century was split into two rival factions, those loyal to the self-proclaimed Imām of the future Fāṭimid dynasty and the dissident Qarmaṭīs who retained their original belief in the Madhīship of the Muḥamamd b. Ismāʿīl as the seventh nāṭiq[257] (Daftary 2007). As the living Imām, al-Mahdī introduced important modifications to the previous cyclical view of history:

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[254] The *Aman* declaration was issued under the auspices of the Imām-caliph al-Muʿizz and has been recorded in its entirety by the historians Taqi al-dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrizi and Imād al-dīn Idris.

[255] The document took inspiration from Qurʾānic principles captured in (49:13 and 2:256).

[256] As Jiwa notes, the Fāṭimid model was not perfect. The Fāṭimids faced their own dynastic challenges in instituting a fair policy over a diverse social and religious community in Egypt. Nevertheless, their history provides a possible model of inclusivity and equitable governance influenced by the socio-historical context of their time. For more details on Fāṭimid governance and religious pluralism see her *The Founder of Cairo: The Fatimid Imam-Caliph Al-Muʿizz and His Era* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2013) and *Towards a Shiʿi Mediterranean Empire: Fatimid Egypt and the Founding of Cairo* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009).

[257] It was not long until the Qarmaṭīs claimed the Mahdiship for themselves thus becoming a troublesome rival to the Fāṭimids in the struggle to be acknowledged as the rightful Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs.

> …[T]he loyal Fatimid Ismaili camp developed a different conception of the sixth era of religious history, the era of Islam. By introducing continuity in the imamate, 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī had allowed for more than one heptad of imams in the era of Islam. In effect, the seventh era, earlier defined as the spiritual age of the Mahdi, had now completely lost its messianic appeal for the Fatimid Ismailis. The final age, whatever its nature, was henceforth postponed indefinitely into the future; and the functions of the Mahdi or *qā'im* who would initiate the Day of Resurrection (*yawm al-qiyāma*) at the end of time, were similar to those envisaged by other Muslim communities (Daftary 1998, 55).[258]

The Imāms of the earlier Fāṭimid reign were preoccupied with maintaining political and religious authority, and it is not until the fourth Fāṭimid Imām caliph, al-Muʿizz (d. 975) that we witness the development of a firm articulation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate. Their empire included much of North Africa and western Asia. The Fāṭimids built the city of Cairo as well as the famous al-Azhar mosque and university (Steinberg 2011). "Control over such a vast territory enabled the Fatimids to extend their hegemony even further into the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, bringing about the development of a thriving new trade economy that reached far beyond the Middle East" (Hamdani 2006, xx). In their efforts to formulate an official Ismāʿīlī identity, the Fāṭimids developed a complex administrative system, a more centralized missionary network (*daʿwa*) that stretched as far as India, and a distinct Ismāʿīlī legal code. The structure of this complex *daʿwa* network was led by the chief agent (*dāʿī*) who oversaw basic administration and appointed representatives in both Fāṭimid and non-Fāṭimid territories (Asani 2002; Daftary 2007; Haider 2014). It should be noted that Fāṭimid accounts maintain that the *daʿwa* movement was always active, even during the time of the community's concealment, in effort to acquire supporters for the Ismāʿīlī cause.[259]

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[258] For a comprehensive understanding of the various cosmological doctrines see Wilferd Madelung "Das Imamat in der fruhen ismailitischen Lehre" *Der Islam*, 37 (1-3), pp. 43–135(1961) and Heinz Halm "The Cosmology of the Pre-Fatimid Ismāʿīliyya", in *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought*, ed. Farhad Daftary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 75-83.

[259] Scholars such as Heinz Halm, Wilferd Madelung and Samuel Stern argue that there is little continuity between the daʿwa movement of the Fāṭimid era and the early nascent groups of the 8th century that rallied around Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. Whereas, Farhad Daftary offers a different pespective: "It seems *certain* that for almost a century after Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, a group of leaders, originally well placed within the nascent Ismāʿīliyya, worked secretly and systematically for the creation of a unified and expanding Ismaili movement…these leaders were in *all probability* the imams of that obscure sub-group issued from the Mubārakiyya who maintained continuity in the imamate in the progeny of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl" (1998, 36-37). Emphasis is mine.

The *dāʿīs* therefore played many roles in addition to their religious endeavours such as social reformers, political workers and administrative officers.

The glory of the Fāṭimid reign would end with a subsequent dispute over the succession to al-Mustanṣir, which resulted in two groups: 1) the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs who supported the claims of al-Mustanṣir's eldest son, Nizār and succeeded in establishing a stronghold in parts of Iran and Syria beginning in the eleventh century; 2) The Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs who gave their allegiance to al-Mustaʿlī the succeeding caliph of the Fāṭimid dynasty.[260]

3) The Alamūt Period (1090 – 1256) and the Second Period of Concealment[261] marks the official end of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in Fāṭimid Cairo. The defenders of Nizār's line of Imāmate now organized themselves under the famous Persian *dāʿī* Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 1124).[262] Farhad Daftary[263] suggests that Ḥasan already had embarked on setting up a new base for the loyal Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in the eastern lands when internal factions were plaguing the Fāṭimid succession. "In fact, Ḥasan's seizure of the mountain fortress of Alamūt in 483/1090 marked what was to become the Nizārī Ismaʿili state of Persia with a later subsidiary in Syria" (Daftary 1996, 5). This phase in Nizārī Ismāʿīlī history lasted 166 years until the fall of Alamūt by the onslaught of the Mongols in 1256. For most of this period, the masters of Alamūt functioned as the representatives of the Imāms (*ḥujja*) who were in hiding. The return of the Imām took place at the time of the fourth ruler at Alamūt, Ḥasan II (d. 1166) who asserted direct descent from Imām Nizār (Haider 2014; Poor 2014).[264]

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[260] This Fāṭimid rule officially began in 1094 and eventually came to an end in 1171 when Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al Ayyūbī proclaimed Cairo under the dominion of the ʿAbbāsids.

[261] This period of concealment lasts until 1162. From this date onwards the Alamūt lords openly identified themselves as the Imāms of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.

[262] Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (d. 1124) was born into a Twelver Shīʿī family who eventually took interest in Ismāʿīlī ideas circulating through the eastern dāʿīs. He was to be initiated into the movement as an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* who rose in the ranks of the daʿwa under the Fāṭimids. He worked tirelessly for the Fāṭimid cause in the northern Iranian region of Daylam (Daftary 1998).

[263] Farhad Daftary is a world authority in Ismāʿīlī studies. He is currently Co-Director and Head of the Department of Academic Research and Publications (DARP) at the Institute of Ismaili Studies. He has written more than 200 articles and encyclopedia entries and several acclaimed books on Shīʿism and Ismāʿīlism. A Festschrift entitled *Fortresses of the Intellect* (2011) was produced to honour Daftary's contribution to Ismāʿīlī studies as a flourishing field.

[264] According to Persian historians, a son or grandson was secretly taken from Egypt to Alamūt who was hidden under the care of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (Daftary 2007).

During their time in Alamūt, the Ismāʿīlīs were devoted to survival tactics against the hostility of the Saljūqs. Nevertheless, they were able to formulate teachings that would bring new dimensions to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī tradition (Haider 2014). In this context, the (Persian) Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs initiated a 'new preaching' expressed in the Persian language rather than Arabic, in contrast to the 'old preaching' of the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs now part of the Mustaʿlī Ismāʿīlīs. The 'new preaching' emphasized the absolute authority of the Imām, an idea that was not foreign to previous Ismāʿīlī writings. "[I]t was essentially the reformulation, in a more rigorous manner, of an old Shiʿi doctrine of long-standing among the Ismailis: the doctrine of *taʿlim*, or authoritative teaching of the imam" (Daftary 1998, 131; Daftary 2005a, 140; Haider 2014). Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, as a learned theologian, reformulated this doctrine of *taʿlīm* (instruction) in a theological treatise entitled *Chahār Faṣl* (Four Chapters)[265] which established the incapability of human reason alone to know God and understand religious truths (*ʿilm*), hence the necessity of inerrant guide – the Ismāʿīlī Imām (Haider 2014). In sum, the doctrine argued for un-wavering loyalty to the Imām and his representative and laid the foundation for subsequent teachings, especially the doctrine of *qiyāma* or resurrection (Daftary 1996; Poor 2014). It was the fourth ruler Ḥasan II (d. 1166) who claimed himself as the rightful Imām and made the proclamation of the *qiyāma* in 1164, a term generally reserved for the end of times when God would judge mankind for their actions, the exoteric religious law would cease to matter, and the esoteric truths of religion would be revealed to everyone (Daftary 2007; Haider 2014). Interestingly, the *qiyāma* was interpreted symbolically and spiritually, wherein Ḥasan II declared that his community was relieved from burdens of Islamic law because they now had direct access to inner truths. Here again we notice the importance of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* meanings of religious beliefs that have always been a part of Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī teachings. In Daftary's words,

> [T]hose who acknowledged the Nizārī imam were now capable of understanding the truth, or the esoteric essence of religion, and therefore, Paradise was actualised for them in this very corporeal world. Like the Sufis,

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[265] This treatise was written in Persian but has not survived in its originality. However, it was paraphrased in the writings of the Persian historians al-Juwaynī, Rashīd al-Dīn and ʿAlī Kāshānī (Daftary 1998, 131).

the Nizārīs were to rise to a spiritual level of existence, moving along a spiritual path, similarly to the *ṭarīqa* of the Sufis, form *ẓāhir* to *bāṭin*, from *sharī'a* to *haqīqa*, or from the literal interpretation of the law to an understanding of its spiritual essence reflecting the eternal truths (1998, 139).

Another important aspect that highlights the significance of the established doctrine of *ta'līm* occurred during the reign of the sixth lord of Alamūt, Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (d. 1221) who abolished the doctrine of *qiyāma* in favour of observing the *sharī'a*. The Ismā'īlīs at Alamūt accepted the Imām's reform, displaying their oath of allegiance to their spiritual and worldly leader. This directive was perhaps a response to the growing political changes of the early thirteenth century. The Mongols were rising in power in the east and the once dominant Saljūq authority of Iran was waning. "The Nizārī Imāms responded by forging closer ties with Sunnī states while attempting to consolidate (or even expand) their territorial control" (Haider 2014, 135).[266] This event was interpreted by the Ismā'īlīs as an act of precautionary dissimulation (*taqiyya*)[267] for the security of the community of the time, explained through the works of one of the most learned Shī'ī scholar Naṣir al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274).[268]

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[266] The rapprochement with Sunnī Islam by Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was a break with the past. The Imām is said to have even sought the endorsement of the 'Abbāsid caliph in Baghdad in order to legitimize the community's outreach with the Sunnī majority. The Ismā'īlī strongholds also served as places of refuge for Sunnīs fleeing the Mongols. Further, the Imām invited Sunnī scholars to Alamūt to instruct his followers (Haider 2014, 135-136; Daftary 1998, 146).

[267] *Taqiyya* is the precautionary dissimulation of one's 'true' religious beliefs, especially in times of danger. The practice of *taqiyya* has been a feature of Islam from its early days. In Shī'ī Islam it is believed that this practice was introduced by the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir and later turned into an article of faith by Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. See Etan Kohlberg, "Some Imāmī-Shī'ī Views on Taqiyya," *JAOS*, 95 (1975): 395–402. *Taqiyya* amongst the Shī'a was necessary to hide their association from others who would persecute them and for safeguarding the esoteric knowledge received from the Imāms. "The use of *taqiyya* was probably essential to al-Bāqir's teachings, for he insisted on the division of *'ilm* into *ẓāhir* (exoteric) and *bāṭin* (esoteric)" indicating the necessity to concealing the teachings of the Imām from those who did not recognize the Imām (Lalani 2000, 88-90).

[268] Khwāja Naṣir al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī was born into a Twelver Shī'ī family. Following the invasion of Khurāsān by the Mongols, al-Ṭūsī found a safe heaven with the Ismā'īlī chief of Quhistān Nāṣir al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1257). The two developed a close friendship and soon after al-Ṭūsī was summoned to the court of the Ismā'īlī Imām at Alamūt. His connection with the Ismā'īlīs lasted until the surrender of Alamūt to the Mongols. During this time al-Ṭūsī produced a number of works on astronomy, theology, philosophy including other subjects. Among these mention may be made of his major Ismā'īlī work, the *Rawḍat al-taslīm* (Meadow of Submission) and his spiritual autobiography, *Sayr va sulūk* (Contemplation and Action). Al-Ṭūsī is also known for his great works on ethics, *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, which contains Islamic as well as pre-Islamic sources and non-Islamic sources (Greek, Persian and Indian). This work, focused on the idea of philosopher/king was an important aspect of Persian ethical discourse and would also influence the Mughal court in India (Daftary 1998). See also Hamid Dabashi's "The philosopher/vizier: Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and the Isma'ilis," in *Mediaeval Isma'ili History and Thought,* ed. Farhad Daftary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

An important contribution he made to Ismāʿīlī thought was a major treatise entitled *Rawdat al-taslīm* which sought to coherently explain the many policy declarations of the different lords of Alamūt, "seeking to demonstrate that these seemingly contradictory positions partook of a singular spiritual reality, since each imam had acted in accordance with the exigencies of his own time" (Daftary 2005a, 178). In his work, al-Ṭūsī argued that the *qiyāma* as proclaimed by Ḥasan II was a transitory condition of life when the inner truth of revelation was unveiled. More importantly, he confirmed that Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan's imposition of the Sunnī *sharīʿa* represented "a return to *taqiyya*, and to a new period (*dawr*) of concealment (*satr*) or, when the truth (*haqīqa*) would once again be hidden in the esoteric dimension of religion (Daftary 1998; Haider 2014). At any event, it should be noted that these esoteric leanings within the thought of the Ismāʿīlīs of this period were also shared by the teachings of Ṣūfism. The affinity of teachings allowed for the Ismāʿīlīs to survive past the Mongol massacre under the garb of Ṣūfism, which I closely examine later in this chapter.

4) After the destruction of Alamūt by the Mongols in 1256, a type of coalescence emerged between the esoteric tradition of Ismāʿīlism and Ṣūfism, which will be discussed at length later in this chapter. The Imāms began to appear to outsiders as Ṣūfī masters and similar aspects were incorporated among their followers without formally establishing formal ties. "This explains why," according to Daftary, "the Persian speaking Nizaris have regarded some of the greatest mystic poets of Persia, such as Farid al-Din Attar and Jalal al-Din Rumi, as their co-religionists" (2015, 198). By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Nizārī Imāms of the Qāsim Shāhī line emerged out of concealment in a village called Anjudān in central Persia, initiating what the late Russian scholar Wladimir Ivanow (d. 1970) designated the Anjudān revival as a sort of renaissance in Nizārī teachings and *daʿwa* activities (Daftary 2007).[269] Missionary

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[269] Information on Ivanow's explorations, such as the discovery of the tombs of Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imāms in Anjudān and Kahak, is discussed in Farhad Daftary's "W. Ivanow: A Biographical Notice," *Middle Eastern Studies* 8, no. 2 (May 1972): 241-244. His pioneering research in Ismāʿīlī historiography paved the way for many modern scholars. Regarding the Anjudān revival, Shafique Virani posits that almost a hundred years (around the late fourteenth century) before the ascension of the Ṣafawids, steps were taken to ensure a transfer of the Ismāʿīlī headquarters to Anjudān. A number of factors contributed to this transfer (2007, 112-116).

activity at Anjudān achieved success particularly in the Indian subcontinent,[270] where the Nizārī *Khojas*[271] practiced an indigenous form of the Ismāʾīlī tradition known as 'Satpanth' (lit. True Path) and developed their own devotional literature, the *ginans* which expressed the *Khoja* community's allegiance in hymn-like form to a 'true' living guide in Iran and reflected the broader interaction of local cultures, folk traditions and indigenous religious traditions of the subcontinent (Asani 2002; Daftary 2015; Haider 2014).

In this post-Alamūt phase of Ismāʿīlī history (circa 1257 – 1817), the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs were scattered in areas of Persia and Syria, including Central Asia and South Asia. Deprived of a central authoritative figure, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs continued to practice *taqiyya* under Sunnī, Ṣūfī and Twelver Shīʿī guises (Daftary 2015). Early on during this period, there is mention of another schism over the succession of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. ca. 1310) – the first Ismāʿīlī Imām of the post-Alamūt period – which split the line of the Nizārī Imāms into two branches, the Qāsim Shāhī and Muḥammad Shāhī branches (Daftary 2015; Poor 2014).[272] During this period, the Nizārī community in Persia moved their headquarters a few more times until the forty-second Nizārī Imām Ḥasan ʿAlī settled in the province of Kirmān around the middle of the eighteenth century.[273] Here the Imāms re-emerged in the political scene and cultivated close ties with the Zand dynasty (1750-1794) culminating in the appointment of Imām Ḥasan ʿAlī's grandson (44th Nizārī Imām) to the governorship of Kirmān around 1756 (Daftary 2007; Haider 2014).

5) The Modern Period (circa 1800s – Present) is a time of great transformation in contrast to its medieval antecedents. The modifications affecting the community are largely the result of the last four Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imāms, known to the world as the Aga

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[270] Expansion of the *daʿwa* to the Indian subcontinent according to Virani (2007) was at its height in Multan and other areas by the time the Ismāʿīlī headquarters was established at Alamūt.

[271] The *Khojas* are said to be disciples of the 15th-century Pir Ṣadr al-Dīn, the most prominent of the Satpanthi *pīr*s or preacher-saints (title given to individuals entrusted in imparting the teachings of the Imāms). *Khoja* traditions assert that they belonged originally to trading castes of Sind and Gujarat, principally the Lohanas and Bhatias. Pir Ṣadr al-Dīn is supposed to have converted these individuals and given the new disciples the name of *Khoja*, a corruption of the Persian title 'khwajah', replacing the older title 'thakkur,' both meaning lord or master (Asani 2011b, 98; Ruthven 1998, 378).

[272] The lineage of the present Imām, Aga Khan IV, is traced back to Imām Qāsim Shāh.

[273] The new location proved to be significant as it was closer to the pilgrimage route of the *Khojas* who travelled regularly from the Indian subcontinent to see the Imām and pay the religious tithe.

Khans (Ruthven 1998, 374). These years are understood to represent the most important turning point in Nizārī Ismāʿīlī history since the fall of the fortress of Alamūt in 1256. This phase of Ismāʿīlī history begins with Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1881) who became the 46th Imām in 1817 and received the honorific title of Aga Khan (lord or master) by the second Qājār emperor Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1834). Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh would later be appointed as governor of Kirmān. Nevertheless, ongoing confrontations between the Imām and the Qājār royalty meant that Aga Khan I had to leave Persia in 1841 (Daftary 2015).[274] As a result the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate was displaced once again and underwent important changes that were decisively shaped by British India. Upon his arrival in 1848, Aga Khan I was received by the *Khojas*, originally members of a small mercantile caste in western India[275], who after 150 years came to regard themselves as Shīʿī Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims (Asani 2012).[276] He established his headquarters in Bombay and other residences in Puna and Bangalore (Daftary 1998, 196). According to Nile Green,[277] "Aga Khan I was able to use [Bombay's] communication, mercantile and administrative facilities to expand his authority over nominal Ismailis to a degree without precedent in history" (2011, 155). His son, ʿAlī Shāh or Aga Khan II, who held the office of Imāmate for a short period (1881-1885), continued the work initiated by his father in efforts to unify the Ismāʿīlī community and to organize their *jamāʿat-*

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[274] For a detailed analysis of Aga Khan I and the Qājār monarch see Hamid Algar, "The Revolt of the Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the Transference of the Ismāʿīlī Imamate to India," *Studia Islamica* 29 (1969): pp. 55-81. Regarding Aga Khan I and British relations see Zawahir Noorally, "The First Agha Khan and the British: British-Indian Diplomacy and Legal History, 1838-1868 A.D." (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, SOAS, 1954).

[275] Within the Indian subcontinent there are two groupings among the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs: One centred in northern Pakistan with strong ties to the Central Asian world; a second group that is connected to the western regions of the subcontinent who played a pivotal role in the institutionalization processes of the community, under close guidance of the Aga Khans, both in the subcontinent and various areas in the Indian Ocean region (Asani 2002, 2-3).

[276] According to Teena Purohit, "Identity Politics Revisited: Secular and 'Dissonant' Islam in Colonial South Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 45, 3 (2011), 720, Ismāʿīlī identity was constituted in the 19th century through the British court system. In the ruling of the Aga Khan Case of 1866, the caste group of *Khojas* was given an Ismāʿīlī religious identity by the Bombay High Court. For a more comprehensive analysis see Teena Purohit *The Aga Khan Case: Religion and Identity in Colonial India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

[277] Nile Green is Professor in the Department of History at UCLA. He was also founding director of the UCLA Program on Central Asia from 2008 through 2016. Green is considered to be a global historian whose works trace Muslim networks as well as intellectual and technological interchange between Muslim majority countries and Europe. Green, in his writings, consciously aims to put the early modern and modern periods into conversation. His most recent book is entitled *The Love of Strangers* (2015).

khānas.[278] He also began to focus on the social development of the community especially education.

Like his father, he maintained friendly relations with the British. He was appointed to the Bombay Legislative Council and was elected president of a body called the Muhammadan National Association. From this position he occupied himself with educational and philanthropic projects for all Indian Muslims. Moreover, Aga Khan II took interest in establishing more contact with Ismāʿīlīs outside the Indian subcontinent, especially those situated in Central Asia, Burma and East Africa (Daftary 2007, 477). His sole surviving son Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh al-Ḥusaynī, Aga Khan III, succeeded Aga Khan II, who was only eight years old when installed in 1885 in Bombay as the forty-eighth Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imām. Aga Khan III served as Imām for seventy-two years, longer than any of his predecessors. In addition to his role as hereditary Imām, he also held prominent positions in public fields.[279] "Much of his career was shaped by earlier legal developments affecting the Bombay *Khojas* from the 1860 onwards…it was this trajectory that set the scene for Aga Khan III's activities" (Mukherjee 2011, 194). By the time Aga Khan III inherited the office of Imāmate in 1885 he was already affected by the continuous differing contestations among rival *Khoja* factions that travailed his predecessors. Although a detailed study of Aga Khan III is beyond the scope of this chapter, I will return to some of his thoughts and his social reforms in the following chapter that speak to the cosmopolitan outlook of the current Aga Khan IV. Indeed, Aga Khan III's Imāmate marked a period of reformation of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community and the institution of Imāmate shaped by the Imām's discourse of social service with religious underpinnings as well as his humanist ideals.

The modern period of Ismāʿīlī history continues into the early years of the current Imām, Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī Aga Khan IV who resides at Aiglemont, north of

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[278] Place of congregation with a special prayer hall used by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs for their religious and communal activities.

[279] Some of these positions include: Patron of the London Muslim League, head of the 1906 Muslim Deputation to the Viceroy of India, President of the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference, a founder of Aligarh Muslim University, Head of the British Indian Delegation to the Round Table Conference, Delegate to the Disarmament Conference, chief Indian Delegate to the League of Nations and later its President (Aziz 2003).

Paris, where his secretariat is also situated.[280] He succeeded his grandfather Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Aga Khan III on July 11, 1957 at the age of 20. Karīm Aga Khan was born on December 13, 1936 in Geneva and spent much of his early childhood in Nairobi, Kenya. He is the eldest son of Prince Aly Khan, son of Aga Khan III, and Joan Yarde-Buller. As a young boy he attended Le Rosey School in Switzerland for nine years and then went on to graduate from Harvard University in 1959 with a B.A. in Islamic History where he was a student of H.A.R. Gibb and P.K. Hitti (Frischauer 1970; Boivin 2014, 292; Daftary 2007). His background and intellectual formation are shaped by both eastern and western traditions (Aga Khan IV 2007).

In more recent years Aga Khan IV has received numerous recognitions from states, academic institutions as well as development agencies, receiving many honorary degrees and civic awards. Aga Khan IV has also been invited to deliver over one hundred keynote addresses such as the Athens Democracy Forum and the Harvard Jodidi Lecture in 2015. More broadly, he has been lauded as a champion of pluralism and for his commitment to the promotion of a cosmopolitan ethic, which I take up in Chapter 5. "As an impressive Muslim leader, Aga Khan IV has also devoted much of his resources to promoting a better understanding of Islam, not merely as a religion with a multiplicity of expressions and interpretations but also as a major world civilisation with its plurality of social, intellectual and cultural traditions" (Daftary 2015, 200). His interpretive approach is indicative of an understanding "that faith and the world are intertwined" and is characterized "by a pragmatism that appears to be a function of ensuring a good quality of life for his followers" (Karim 2015a, 253). This perspective is of course informed by Aga Khan IV's own development work through

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[280] In 2015 Aga Khan IV and Portugal's Minister of State and Foreign Affairs Rui Machete signed a landmark agreement establishing a formal Seat of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate in Portugal. The Agreement marks the first such accord in the Imamat's modern history and will see Aga Khan IV moving his current headquarters from France to Portugal. An official date has not yet been revealed. See AKDN, ""Historic agreement establishes Global Seat of Ismaili Imamat in Portugal," Lisbon, Portugal, June 3 (2015), *Aga Khan Development Network* website, http://www.akdn.org/press-release/historic-agreement-establishes-global-seat-of-ismaili-imamat-portugal (Accessed August 21, 2017). Lisbon is also home to the landmark 'Centro Ismāʿīlī' (Ismāʿīlī Centre) and the Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate. Previously, the Portuguese parliament signed an accord with the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate in 2008, enabling the Imāmate to enter into international agreements within the European Union and other Portuguese speaking countries. See Karim H. Karim, "Muslim Migration, Institutional Development, and the Geogrpahic Imagination: The Aga Khan Development Network's Global Transnationalism," in *Transnational Europe: Prois, Paradox, Limits,* ed. Joan DeBardeleben and Achim Hurrelmann (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)[281] and by the larger debates regarding globalization and human diversity. More significant however is the spiritual basis of pluralism, which is clearly rooted in Aga Khan IV's interpretation of Islam and its core ethical principles.

Ismāʿīlī-Sūfī Convergence and the Wellspring of Esotericism

Here I showcase the various affinities between Ismāʿīlī teachings and *taṣawwuf,* commonly known as Ṣūfism. Some of these shared ideas were previously alluded to when presenting the different phases of Ismāʿīlī history. However, it is beneficial to discuss this intricate and complex relationship since this narrative helps to point out the shared esoteric (*bāṭin*) dimension that permeates both traditions. You may recall in the previous chapter the core principles inspired by Divine Revelation that for us marked the foundation upon which to navigate a course towards defining what the 'cosmopolitan ethic' entailed within an Islamic framework. Thus far, I have been trying to impress upon the reader that when thinking about an Islamic formulation of a cosmopolitan ethic, it is important to ponder over the engagement of the Divine in relation to the Other and the Self with the associated responsibility to know and recognize the divine in one another. Thinking in these terms allows us to recognize the cosmopolitan ethic as a storehouse of virtues that is nurtured by an esoteric spirit.

Shīʿism and Ṣūfism – Sisters of Esoteric Teachings

The mutual hermeneutical interconnection addressed here is not simply limited to an Ismāʿīlī-Ṣūfī relationship but also concerns a broader affiliation with Shīʿī esoteric thought as well. If we begin by taking for granted the mutual characteristics of Shīʿism and Ṣūfism, it becomes evident that there exists a preliminary source inherent to both traditions. The origins of this spiritual dimension, according to S. H. Nasr, points to a burgeoning of Islamic esotericism which was infused with Shīʿī Islam from an early period, beginning with the sacred and illuminating figure of ʿAlī. "From the Shiʿite point of view Shiʿism is the origin of what later came to be known as Sufism. But here by Shiʾism is meant the esoteric instructions of the Prophet…" and "in this less

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[281] An explanation of the AKDN structure and responsibilities is presented in Chapter 6.

crystallised (*sic*) and more fluid environment, the elements of Islamic esotericism which are particularly Shi'ite, from the Shi'ite point of view, appear as representing Islamic esotericism as such in the Sunni world" (Nasr 1970, 230, 231).[282] Henry Corbin too seems to have been aware of the close link between Shī'ism and Sūfīsm, particularly as manifested in the works of the Ismā'īlīs and the thought of Ibn al-'Arabī; He posits the Shī'ī tradition as "le sanctuaire de l'ésotérisme de l'Islam" (Corbin 1971, xiv).[283] From an Islamic History perspective, Corbin was convinced that the Shī'ī tradition served as *the source* of Islamic esotericism, which deeply influenced the Ṣūfīs in general and Ibn al-'Arabī in particular.

Scholars of both traditions have noted the affinity of Shī'ism and Ṣūfism and the overlapping paths these traditions have shared over the course of Islamic history. Distinct elements such as the distinction between *bāṭin* (esoteric, hidden) and *ẓāhir* (exoteric, apparent) form part of the Shī'ī and Ṣūfī milieu. Closely associated to this binary reality is the common recognition that the message of the Qur'ān – as revealed by the Prophet Muḥammad to the Muslim community – forms only one part of the Prophet's proclamation (exoteric), hence the necessity arises for a chosen guide to articulate the inner meanings of the revealed Qur'ān. Other common elements such as the chain of spiritual authority (*silsila*), the hereditary doctrine of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*), and the organization of adherents as *murīds* (disciple) who must focus their devotion on a spiritual guide, *murshid* (Imām or Ṣūfī master) are understood to have taken shape within Shī'ī circles well before the emergence of organized Ṣūfism or distinct Ṣūfī *ṭarīqas* (Daftary 2005b; Jamal 2002).

Of particular importance is the shared concept of *wilāya*/*walāya*, which bears a certain familiarity with respect to the emergence of a mutual esoteric tradition. It was remarked earlier how the concept of *walāya* played an important role in crystalizing the

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[282] Although Nasr addresses the association of Shī'ism and the development of Ṣūfī thought, "he perceives the Shi'i tradition and Sunni mysticism as different expressions of the same esoteric-gnostic dimension of Islam, a dimension which is inseparable form the eternal truth and essence of this religion. In contradistinction to Corbin, Nasr does not view the Shi'a as the exclusive source of Islamic esotericism; rather, the Shi'i tradition and Sunni Mysticism constitute two branches of the same tree, deriving from common roots – the Quran and the Prophetic tradition, the *sunna*", Michael Ebstein *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-'Arabī and the Ismā'īlī Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 18.
[283] "The sanctuary of Islamic esotericism."

charismatic role and necessity of the Imām in Shīʿism. Interestingly, the Ṣūfī tradition tends to use *walāya* and *wilāya* interchangeably whereas in the Shīʾī tradition there exists some form of distinction.[284] It is clear however, that for both Shīʿas and Sūfīs alike *walāya* is related to notions of 'saintliness' and 'spiritual inheritance' with the Shīʿa placing special importance on the Imāms – considered to be designated genealogical descendants of Muḥammad and the Ṣūfīs who view *walāya* in reference to realized saints who have attained legitimate authority as a master through multiple initiatic lines (Dakake 2007, 27). Leaving aside the apparent nuances regarding the origins of these terms, it is perhaps best to view the interrelated terms as twin pillars of divine proximity and sanctity, wherein *walāya* connotes a "metaphysical closeness to God" and *wilāya* is understood as "the exercise of power and authority on earth" of sainthood (Cornell 1998, xxxv). Of course one can find arguments that highlight differences in the functionality of these terms, however for our discussion what remains important is the shared conceptualization of *wilāya*/*walāya* as it pertains to the esoteric aspect of the concept in question, which, serves as the cornerstone of both Shīʾī and Ṣūfī thought with regards to the continuation of the prophetic dispensation. *Walāya* "is therefore a Qurʾanically embedded status that is divine and only by analogy applied to special chosen friends of God who continue the function of prophecy by linking humans with the divine and by indicating the divine through their interventions in the cosmos" (Rizvi 2014, 398).

Yet another principle, connected to *walāya* that is shared, albeit in different expressions, by the two traditions is the doctrine of the light of Muḥammad (*nūr Muḥammad*) and the initiatic chain (*silsila*). Shīʾī tradition maintains that a 'Primordial Light' passed from one prophet to the next and thereafter to the Imāms. *Nūr Muḥammad* acts as a "sacred symbol" that is not only "related to the divine" but is also "an integral aspect of the substance connecting Adam to Muḥammad and Muḥammad

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[284] With regard to the significance of the terms walāya and wilāya, Vincent J. Cornell in his study, *The Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism*, argues for a functional distinction between the aforementioned related terms. He describes walāya and wilāya "as semantic fraternal twins that coexist symbiotically, like yin and yang. Each relies on the other for its meaning… A person can only exercise delegated authority over another by being close to the one who bestows authority in the first place" (1998, xix).

to the imams" (Lalani 2000, 82).[285] In the same vein, the function of *silsila* affirms a rightful chain of leadership that goes back to the Prophet Muḥammad through which esoteric knowledge of the Prophet's revelation is passed on, similar to the function of *nūr Muḥammad* (Nasr 1991, 111-112).[286] In fact, Nasr further notes, "later Sufis themselves also speak of the 'Muḥammadan light'. In the early period, especially in teachings of Imām Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the Shiʿite doctrine of the 'Muḥammadan light' and the Sufi doctrine of the spiritual chain meet, and as in other cases have their source in the same esoteric teachings of Islam" (Ibid, 112).[287]

Another aspect worth mentioning is the doctrine of the Perfected Human Being (*al-insān al-kāmil*).[288] We have established thus far that the Imām is the central axis in Shīʾism upon whom the power and function *walāya* is bestowed. Similarly, in Ṣūfism *walāya* is embodied in the Pole of the age (*quṭb*) to whom all spiritual functions are accorded.[289] What, then, is the relation of the Imām/*quṭb* to the doctrine of *al-insān al-kāmil*? In both these traditions the Prophet is commonly accepted as the possessor of the traits and attributes of the Perfected Human Being. However the Shīʿa include the Imāms and in the Ṣūfī tradition we find the concept extended to the *quṭbs* and friends of God (*ʿawliyā*) who are (collectively) considered as the holders of the highest degree of

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[285] A tradition traced to Imām al-Bāqir alludes to the concept of *nūr Muḥammad,* which holds that ʿAlī, the first Imām, inherited this light at birth and continues through the progeny of the Imāms. See Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, *al-Uṣūl min al-kāfī,* vol. 1 (Tehran, 1968), 442. See also (Lalani 2000, 80 n.93).

[286] Remember the *silsila* is not necessarily restrictive in nature to the biological descendants of the Prophet and Imāms as in the doctrine of *nūr Muḥammad*.

[287] Since there is a shared esoteric source for both Ṣūfī and Shīʿī teachings, the "blurring of the lines" according to Rebecca Masterton, "has engendered a Sufi tradition that celebrates many such figures [Imāms of the *ahl al-bayt*] whose teachings, upon closer inspection, are actually found to be copied word-for-word from the Imams but without any credit or reference given." See her "A Comparative Exploration of the Spiritual Authority of the *Awliyā'* in the Shiʿi and Sufi Traditions," *The American Journal of Islamic Sciences* vol. 32, no.1 (2015): 51. It is common to find references to the Imāms who serve as important intermediaries in the intiatic domain of Ṣūfī orders who were considered to be the vassals of esoteric knowledge imparted from the time of the Prophet. One should note that ʿAlī ʿUthmān al-Hujwīrī (d. 1071) who composed the first manual on Ṣūfism, *Kashf al-maḥjūb* lists the first six Imāms as sources of great wisdom and members of the chains of initiation. See Reza Shah-Kazemi *Justice and Remembrance: Introducing the Spirituality of Imam ʿAlī* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), Chapter 3.

[288] Echoing Meena Sharify-Funk, I translate *al-insān al-kāmil* as 'Perfected Human Being' rather than the traditional 'Perfect Man.'

[289] Corbin makes the case that the various concepts found in Ṣūfism are in reality those of Shīʿism: "The idea of the *quṭb* or mystical pole, in Sunni Sufism is simply a translation of the Shiite idea of the Imam, and the mystical esoteric hierarchy of which the *pole* is the summit continues in any case to presuppose the idea of the Imam" Henry Corbin, *History of Islamic Philosophy* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1993), 191.

sanctity given their spiritual proximity to the Prophet and the Divine Reality. Notwithstanding some observable differences attributed to the diversity of interpretive tendencies, these concepts refer, according to Nasr (1991), to a single esoteric reality known as the *ḥaqīqat al-muḥammadiyyah* (the reality of Muḥammad) that is intrinsic to both Shīʿism and Ṣūfism.

The concept of the Perfected Human Being is most frequently attributed to the thought of Ibn al-ʿArabī.[290] The Perfected Human Being is understood as the bridge that mediates between the spiritual and corporeal worlds; he is the *khalīfah* or deputy of God on earth – the product of God's speech and traits. Accordingly, "the Perfect Man [or Perfected Human Being] is the very goal of creation; he is the one in whom God contemplates Himself, and is therefore the one in whom, by whom and for whom the 'Hidden Treasure' becomes known" (Dhanidina 2004).[291] The Perfected Human Being becomes the locus through which the Absolute manifests itself through the Divine Names. The idea of the Perfected Human Being in relation to the self-manifestation of the Absolute (*tajallī*) is captured by Ibn al-ʿArabī when he explains what the Perfected Human Being constitutes according to God:

> For the Reality, he is as the pupil is for the eye through which the act of seeing takes place. Thus he is called *insān* [meaning both man and pupil], for it is by him that the Reality looks on His creation and bestows the Mercy [of existence] on them. He is Man, the transient [in his form], the eternal [in his essence]; he is the perpetual, the everlasting, the [at once] discriminating and unifying Word. It is by his existence that the Cosmos subsists and he is in relation to the cosmos, as the seal is to the ring, the seal being that place whereon is engraved the token with which the King seals his treasure. So he is called the Vice-Regent, for by him God preserves His creation, as the seal preserves the king's treasure. So long as the king's seal is on it no one dares to open it except by his permission, the seal being [as it were] a regent in charge of the kingdom. Even so is the Cosmos preserved so long as the Perfect Man remains in it (1980, 51).

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[290] In Islamic mysticism, this term was used to refer to the Prophet Muḥammad, whom Ibn al-ʿArabī considered as the Perfect Individual *par excellence*. Due to his position as the Prophet of Islam he has complete knowledge of God and the world therefore holding a position superior to the rest of humanity. The term was later extended to those individuals who carried the Prophet's spiritual heritage who continued to possess divine knowledge. Michael Ebstein demonstrates how the antecedents of this concept can actually be traced to earlier Ismāʿīlī authors and especially the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā. See his *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus,* especially Chapter 4.
[291] Also refer to John T. Little, "Al-Insān al-Kāmil: The Perfect Man According to Ibn Al-ʿArabī," *The Muslim World* Vol. 77, no. 1 (1987): 48.

Indeed, the Perfected Human Being is created in the image of the Divine who is the mirror by which the Absolute can be revealed, in other words he is the necessary intermediary between God and the world who connects the divine names with the world of creation (Corbin 1969; Dhanidina 2004; Nasr 1991). As discussed in Chapter 2, Ibn al-ʿArabī explains that God desired to make Himself known to creation through a number of Names and Attributes. As such, the divine names and knowledge of the Unknown are housed as a hidden treasure within the Perfected Human Being. This theosophical framework of the Perfected Human Being, as expounded by Ibn al-ʿArabī, is also evident within Shīʿī theological discussions of Imāmat. Amir-Moezzi[292] writes, "the imam/*walī* in the ultimate reality of his being, is the locus for the manifestation of God (*maẓhar, majlā*), the vehicle of the divine Names and Attributes (*al-asmāʾ waʾl-ṣifāt*). 'By God', Imam Jaʿfar is said to have declared, 'we (the imams) are the Most Beautiful Names (of God)'"[293] (2011, 249). Accordingly, Amir-Moezzi observes that the corpus of Shīʿī theology contains numerous examples wherein the Imāms repeatedly inform us that they are "the Vehicles for the Attributes, the Organs of God" (Ibid, 112). The Shīʿī conception of the Imām clearly shares the qualities of the Perfected Human Being (*al-insān al-kāmil*) and therefore serves as the designated 'Deputy of God' (*khalīfat Allāh*) who provides access to the *ẓāhir* of God.

Tracing a Ṣūfī-Ismāʿīlī Coalescence

Now that I have revealed some instances of shared theological features that are operational to the construction of meaning ingrained in the ideal of a cosmopolitan ethic, let me briefly take up some of the historical considerations of the interconnection of the Ismāʿīlī-Sūfī cosmopolitan imagination. This requires, in the very least, a cognizance of the shared esoteric vocabulary found in the various words, symbols and actions in which the traces of a cosmopolitan ethic are embedded. However, it is meaningless to simply point out the terminological uses without accounting their

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[292] Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi is Director of Studies at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Sorbonne). He is the author of a large number of books and articles. Amir-Mezzi is considered a specialist of Shīʿī Imāmī theology, Islamic mysticism and classical Persian poetry. He currently holds the prestigious chair 'Exegesis and Theology,' previously held by scholars Louis Massignon, Henry Corbin and Daniel Gimaret.

[293] *"Naḥnu waʾllāhi al-asmā al-ḥusnā allatī lā yaqbaluʾllāh min al-ʿibād ʿamalan illā bi-maʿrifatinā."* Refer to al-ʿAyyāshī, *Tafsīr,* ed. H. Rasūlī Maḥallātī vol. 2 (Tehran, n.d.), 42, no. 119.

meaning in relation to the socio-cultural context in which they arose. As such, I would like to draw attention to the spirit of a cosmopolitan ethic that occupies a position within the literary trajectories of esoteric exploration and expression, which influenced the wider Muslim quotidian experience.

Shortly after the fall of Alamūt to the Mongols, the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs survived despite the claims of Juwaynī (d. 1288) – the Persian historian in service of the Mongol ruler Hūlegū (founder of the Īlkhānid dynasty). The Ismāʿīlīs were scattered in groups outside their traditional fortress of Alamūt and many sought refuge in nearby lands like Afghanistan, Central Asia and South Asia where Ismāʿīlī communities still reside (Daftary 2005b, 396). Under these circumstances the Ismāʿīlīs resorted to the practice of *taqiyya* (precautionary dissimulation) allowing them to survive under a variety of external guises. Regarding this practice in the wake of the Mongol catastrophe Daftary posits, "[t]he Persian Nizārīs adopted the guise of Sunnism, then still the predominant religion of the Iranian lands. They also began to use Sufi and poetic forms of expression to camouflage their Ismaili teachings, without establishing formal affiliations with any of the Sufi *ṭarīqas* or orders then spreading in Persia and Central Asia" (Ibid).

Compared to the previous Sunnī Saljūq rulers of the Persian lands, the Mongol invaders were largely indifferent to the religious beliefs of their subjects, which resulted in a form of 'eclectic' religious tolerance that brought about a resurgence of Shīʿism within the Persian landscape amidst a Sunnī majority population. Some evidence also points to a general movement away from Sunnī to Shīʿī Islam during this period due to the continuous squabble among different Sunnī schools (Jamal 2002, 85).[294] Of significance however is the increasing Ṣūfī presence before the advent of the Mongols,

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[294] According to Alessandro Bausani, "people sought refuge in Shīʿism because they were disgusted with the squabble among the different Sunnī schools, and especially, as regards Iran, between Shafiʿites and the Ḥanafites." See his "Religion Under The Mongols," *The Cambridge History of Iran* volume 5, ed. J.A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 544. Moreover, the Īl-Khānid rulers were supposedly known to revere the Shīʿī Imāms and served as benefactors of Shīʿī sanctuaries. In particular, it is widely reported that the Īl-Khānid ruler Ghāzān (d. 1304) expressed great sympathy for the *ahl al-bayt,* "[i]n several accounts it even appears that the Īlkhān was close to announcing his formal devotion to Twelver Shīʿism." See Michael Hope, *Power, Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Īlkhānate of Iran* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 176. In fact, Ghāzān turned the whole of his court Iran into Muslims "and it would seem that he even had coins struck bearing inscriptions of the Shīʿī type" (Bausani 1968, 543).

which by the twelfth century was a permanent feature of Persian intellectual and religious life. This trend continued on through the Mongol elites attraction to Ṣūfī groups, resulting in Ṣūfism becoming the dominant trademark of "the religious and cultural life of all communities and classes in Persia" over the next three centuries" (Ibid, 86). Further developments in the religio-political ambience of post Mongol Persia as well as the destruction of the Sunnī caliphate in Baghdad facilitated activities of the Ismāʿīlīs, Ṣūfīs, and Shīʿism in general. After the rule of the last ruler of the Īlkhānid dynasty, Abū Saʿīd (d. 1335), Persia became even more politically fragmented which further contributed to the advancement of Shīʿī influence by means of Ṣūfī-Shīʿī socio-political movements (Daftary 2005b; Daftary 2007; Jamal 2002). Daftary writes,

> [L]eaders of the majority of such movements in post-Mongol Persia hailed from Shiʿi-Sufi backgrounds. However, the Shiʿism that was then spreading in Persia was of a new form, of a popular type and propagated mainly through the teachings and organizations of the Sufis, rather than being promulgated by Twelver or any particular school of Shiʿism (2005a, 190).

This new form of Shīʿism is what Marshal Hodgson[295] described as "ṭarīqah Shīʿism" that expressed itself in Ṣūfī form "whose esoteric wisdom was less a general Ṣūfī doctrine than a special revelation supposed to be derived from the teachings of ʿAlī" (Hodgson 1974, 494).[296]

Hodgson further explains that this form of Shīʿism was attracted to Ṣūfī notions of a "universal mystical hierarchy" and rejected the earlier outcome of an unsatisfactory Sunnī system of ideas. "This ṭarīqah Shīʿism, commonly devoted to a bāṭinī 'inward' and esoteric doctrine, often carried elements of a Gnostic-type approach to understanding the cosmos and human beings in it: in a cosmos where truth and good were veiled, the élite soul could escape from misery and falsehood by esoteric knowledge of the secret ultimate reality" (Ibid). By the fifteenth century Shīʿī elements

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[295] Marshal G.S. Hodgson was a prominent scholar of Islamic Civilization and Professor of History and Social Thought at the University of Chicago. He is known for his three-volume magnum opus *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization*, which is recognized as a seminal publication that influenced the academic study of Islam. He died at the age of 46 in 1968.

[296] One of the earliest Ṣūfī ṭarīqas that expressed ʿAlid loyalism was the Kubrāwiyyah ṭarīqa, founded by Najm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 1221). By the early 14th century, his successors increasingly emphasized ʿAlid loyalism and the teachings of Ibn al-ʿArabī (Hodgson 1972, 495; Jamal 2002, 89).

and specific 'Alid sentiments became commonplace among the Sunnī populace resulting in several Ṣūfī orders increasingly orienting themselves towards Shī'ism. And from the sixteenth century onwards Twelver Shī'ī brotherhoods also developed in Iran spreading to other areas such as Iraq and farther into India (Momen 1985; Amir-Moezzi 2011). Amidst this atmosphere of Ṣūfī-Shī'ī-Sunnī hybridization, the Ismā'īlīs were of course not untouched. They too "found it convenient to seek refuge under the 'politically correct' mantle of Sufism, with which they shared many esoteric ideas" (Daftary 2005a, 191). From this milieu emerged one of the most powerful Ṣūfī- Shī'ī orders known as the Ṣafawiyya, which later transformed into somewhat of a militant Shī'ī movement that played a direct role in proclaiming Shī'ism as the official religion of the Ṣafawid state (1501-1722).[297] Under the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl, the founder of the dynasty, Ṣūfī orders were persecuted, including Shī'ī groups that fell outside the confines of Twelver teachings (Hodgson 1974; Jamal 2002; Nasr 1991).[298] Nevertheless, the appeal of Ṣūfism remained, especially in the area of philosophy.[299]

Besides the emergence of ṭarīqa Shī'ism, the philosophical and theological aspects of Ṣūfism became iconic in Shī'ī writings. From the earlier period of the Ṣafawid era, a renaissance of sorts took place within Shī'ī thought that gave credence to the role of Shī'ī gnosis. Beginning in this period and moving well into the seventeenth century, it is not surprising to witness yet another phase of Ṣūfī ideas and interpretations being integrated into Islamic philosophy through highly respectable Ṣafawid philosophers like Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1635),[300] who helped reinvigorate the

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[297] See for example Z.V. Togan, "Sure l'origines des Safavides," in *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1957), 345-357; Andrew J. Newman, *Safavid Iran: Rebirth of a Persian Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006); Colin Turner, *Islam Without Allah?: The Rise of Religious Externalism in Safavid Iran* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), especially Chapters 2-3.

[298] "It was under such circumstances that the Persian Nizārīs adopted a new form of *taqiyya,* dissimulating under the mantle of Twelver Shi'ism" (Daftary 2005b, 401). Interestingly the Ismailis were successful in their practice of *taqiyya* under the double guises of Ṣufism and Shī'ism, so much so that by the time of Shāh 'Abbās I (1587-1629), there is evidence suggesting friendly relations between the Imāms and the Ṣafawid rulers. For example, the 37th Imām, Khalil Allah I – known by his Ṣūfī name of Dhu'l-Faqār 'Alī, was married to a Ṣafawid princess (Daftary 2007, 437)

[299] For more details on the lasting impression of Ṣūfism see Andrew J. Newman, "Sufism and anti-Sufism in Safavid Iran: The Authorship of the *Ḥadīqat al-Shī'a* Revisited" *Iran,* Vol. 37 (1999): 95-108.

[300] Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, commonly known as Mullā Ṣadrā, was born around 1571 and died in 1641. He left an indelible mark on Iranian philosophy, especially in Shī'ī philosophical expression. He was a prolific writer who left behind a large body of works comprising of more than forty-five titles (Corbin 1993). Mullā Ṣadrā had taken a strong interest in the theoretical aspects of Ṣūfism and in particular, was deeply influenced by the gnosis of Ibn al-'Arabī and combined the Ṣūfī master's thought

171

thought of Ibn al-'Arabī in Shī'ī philosophical thought.[301] For these Ṣafawid thinkers, the concept of *walāya* became "the cornerstone of the new dispensation and revival of Shi'i heritage that was a central concern of the Safawid project intellectually and spiritually" and therefore increasingly served as "a dominant mode for understanding the onto-theological role of the Imams…" (Rizvi 2014, 394, 396). The propensity with which Ibn al-'Arabī's mystical thought attracted many thinkers ultimately gave rise to Shī'ī mystical philosophy. "Soon after the propagation of his teachings, Ibn 'Arabī gained followers among Shi'ite theologians and gnostics such as Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, who even wrote a commentary upon the Fuṣūṣ" (Nasr 1991, 100).[302] More generally, the integration of Ṣūfī teachings within Shī'ī doctrinal works was initiated by prominent Shī'ī scholars, in pre-Ṣafawid Persia, such as Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274) and 'Allāma-i Ḥillī (d. 1274) as well as others who were influenced by them. The Ibn al-'Arabī school was therefore naturalized within the Shī'ī context where one finds parallel esoteric features identified now with the Imāms, expressed in key Twelver texts like al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfī* (Rizvi 2014). "There existed an inward complementarism and attraction between the writings of Ibn 'Arabī and Shi'ism which made the integration of his teachings into Shi'ite gnosis immediate and complete" (Nasr 1991, 116). The growing trend towards Shī'ism was very much due to the shared esoteric inclination of

with "the tenets of Peripatetic philosophy and *ishrāqī* or Illuminationist doctrines…" creating "a new intellectual perspective and a school that survives in Persia to this day" (Nasr 1991, 100). In his *al-Shawāhid al-rubūbiyya* (Divine Witnessings) for instance, he discusses the concept of walāya – in its esoteric aspect – with a Shī'ī bent indicating its centrality to "the God-cosmos and God-humanity relationship" (Rizvi 2014, 396).

[301] It is important to note that Ibn al-'Arabī was indeed a Ṣūfī but from the point of view of his *madhab* (school of thought in Sunnī Islam), he was part of the Sunnī Ẓāhirī school. Nasr (1991) informs us that Ibn al-'Arabī however, did write a treatise called the *Manāqib*, on the twelve Shī'ī Imāms.

[302] Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. after 1385) was an influential Twelver theologian, theosopher and mystical scholar in northern Persia. He is considered one of the most distinguished commentators on Ibn al-'Arabī. Āmulī combined his Shī'ī thought with the mystical leanings of Ibn al-'Arabī, providing a sort of reconciliation between *sharī'a* with *haqīqa* (Truth). He considered the Imāms of the *ahl al-bayt* and the *ahl al-tawhīd* ('people of Unity' from among the Ṣūfīs) as his spiritual mentors. Over a twenty-four year period, Āmulī studied many books on Ṣūfism and wrote about twenty-four books on this subject. See Nasrollah Pourjavady, "Opposition to Sufism in Twelver Shiism" in *Islamic Mysticism Contested. Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics,* eds. Frederick de Jong and Bern Radtke (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp. 614-623. One of his books entitled his book *Jāmi' al-Asrār* (A Compendium of Secrets) is, according to S.H. Nasr, "a summit of gnostic Shi'ism, where perhaps in more than any other work the metaphysical relationship between Shi'ism and Sufism is treated. It is Āmulī who believed that every true Shi'ite is a Sufi and every true Sufi a Shi'ite" (1991, 115). For Āmulī then, the Muslim who is able to live as both a true Shī'ī and a Ṣūfī "would preserve a careful balance between the *zahir* and the *batin*" (Daftary 2005a, 191).

both these traditions. Indeed the impact of Ṣūfīsm was not limited to the religious domain; its imprint would be felt in the development of Persian language and literature, partly due to the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī.

The air of Ṣūfī mystical imagination could be felt in every field beginning from around the ninth century to the thirteenth century. In particular, Ṣūfī ideas found solace in Persian poetry. "The reason for this is that the Persian language and Persian Sufism met at a time when the Persian language had not yet become crystallized. Its vocabulary, as well as its prosody and metrics along with its use of technical and poetic language, was still unformed, and thus much more malleable" (Nasr 1999, 10).[303] As a result there was "an enormous output of poetry in a variety of traditional and new verse-forms – especially the quatrain (*rubāʿī*), the love-lyric (*ghazal*), the panegyric ode (*qaṣīda*) and the epic poem (*mathnawī*)" that was coloured with Ṣūfī vocabulary (Jamal 2002, 87). Indeed, Persian poetry became the vehicle, *par excellence*, through which all poets – regardless of their mystical inclination or lack thereof – expressed profound knowledge using a shared mystical style and literary tropes.[304] As Wheeler Thackston[305] affirms:

> One of the major difficulties Persian poetry poses to the novice reader lies in the pervasion of poetry by mysticism. Fairly early in the game the mystics found that they could "express the ineffable" in poetry much better then in prose. Usurping the whole of the poetic vocabulary that had been built up by that time, they imbued every word with mystical signification. What had begun as liquid

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[303] For a survey of the relation between the Persian language and Islamic spirituality see M.A. Amir-Moezzi "Persian, the Other Sacred Language of Islam: Some Brief Notes," in *Fortress of the Intellect: Ismaili and other Islamic Studies in Honour of Farhad Daftary,* ed. Omar Alí-de-Unzaga (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011). He demonstrates the sacrilization of the language alongside Arabic as evidenced through the growing number of Persian commentaries and translations of the Qurʾān since the 9th-10th centuries. In Amir-Moezzi's words, "From then onwards, the extraordinary flourishing of Persian literature started, in prose as well as in poetry, and in all fields of knowledge, in parallel with the Qurʾanic disciplines, in the intellectual and spiritual domains of philosophy, mysticism and theology" (Ibid, 67). Moving forward, Ismāʿīlī thinkers such as Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 1077) and other later authors contributed to cementing the sacredness of the Persian language.
[304] This was also a prominent feature of the devotional and mystical poetry of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in the Indian subcontinent. On Ismāʿīlī-Ṣūfī relations in the Indian subcontinent, see Azim Nanji, *The Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1978), 120–30 and Ali S. Asani, *The Būjh Niranjan: An Ismaili Mystical Poem* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1991), 37–41.
[305] Wheeler Thackston is retired Professor of Persian and Other Near Eastern Languages at Harvard University. He has translated numerous Chaghatai, Arabic and Persian literary and historical sources. Some of his best-known works are Persian and Arabic grammars and his translations of the *Babur-nama,* the memoirs of the Mughal prince and emperor Babur.

wine with alcoholic content became "the wine of union with the godhead" on which the mystic is "eternally drunk." Beautiful young cupbearers with whom one might like to dally became *shāhids,* "bearers of witness" to the dazzling beauty of there-which-truly-exists. After the mystics had wrought their influence on the tradition, every word of the poetic vocabulary had acquired such "clouds" of associated meaning from lyricism and mysticism that the two strains merged into one. Of course, some poets wrote poetry that is overtly and unmistakably mystical and "Sufi." It is much more difficult to identity poetry that is not mystical. It is useless to ask, for instance, whether Hāfiz's poetry is "Sufi poetry" or not. The fact is that in the fourteenth century it was impossible to write a ghazal that did not reverberate with mystical overtones forced on it by the poetic vocabulary itself (Thackston 1994, xi).[306]

It is due to this proliferation of Ṣūfī metaphoric and symbolic allusions into the Persian language that made it all the more possible for Ismā'īlī writers to express their ideas while concealing their esoteric messages. The Ismā'īlī tradition from the Alamūt period well into pre-Ṣafawid Persia cloaked their teachings under the mantle of Ṣūfism. In fact, it has been suggested that the poet Nizārī Quhistānī (d. 1320) was one of the earliest authors to consciously choose verse and Ṣūfī imagery to camouflage his Ismā'īlī teachings. There is no doubt that the "poetic idiom of the time dictated certain norms, norms that were felicitous for writing on the esoteric beliefs of the Ismailis, as well as for 'camouflaging' those very beliefs" (Virani 2007, 66). Although he was sympathetic to Ṣūfism and many of the themes in his writings suggest a mirroring of both traditions, "it is incorrect to say that Nizārī used the vocabulary of Sufism to express Ismā'īlī ideas," as Lewisohn[307] argues, "rather it seems more accurate to say that he integrated Sufi spirituality into Ismā'īlī theosophy, fusing the two into an original mélange of his own making" (2003, 242). Given the context in which the poet was writing, it is best to think about the alliance between these traditions as a reciprocal process whereby all communities involved offered and absorbed various theories and

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[306] Also quoted in Shafique N. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of survival, A Search for Salvation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 66.
[307] Leonard Lewisohn is Senior Lecturer at the institute of Arab and Islamic Studies at University of Exeter and Iran Heritage Foundation Fellow in Persian and Sufi Literature. Lewisohn is also a Research Associate in Esoteric Traditions in Islam in the Department of Academic Research of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, London. Some of his works include *Beyond Faith and Fidelity: the Sufi Poetry and Teachings of Mahmud Shabistari* (1993), a critical edition of *Divan-i Muhammad Shirin Maghribi* (1993), *The Wisdom of Sufism* (2001) and several works of translation on Persian Sufism.

practices.[308] It is undeniable that there was some sort of symbiotic relationship taking place between Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlism in the post-Mongol period. Nevertheless, another argument put forward by Nadia Jamal,[309] acknowledges an earlier beginning (12th century) of the synergism between Ṣūfism and Shīʿism overall. This movement was most probably initiated, in part, by the adoption of Persian, in preference to Arabic, as the religious language of the Ismāʿīlīs of Alamūt under the leadership of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, whose doctrines seem to have carried similar undertones to that of Ṣūfī thought. One can even go farther back to the 10th century where the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 1077) wrote all his philosophical and poetic works in Persian (Daftary 2007; Jamal 2002; Virani 2007).

Diffusion of Ismāʿīlī Thought and the Ethico-Spiritual Discourse of Mystics

Bearing these explanations in mind, I would like to draw attention to Henry Corbin, who seems to have been aware of the influence of Shīʿism in general and Ismāʿīlism in particular on Ibn al-ʿArabī's work that lent to the consonance between Ṣūfism and Shīʿism.

> "[A] fact of fundamental significance is that Shiite thinkers found themselves completely at home in the work of Ibn al-ʿArabī. This leads naturally to the question of Ibn al-ʿArabī's early development in Andalusia. On the other hand, the veneration for the person and work of the *Doctor Maximus* (*al-Shaykh al-*

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[308] It seems that for Virani (2007), the Ismāʿīlī-Ṣūfī rapprochement is better understood in terms of *taqiyya* practices that were necessary for the survival of the Ismāʿīlīs. He does however admit that there is also an inherent danger to the practice of *taqiyya* as practiced by the Persian Ismāʿīlīs. There were instances, immediately following the fall of Alamūt, where believers had taken on more than the guise of Sunnism; in other words they had become fully absorbed into the community, which "undoubtedly must have led the community to atrophy in size" (2007, 65). There are of course differences to be found in the application of the shared vocabulary in their particular contexts, infused by either Ismāʿīlī or Ṣūfī interpretations. For this author, the similarities however do not reduce the importance of each tradition but rather accentuates how traditions adapt and evolve; indeed it would be irrational to suppose that any person or community would remain impervious to the shared sources and spiritual language.

[309] Nadia Eboo Jamal is a specialist in Persian history and culture with a focus on Mongol rule and Ismāʿīlīs of Persia. She received her Ph.D. in Near Eastern Languages and Literature from New York University. She is the author of *Surviving the Mongols: Nizari Quhistani and the Continuity of Ismaili Tradition in Iran* (2002) and is currently engaged in several projects at the Institute of Ismaili Studies and with the Ismaili Tariqa and Religious Education Boards in the United Kingdom and the United States.

Akbar) did not exclude disagreement on certain points of doctrine which were of fundamental importance to all Shiite thinkers (Corbin 1993, 332).[310]

Along the same line of thought, Nasr (1991) avers to the affinity between the thought of Ibn al-'Arabī and Ismā'īlism.[311] Most recently, Michael Ebstein (2014)[312] demonstrates the contribution of the Ismā'īlīs to mystical-philosophical thought that took shape in al-Andalus. He argues that the Ismā'īlī tradition seems to be one of the most axiomatic factors in the emergence of a particular kind of mysticism[313] reflected in the works of Ibn al-'Arabī. For him the links are undeniable:

> The Ismā'īlī tradition played a significant role in the formation of the intellectual world from which both Ibn Masarra and Ibn al-'Arabī emerged. Despite the fact that these two authors were doubtlessly influenced by other, diverse sources – such as the Quran and *Ḥadīth*, Arabic theology and philosophy, and, in the case of Ibn al-'Arabī, by Sufism as well – the Ismā'īlī tradition helped shape the unique intellectual climate in North Africa and al-Andalus from which Ibn Masarra and Ibn al-'Arabī derived (Ebstein 2014, 232).

In tracing the Ismā'īlī influence on Ibn Masarra and Ibn al-'Arabī, Ebstein cautions that these thinkers did not blindly adopt the concepts, rather they adapted them to their Sunnī context, incorporating them within their own thought. Another pro- Ismā'īlī reference that served as a resource for Ibn al-'Arabī, and by association Ṣūfism, are the "The Epistles of the Sincere Brethren" (*Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*).[314] The Ikhwān, in

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[310] In fact, Corbin asks the following question: "Exactly how much of Ismailian esoterism (*sic*), or of a related esoterism (*sic*), can he [Ibn al-'Arabī] have assimilated before leaving the Maghrib forever?" (Corbin 1971, 25).

[311] Nasr credits the affinity between the two traditions to the influence of Ibn al-'Arabī on the Persian Ismā'īlīs, and notes that the 'Great Master' was even considered by many Ismā'īlīs to be one of them (1991, 100).

[312] Michael Ebstein is a post-doctoral researcher at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in the department of Arabic language and Literature. From 2012-2015 he was a Buber Fellow at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. His areas of research include, Islamic and Jewish mysticism, Shī'ī thought with a focus on Ismā'īlism, as well as early Islamic history. His Ph.D. research focused on Medieval Ismā'īlī thought and Andalusian mysticism.

[313] It should be noted that Ebstein regards Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf*) as a mystical tradition focused on the inner spiritual dimension and ethical conduct. Whereas, the mystical discourse of Ibn al-'Arabī, in Ebstein's view, is more theosophical – concerning the role of divinity in the universe, cosmogony and cosmology. "Accordingly, this 'Anadalusī type mysticism exhibits a unique blend of Neoplatonic mystical philosophy, cosmogonic-cosmological speculations, occult sciences such as the science of letters and astrology, and more – a blend that is typically lacking in the eastern Sufi works written prior to the rise of Ibn al-'Arabī, but which is characteristic of Ismā'īlī literature" (Ebstein 2014, 3).

[314] An indication that supports the possibility that Ibn al-'Arabī read the Rasā'il can be found in the formulaic blessing "may Allāh support you (*ayyadaka llāh*)" or other expressions derived from the same

Ebstein's view, belonged to the Shī'ī-Ismā'īlī milieu who were "but one party among many in the colorful 'mosaic' of the 9th-10th century Ismā'īlī world" (2014, 180).[315] Further evidence comes through another work "The Comprehensive Epistle" (*Risāla al-jāmi'a*) attributed to the same author(s) of the *Rasā'il*, "of which it exposed the 'quintessence', that is, the esoteric meaning (*bāṭin*) (De Smet 2014, 556).[316] Even Nasr alludes to the Ismā'īlī identity of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' who states that there are "clear references to Sufism in the *Epistles* of the Brethren of Purity," Nasr writes, "which if not definitely Ismā'īlī in origin certainly come from a Shi'ite background and are later closely associated with Isma'ilism" (1991, 114).

Be that as it may, the affiliation is undeniable; and of importance here is the connecting thread in all these works – Neoplatonism, specifically in its Ismā'īlī form – serving as the essence from which the aforementioned thinkers adopted and incorporated within their own mystical-philosophical thought.[317] Even the well-known historian of the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldūn observed the close affinity between the Ṣūfī concept of *wilāya* and the Shī'ī concept of the Imām. In particular he noted that the Ṣūfīs, including Ibn al-'Arabī, were influenced by the Ismā'īlīs especially "notions

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Arabic root, which according to Ebstein, can be found in many of Ibn al-'Arabī's writings and throughout the Epistles (2014, 235).

[315] As mentioned in Chapter 2, fn. 135, the works of the Ikhwān clearly display Shī'ī undertones close to Ismā'īlism, however the exact identity of the Ikhwān is still up for debate.

[316] It has been established that both the "Rasā'il" and the "Risāla al-jāmi'a" made their way to al-Andalus around the 10th and 11th centuries. As such, it can be assumed that it is through these works central tenets of Ismaili Neoplatonism (i.e.: doctrine of God's word and Divine will) were exposed to the intellectual milieu of al-Andalus. Indeed, the contents of the "Risāla al-jāmi'a" seem to demonstrate more explicitly an Ismā'īlī origin; however, as De Smet asks, "should we explain this by the fact that it exposes the *bāṭin* of the latter? Or would it have been written by another author, in order to integrate more easily the thought of the Ikhwān into the doctrine of the Ismaili *da'wa*?" These are important questions that remain unanswered and require more research (Ebstein 2014, 46; De Smet 2014, 557).

[317] Ismā'īlī thought influenced by Neoplatonic philosophy put forward a specific mystical-philosophical school of thought that concerned itself with "the teachings of the prophets and Imams with a vision of the universe rooted in the Neoplatonic philosophy of Late Antiquity" (De Smet 2014, 552). Regarding the introduction of Neoplatonism in Ismā'īlī doctrine, the most accepted theory put forward by Samuel Stern, Wilferd Madelung and Heinz Halm suggests that Neoplatonic philosophy was first found in the writings of Iranian dā'īs of Qarmaṭī tendency and later adopted by the western dā'īs with reservation. De Smet however offers another perspective that demonstrates the possibility that this doctrine was integrated into the Fāṭimid da'wa during the reign of al-Mu'izz. See Daniel De Smet, "The *Risāla al-Mudhhiba* Attributed to al-Qāḍī al-Nu'man: Important Evidence for the Adoption of Neoplatonism by Faitmid Ismailism at the Time of al-Mu'izz?", in *Fortess of the Intellect: Ismaili and Other Islamic Studies in Honour of Farhad Daftary*, ed. Omar Alí-de-Unzaga (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 309-349, in particular pp. 309-310. Michael Ebstein opines, "the Ismā'īlīs in North Africa seem to have taken an interest in Neoplatonic philosophy long before its official adoption by the Fāṭimī Caliph-*imām* al-Mu'izz in the third quarter of the 10th century" (2014, 238).

pertaining to the status of the *imams* and to the hierarchy of the *awliyā'* (Ebstein 2014, 11). In his chapter on Ṣūfism in *The Muqadimah*, Ibn Khaldūn states: "The early (Sufis) had had contact with the Neo-Ismāʻīlīyah Shīʻah extremists who also believed in incarnation and the divinity of the imams, a theory not known to the early (Ismāʻīlīyah). Each group came to be imbued with the dogmas of the other. Their theories and beliefs merged and were assimilated" (Ibn Khaldūn 1958, 92).

Ibn Khaldūn further writes,

> It is obvious that the Sufis in ʻIrāq derived their comparison between the manifest and their well-known theory concerning the imamate and connected matters, at the time when the Ismāʻīlīyah Shīʻah made its appearance. The (Ismāʻīlīyah Shīʻah) considered the leadership of mankind and its guidance toward the religious law a duty of the imam… (Correspondingly, the Sufis) then regarded as a duty of the 'pole,' who is the chief gnostic, the instruction (of mankind) in the gnosis of God (Ibid, 94).

Ibn Khaldūn reaches the conclusion that Ṣūfism is saturated with Shīʻī cosmological and theological ideas. Although his conclusion is somewhat unfair, disregarding for instance Ibn al-ʻArabī's own contributions to mystical thought, Ibn Khaldūn does provide us with a general sense of the impact of Ismāʻīlī thought in the development of Ṣūfī doctrine, especially in the mystical writings of Ibn al-ʻArabī.

Further clues of possible connections between Ismāʻīlī and Ṣūfī thought are made evident in one of the only extant treatises attributed to a Nizarī Imām in the post-Alamūt period (fifteenth-sixteenth century), entitled the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* or *Advises on Spiritual Chivalry* (Boivin 2000; Daftary 2007).[318] The relevance of this text is not merely to reiterate the esoteric interconnections between Ismāʻīlīs and Ṣūfīs. Rather, the work in question contains those characteristics innate to the ethical positioning exemplified in our conceptualization of a cosmopolitan ethic. Further, the

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[318] Russian orientalist Wladimir Ivanow published the first edition of the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* with an English translation. See *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī,* edited and translated by Wladimir Ivanow as *Pandiyat-i Jawanmardi* or "*Advice of Manliness.*" Ismaili Society Series A no. 6 (Leiden: Published for the Ismaili Society by E.J. Brill, 1953). The concept of the terms *fatā/futūwwa* (Arabic) and *jawānmard/jawanmārdī* (Persian) were introduced in Chapter 2. We shall discuss further the significance of this concept in Ṣūfism and its incorporation in the writings of the Imām. It should be noted that I prefer 'spiritual chivalry' over Ivanow's 'Manliness' due to the ethical and spiritual connotations in the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* and its connection to Ṣūfī context from which the term takes root.

contents of the work can be interpreted as a body of mores and practices that serve as the ethico-spiritual pretext of what Aga Khan IV terms a cosmopolitan ethic.

The work is a collection of religious and moral guidance traditionally attributed to Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh II (d. 1480)[319] that carry similar contents found in other Muslim works on ethics. He was the thirty-second Imām in the Nizārī Qāsim-Shāhī line, also known by his Ṣūfī name Shāh Qalandar, who may have been one of the first Imāms to be affiliated with the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfī order (Boivin 2000; Daftary 2007).[320] The *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* is first and foremost a text that aims to reinforce the link between the believers and the Imām of the time, continuously stressing the duty of the believers to recognize and obey the Imām (Daftary 2007). In a sense, the *Pandiyāt* can be considered as sacred so far as it contains the utterance of the Imām; it may also be classified with what is known today in the community as collections of *farmāns* (Address or Decree) of the Imām.[321] Furthermore, the readers are reminded to live in accordance with the Qur'ānic virtues that together, as I understand, contain the antecedents of a cosmopolitan ethic by which human beings should live. This is iterated in the following passage:

> The real man (*jawānmard*) is one who behaves as a man, who is righteous and honest, whose devotion to God (*maḥabbat*) is in reality greater than it appears. He is friendly with every one for the sake of pleasing God, and not for any

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[319] Shafique Virani (2007) posits a preponderance of evidence suggesting that the treatise in fact belongs to the grandson of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh II, known by his popular surname of Gharīb Mirzā and carried the epithet of Mustanṣir bi'llāh (d. 1498). Ivanow (1953) is the only other scholar who raises some awareness of the correct Imām to which the text is attributed. However he reaches a conclusion that attributes the work to Gharib Mirza's father, Imām 'Abd al-Salām (d. 1493). Virani asserts that Ivanow's is highly unlikely and that the work is best understood in affiliation with Imām Gharīb Mirzā based on two critical postulations (2007, 124).

[320] Regarding the association of Imām Mustanṣir bi'llāh II and the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfīs Daftary (2007) and Virani (2007) remark that concrete evidence is lacking. In fact, we can speak more firmly about a close connection of the Imāms and the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfīs two centuries later. It was common practice during the post-Alamūt period for the Imāms to adopt Ṣūfī names. Virani argues "It is difficult to see how Shah and, above all, 'Ali, can construed to be exclusively Sufi designations. In fact, the use of such terms can be taken as indicative of rising 'Alid loyalism among the Sufis, rather than increasing Sufi sympathies among the Shi'a. Shared vocabulary may certainly encourage cross-fertilization, and it is entirely likely that it did. However, in and of itself this does not indicate the elision of boundaries" (2007, 146). For more on the possible connection between the Ismāʿīlīs and the Niʿmat Allāhī order see Nasrollah Pourjavady and Peter L. Wilson "Ni'matullahis and Ismailis," *Studia Islamica,* XLI (1975): 113-136.

[321] *Farmān* here represents the utterance (oral or written) of the Imam, regardless of the subject dealt with. The term *farmān* in this special technical sense was first used in the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* (Boivin 2014; Ivanow 1953).

worldly purposes, or in the hope of gaining any advantages in this world. The real man is one who in good actions is ahead of others, who tries to do and (really) does good, who treats the needs of his brother in religion as more urgent than his own. He gives priority to others in food and rest. So far as he can, he gives, but does not take. If his brother in religion eats food, he feels as if he himself has eaten it. He rejoices in the joy of his brother believer, and is aggrieved by his grief. The real man is one who is happy if his brother believer gains and is aggrieved if he loses…The real man is one who is hospitable (Mustanṣir bi'llāh 1953, 10).

Further in the text, the Imām exhorts the believers to "keep intensifying your love and service to one another, to your *pīr*, and your Imam, never remaining dependent on this world which is transient and without real substance and worth" (Mustanṣir bi'llāh 1953, 28). The implications of this treatise point to the permeation of Ṣūfī ideas that are part of a larger esoteric tradition. In fact, Ivanow explains that the *pandiyāt* informs the reader of the three level categorization of Ṣūfism: From *sharī'at* to *ṭarīqat* to *ḥaqīqat* (1953, 014). "It is explained to the true believers seeking *jawānmardī* or high standards of ethical behaviour that *haqīqat* is none other than the truths hidden in the *sharī'at* or the positive law – truths which could be attained only by following the guidance of the Imam along the spiritual path or *ṭarīqat*" (Daftary 2005b, 399). Indeed, the *Pandiyāt* informs its readers that the present-living Imām refers to his community of believers as the followers of *ahl-i ḥaqīqat* or the people of the truth, a term that usually seems to be categorized as Ṣūfī. Virani questions why these necessarily need to be understood through a Ṣūfī perspective. "[T]he Ismailis had long used such terms to refer to their own community. Writing more than five hundred years before the author of the *The Counsels of Chivalry* [*Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī*], in his *Book of Correction* (*Kitāb al-Iṣlāh*), the Ismaili da'i Abu Hatim Razi characterized his co-religionists as the 'people of truth' (*ahl al-ḥaqīqa*) in contrast to the 'reproachable sects' (*al-firaq al-madhmūma*)" (Virani 2007, 145).[322] Be that as it may, the overall concept of *jawānmardī* has its roots in the ethical tradition of *futūwwa*.

The theme of *jawānmardī* (Persian)/ *futūwwa* (Arabic) recurs throughout Persian Ṣūfī and Shī'ī literature (Boivin 2003). The concept is a complex one, in that it

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[322] Quoted from Shin Nomoto "Early Ismā'īlī Thought on Prophecy according to the Kitāb al-Islāḥ by Abū Hātim al-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/934-5)," (PhD diss., McGill University, 1999), 161. It was also inferred earlier that Ismā'īlī neoplatonic thought might have had a significant influence on Ṣūfī theosophical doctrine. See Ebstein (2014) *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus*.

constitutes a collection of moral qualities and its lexical history suggests a multitude of meanings that have evolved over the centuries (Mahjub 1999).[323] The first known work on *futūwwa* in Arabic comes from the tenth century and was written by the Ṣūfī shaykh Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sulamī (d. 1021), who was briefly introduced in Chapter 2.[324] Al-Sulamī's work is part of the wider tradition of *adab* that is "purely a sanitisation and spritualisation of the *futuwwat/jawanmardi* ethic" (Ridgeon 2011, 2). In this sense, the virtue of *futūwwa* is a constant manifestation of *adab*, which for the Ṣūfīs is considered a constant act of remembering God that aids the individual to find and know his/her creator. Michel Chodkiewicz explains, in his foreword to the English translation of al-Sulamī's work, that "[t]he rules of conduct and virtues presented" by al-Sulamī, "illuminate the way to the total assimilation of Sufism by experiencing and living it. This code of honor leads to a state of total consciousness of Truth, not by hearing it or by seeing it, but by *being* it" (al-Sulamī 1983, 15). Following al-Sulamī, many mystic writers would continue to expound on this subject. Subsequently, the Arab culture of *futūwwa* and its counterpart of the young hero, *fatā* would be absorbed into the culture of Persian *jawānmardī*.[325] The first Persian works on the subject are attributed to a great Ṣūfī shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī.[326] "He extols *futuwwat* as the choicest path,

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[323] For a comprehensive overview of the concept of *jawānmardī* with reference to the classical and medieval understanding of it up to the present see Arley Loewen's "The Concept of *Jawānmardī* (manliness) in Persian Literature and Society" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2001). In his analysis, Loewen presents the evolutionary transformation of the concept within the Persian context through three models. In this chapter, we are interested in the spiritual manifestation of the term that became associated with Ṣūfī orders concerned with perfect conduct and discipline as a means to manifest the Divine qualities within ourselves on earth.

[324] See biography (Chapter 2, fn. 166).

[325] According to Deborah G Tor, *futūwwa* developed its spiritual connection through Muslim sages in 9th century Iran. In particular, Tor suggests that the renowned Ṣūfī master, Abu Hafs al-Naysabūrī – renowned Ṣūfī master who was a close companion of al-Junayd al-Baghdadi. Much of the earlier discussions of *futūwwa* associated with al-Naysabūrī is preserved through the writings of al-Sulamī. See Deborah G Tor *Violent Order: Religious Warfare, Chivalry, and the Ayyar Phenomenon in the Medieval Islamic World* (Würzburg: Istanbuler Texte und Studien, 2007), 195.

[326] Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Hafs 'Umar Suhrawardī was born in 1145 to a family with a long tradition of Ṣūfism. In fact, his uncle, Abū al-Najib Suhrawardi (d. 1168) – a well-known Ṣūfī and professor of *fiqh* would influence the young Suhrawrdi's path to mysticism. Both he and his uncle were the intiators of the Suhrawardiya Ṣūfī order that still exists today. He was also inspired by the teachings of the Hanbalite preacher and Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī (Ridgeon 2011). Suhrawardī achieved fame through his writings of which '*Awārif al-ma'ārif* (*The Benefits of Spiritual Knowledge*) is the best known (Corbin 1993). On the subject of *futūwwa*, he wrote two treatises: *Kitāb fi'l-futūwwat* and *Risālat al-futūwwat*. Although he draws attention to the inner and outer dimensions of actions, he was mainly preoccupied with formulating a ritualistic aspect of the institution of *futūwwa* (Loewen 2001). It is this aspect of his

superior to the *sharī'at* (Islamic law), *ṭarīqat* (mystical path) and *ḥaqīqat* (ultimate truth). According to him, *futuwwat* should override the demands of Islamic justice for the sake of an all-encompassing spirit of tolerance and forgiveness" (Loewen 2001, 29). He would even glean from al-Sulamī when offering a definition of *fatā*. For Suhrawardī then, "the *fata* had to focus on God and the appropriate behaviour before God at all times, which meant manifesting both the correct inner and outer attributes" (Ridgeon 2011, 32).

Of interest to the current discussion is the permeation of *futūwwa/ jawānmardī* within Ṣūfism.[327] There developed a model of *jawānmardī* in the Persian context that was rooted in Qur'ānic precepts such as *taqwā* and *ḥilm* but also inspired by a central tenet of Islam to obey God. These ethical teachings together would impact the notion of *jawānmardī* in a spiritual/religious context (Loewen 2001). In this sense, the principle of chivalry served ultimately as an ideal spiritual model of divine obedience and attributes within Ṣūfī thought. Hodgson writes, "Ṣūfīs had adopted some of the futuwwah language for expressing loyalty and magnanimity, which they transformed into loyalty to God and radical magnanimity to all His creatures" (1974, 131). In fact, the comprehensive sixteenth century treatise *Futūwwat Naāma-yi Sulṭānī* (The Royal Book of Chivalry) written by Persian preacher Husain Wā'iz al-Kāshifī (d. 1504-5) asserts, "the science of chivalry is a branch of the science of Sufism" (Mahjub 1999, 550).[328] Like the earlier writers on the subject, Kāshifī concerns himself with issues

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work that caugh the attention of the 'Abbāsīd caliph Nāṣir al-Dīn Allāh (d. 1225) who made Suhrardī a theological adviser to the 'Abbāsid court.

[327] Not discussed here is the development of *futūwwa* guilds beginning in the 9th century. These men's clubs served as an organized society consisting of young men (*fityān*) from several different social strata. These organizations would become associated with a group of mercenaries known as the *'ayyārūn* whose roots are located in the widespread militant interpretations of the eighth and ninth centuries (Tor 2007). In this capacity, these organizations played an important role in promoting the ideals of 'manliness' in a manner that encouraged military discipline, violence and fraternal loyalty (Mahjub 1999). See also Khachik Gevorgyan "Futuwwa Varieties and the Futuwwat-nāma Literature: An Attempt to Classify Futuwwa and Persian Futuwwat-nāmas," *British Journal Of Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no.1 (2013): 2-13.

[328] Original quote from *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulṭānī,* edited by M.J. Maḥjūb (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān 1350 A.Hsh./1972), 7. Ḥusayn al-Wā'iẓ Kāshifī (d.1504-5) was an Iranian preacher and Ṣūfī mystic. He is well known for his Persian translation of the famous story *Kalīla wa-Dimna.* He moved to Herat where he was influenced and initiated by a leading Naqshbandi Ṣūfī master. Kāshifī was a prolific author who wrote roughly thirty works, mostly in Persian, dealing with a number of subjects. He excelled in the areas of metaphysics and mysticism and even composed a work on practical philosophy (Corbin 1993). Regarding his work on *futūwwa*, Kāshifī gleans from Suhrawardī and offers lengthy discussion that looks at this them from various perspectives – Ṣūfīsm, ethics, and the role of *futūwwa* in guilds and other

concerning proper conduct and placed emphasis on "defining *jawānmardī* as ideal, moral character (*akhlāq*) and proper behavior (*adab*)" (Loewen 2001, 147). Throughout his treatise, Kāshifī insists that *jawānmardī* can be learned and practiced in order to destroy the ego. He illustrates how the essence of *jawānmardī* is able to confer a sacred quality in all of life's professions further strengthening one's relation with God, the Prophet and the Friends of God. The *jawānmard* displays "his spiritual status" and exhibits "his *jawānmardī* by his every deed and his public performance in the arena, as well as by the tools of his trade and in his attire" essentially forging a dialectical relationship between the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* (Loewen 2001, 212-213). It is worth noting that the themes (i.e.: code of conduct, lawful and unlawful practices, obeying God and the spiritual guide) expressed in Kāshifī's treatise are also the focus of the earlier Ismāʿīlī text *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī*.

Even before al-Kāshifī's treatise, many Qurʾānic commentaries, Ṣūfī treatises and hagiographical works of the pre-Mongol period discuss *futūwwa* as an ideal Ṣūfī ethic (Loewen 2001). For example, Rashīd al-Dīn Maybudī's *Kashf al-asrār wa ʿaddat al-abrār* (Unveiling of Mysteries and Provision of the Righteousness)[329] completed in 1126, offers insight on the subject of *jawānmardī* and extols ʿAlī as the leader of the path of chivalry.[330] Many writers on *futūwwa* would cite numerous anecdotes in relation to ʿAlī's model of tolerance and forgiveness, thus presenting ʿAlī as the ideal spiritual

occupational groupings. In addition, he offers a comprehensive treatise on *futūwwa* through "esoteric interpretations and codes of conduct" and presents "invaluable overview of the professions of that period," indicating "the extent to which Sufism and institutionalized *jawānmardī* had pervaded every aspect of late medieval Iranian society" (Loewen 2003, 545).

[329] There is a dearth of biographical information available on Maybudī is believed that he was born (date unknown) in the town of Maybudī in central Iran. He was a Sunnī scholar and mystic well versed in the religious sciences. Maybudī was a compiler rather than an original thinker who draws from a number of sources in his writing, but never names his sources as Chittick and Keeler explain. One of the only surviving works of his pen that has survived is his magnum opus the *Kashf al-asrār,* which also preserves the text of an earlier Qurʾānic commentary of a famous Hanbalite theologian ʿAbdallāh Anṣārī (d. 1088). We know for certain that the work in question was compiled in the twelfth century based on his statement in the *Kashf al-asrār.* It is considered as the longest Sunnī commentary in the Persian language. For a comprehensive understanding of Maybudī and his work see William Chittick's translation *The Unveiling of the Mysteries and the Provision of the Pious* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2015) and Annabel Keeler *Sufi Hermeneutics: The Qurʾan Commentary of Rashid al-Din Maybudi* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[330] Generally, the concept of *futūwwa* as it is discussed in Ṣūfī treatises is almost always traced back to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib – the ideal hero (*fatā*) who possesses the virtues of *futūwwa/ jawānmardī*. This is captured in a famous Shīʿī saying attribute to Imām ʿAlī, which states:"*lā fatā illā ʿAlī lā sayfa illā dhūlfiqār* (There is no hero like Ali; There is no sword like Zulfiqar). This statement is also recited in the Ismāʿīlī duʿā.

hero. Henry Corbin posits, the whole ethic of *jawānmard* encapsulates the whole ethos of Shī'ism. For Corbin, *jawānmardī /futūwwa* holds a fundamental position within Shī'ī spirituality. The idea of *futūwwa* is inseparable from the idea of *walayā*; *Futūwwa* is "essentially bound up with the relationship between the prophetic mission and the Imamic charisma (the *walayah* as the esoteric aspect of prophecy) as envisaged by Shiism" (Corbin 1993, 291). Together these concepts highlight an allegiance to the "Friends of God" through "the model of chivalric service" (311). He further writes, "[t]he *fata* or *javanmard* is the young man; but in its technical sense the word signifies the youthfulness of the spirit rather than that of physical age. The *futuwwah* is the particular form which the relationship between esotericism and social reality takes in Islam" (Ibid, 290).

The above discussion has helped to establish the concept of *jawānmardī* within the Persian Ṣūfī context and its parallel with *futūwwa,* bringing to light the ethical use of the term within the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī*. Not ignoring the Ṣūfī context of *jawānmardī,* a closer look at the contents of the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* and its overall emphasis on obedience and service to the Imām reveals a striking similarity with earlier works from eleventh century Fatimid Egypt. Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Kitāb al-himma fī ādāb atbā' al-a'imma* (*The Book of Etiquette Necessary for the Followers of the Imam*) and al-Naysābūrī's *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya fī ādāb al-du'āt* (*A Treatise on the Etiquette of the Fatimid Ismaili Mission*) immediately comes to mind in this regard.[331] The nature of traits and attributes discussed in all these works can be categorized as part of a wider genre of *adab* literature discussed in the previous chapter. Such literature is aimed at disseminating principles and codes of conduct that formed an important part of classical Islamic culture. Therefore, the texts in question can be considered as being interrelated, even though it cannot be ascertained with certainty whether al-Naysābūrī actually gleaned from his predecessor, al-Nu'mān, or if the author of the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* referred to these previous texts. This of course does not detract from the continuity of knowledge that would have continued with the Imāms and their families.

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[331] See for example *Selections from Qazi Noaman's Kitan-ul Himma fi Adabi Ataba-el-a'emma or Code of Conduct for the Followers of Imam.* An abridged translation by Jawad Muscati and K.H. Moulvi (Karachi, 1950) and *A Code of Conduct: A Treatise on the Etiquette of the Fatimid Ismaili Mission.* A critical edition and English translation of Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysābūrī's *al-Risāla al-mūjaza al-kāfiya fī ādāb al-du'āt*, by Verena Klemm and Paul E. Walker (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011).

Going further, the virtue of chivalry may also be located within an even older tradition of pre-Islamic Persia and Arabia. In the case of the latter, it seems plausible to remark a certain parallelism between *futūwwa/jawānmardī* and the pre-Islamic code of *murūwa*. Looking at al-Naysābūrī's treatise one again, we find mention of *murūwa* (translated as chivalry) to be an important characteristic a *dāʿī* must posses.[332] The concept of *murūwa* entails ideas of 'manliness' and 'chivalry' and is understood to be the highest ethical ideal of pre-Islamic Arabia. This ethical ideal included virtues such as "generosity, bravery and courage, patience, trustworthiness, and truthfulness" (Izutsu 2002, 75). Many of these ethical qualities were adopted and revived through a monotheistic framework, resulting in a new conception of moral codes and devotion to God (Izutsu 2002). It is therefore possible to recognize a certain continuity between *murūwa* and *futūwwa/jawānmardī* that would later become an integral component of *adab*.

We find further evidence of Ismāʿīlī-Ṣūfī synergism through the entangled relations of the household of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms and the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfī order.[333] According to Daftary, the earliest definite evidence of a link between this Ṣūfī order dates back to the fortieth Ismāʿīlī Imām, Shāh Nizār. "He had close connections with this Sufi order, which at the time had not yet been revived in Persia, and adopted the *ṭarīqa* name of ʿAṭāʾ Allāh. This also explains why his followers in certain parts of Kirmān came to be known as Aṭāʾ Allāhīs" (Daftary 2007, 457). In the late eighteenth

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[332] "The *dāʿī* should be chivalrous [*marwwah*]; chivalry is an aspect of faith. If he loses his sense of chivalry, he forfeits the respect for him in the eyes of the people, and the novices and the believers will regard him with an eye of contempt" (al-Naysābūrī 2011, 53).

[333] The Niʿmat Allāhī was formerly considered a Ṣūfī order of Sunnī orientation but promoted ʿAlid loyalism in pre-Ṣaffawid Persia. The expression of Shīʿī sentiments is reflected by the term Shāh that came to be prefixed or suffixed to the name of many Ṣūfī saints, such as the founder of the Niʿmat Allāhī *ṭarīqa*. This order spread throughout Persia during the fifteenth century and even made successful strides in the Indian subcontinent, particularly in the Deccan (Hodson 1974). Nūr al-Dīn Niʿmat Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh or Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī (d.1431) is inseparable from the founding history of this order. Born to a family of Sayyids in Aleppo, Shāh Niʿmat Allāh was a prolific writer of mysticism and a poet. It is noteworthy that this founder traced his lineage to the seventh Ismāʿīlī Imām, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl – which he boasts of in some of his writings (Virani 2007). Daftary indicates that he is considered as a co-religionist by certain Ismāʿīlīs and that the Central Asian Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs have preserved some of his works including a commentary on the work of one of the Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs*, Nāṣir-i Khusraw (2007, 428). Following his death, he designated his son Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh as the next spiritual master (*quṭb*) of the order who would eventually settle in the Deccan – home of the Niʿmat Allāhī *quṭbs* for more than three centuries (Daftary 2007, 429).

century two leaders of the *ṭarīqa*[334] settled in Kirmān and received the support of Imām Abū'l-Ḥasan (42nd Ismā'īlī Imām).[335] Their arrival revived the ties between the order and the Nizārī Imāms. In fact, one of the cousins of the Imām Abū'l-Ḥasan, Mīrzā Ṣādiq, was initiated into the Ni'mat Allāhī order by Muẓaffar 'Alī Shāh – a *quṭb* of the *ṭarīqa* (Daftary 2007, 457).[336] Lewisohn posits, "[t]he intimacy of the relations between the Ni'matullāhīs and Ismailis during this period is evident from the fact that after his death in 1206/1792, Imām Abū'l Ḥasan was buried in Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh's mausoleum" (1998, 444). A possible brother of the Imām Abu'l Ḥasan - Nizāri Sayyid, Muḥammad Ṣādiq Maḥallātī – was a Ni'mat Allāhī Ṣūfī who went by the name of Ṣidq 'Alī Shāh. His son who carried the Ṣūfī name of 'Izzar 'Alī Shāh was also another well-known *darwīsh* of the order (Daftary 2007, 463).

It is also known that Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī (Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh), Aga Khan I (d. 1881) had close relations with the thirty-ninth *quṭb* of the order, Mast 'Alī Shāh. So much so that Ni'mat Allāhī sources claim that the Aga Khan was a disciple of the *quṭb* and was initiated into the order under the name of 'Aṭā' Allāh Shāh. "This alleged initiation, not substantiated by the Nizārī sources, would represent a rather unusual relationship, since it would have required a Nizārī imam to become a follower of a Sufi master" (Daftary 2007, 465). Nevertheless, the two did share a close friendship as evidenced by the support and hospitality Mast 'Alī Shāh received from the Aga Khan during his time in Maḥallāt (Pourjavdy and Wilson 1975). In Bombay, the ties of friendship would continue with Aga Khan I's son and successor Āqā 'Alī Shāh (Aga Khan II) who developed close ties with Raḥmat 'Alī Shāh (d. 1861), a *quṭb* of one of the branches of

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[334] The Ni'mat Allāhīs in Persia, upon being isolated from their spiritual master residing in the Deccan, asked for a representative to be sent to Persia. The then *quṭb*, Riḍā 'Alī Shāh Dakkanī (d.1799) sent his most trusted disciple Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh (d.1796) who arrived in Persia around 1770. His arrival is understood as the 'Ni'mat Allāhī renaissance in Persia (Lewisohn 1998). Whilst in Persia, Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh acquired a number of disciples, especially two very important disciples, Nūr 'Alī Shāh Isfahāni and Mushtāq 'Alī Shāh. These men wandered throughout Persia, spreading their knowledge and fleeing persecution eventually settling in Kirmān with a large number of supporters (Pourjavday and Wilson 1975).

[335] Pourjavady and Wilson (1975) suggest that Abū'l Ḥasan (forty-second Ismā'īlī Imām) may have been initiated into the Ni'mat Allāhī Ṣūfī order. However they do acknowledge that this is not something that is asserted in the texts they studied. Their supposition is later repeated by Nile Green (2011) who asserts that Abū'l Ḥasan was initiated into the order by Muẓaffar 'Alī Shāh without substantial evidence.

[336] Muẓaffar 'Alī Shāh (d.1800) was a physician who joined the Ni'mat Allāhī Ṣūfī order and became Nūr 'Alī Shāh's respected disciple. He was chosen as the *quṭb's* representative in Kirmān (Daftary 2007; Pourjavady and Wilson 1975).

the Ni'mat Allāhī order. Following the demise of the *quṭb*, 'Alī Shāh regularly sent money for Qur'ānic recitation at Raḥmat 'Alī Shāh's grave in Shīrāz (Boivin 2014; Daftary 2007). Alī Shāh seems to be one of the Ismā'īlī Imāms who had the most contact with the Ni'mat Allāhī order. He was an authentic Ṣūfī, with a profound interest in ethics and metaphysics (Boivin 2014; Picklay 1940). Like his father, 'Alī Shāh hosted several notable Ni'mat Allāhī personalities such as Nā'ib al-Ṣadr Shīrāzī (d. 1926), son of Raḥmat 'Alī Shāh, who carried the *ṭarīqa* name of Ma'ṣūm 'Alī Shāh.[337]

Another important figure with familial ties to Aga Khan II and his family was Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh (d. 1898).[338] Ṣafī visited India for first time in 1863 following a letter sent by Aga Khan II to then *quṭb* Munawwar 'Alī Shāh (d. 1884) to send a representative to Bombay in order to initiate new recruits into the order (Pourjavady and Wilson 1975). Around 1865, Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh returned to India for four years and stayed with Aga Khan II. It is believed that during his stay at the Aga Khan residence, Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh completed and published his famous Ṣūfī prose, *Zubdat al-asrār* at the request of Aga Khan II (Daftary 2007). Ṣafī's memoirs reveal a great deal about his close friendship with Aga Khan II and in one case, how he helped negotiate the marriage of his friend with the Qājār princess Shams al-Mulūk by defending the Ismā'īlī faith through an esoteric argument (Daftary 2007; Green 2004). Another example where we see a Ni'mat Allāhī's support for the Aga Khan is recorded in the *Tarā'iq al-haqā'iq*. Nā'ib al-Ṣadr recounts that Aga Khan II wrote to then *quṭb* Munawwar 'Alī Shāh informing him that his wife was infertile and thus requested for an intercessory prayer for the birth of a son. With these blessings, the Aga Khan did

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[337] Born in Shīrāz in 1853, Nā'ib al-Ṣadr Shīrāzī was a distinguished Ṣūfī mystic and author of the *Tarā'iq al-haqā'iq*. He traveled extensively throughout the Middle East and India meeting numerous men of learning and piety. During his sojourn in India (1881) he attended Aga Khan I's funeral and stayed with the Aga Khan II (Daftary 2007). In his travelogue, *Tuḥfat al-Ḥarāmayn*, Nā'ib al-Ṣadr recounts the generosity of the Aga Khan and his family who hosted him for a year. Based on al-Ṣadr's account, it seems plausible that the Aga Khan contributed materially to al-Ṣadr's proselytization of the Ni'mat Allāhī order. In addition, we find in his account a positive account of Ismā'īlī teachings together with an emphasis on the links between the Aga Khans, their family and the Ni'mat Allāhī order (Green 2011, 130).

[338] Mīrzā 'Ḥasan Iṣfahānī, known by his Ṣūfī name of Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh was born in Iṣfahān in 1835. He travelled to Shīrāz at the age of twenty to seek out the Ni'mat Allāhī *quṭb* Raḥmat 'Alī Shāh. He traveled extensively in the Middle East and India where he published his first work, *Zubdat al-asrār* (*The essence of secrets)*, a long mystical poem. Ṣafī 'Alī Shāh died at the age of 63 in Tehran and was buried in a *khānaqāh* built in his honour by the Qajar prince Muḥammad Mīrzā Sayf al-Dawla (Green 2004).

obtain a son who was none other than Sultān Muḥammad Shāh, Aga Khan III (Boivin 2014; Green 2011; Pourjavady and Wilson 1975).[339]

These relations with important figures of the Ni'mat Allāhī place the Aga Khans in a larger religious milieu that shared similar characteristics of divine intercession and charismatic authority (Green 2011). They also point to a possible pattern of exchange and adaptations informed by an esoteric tradition that was Persian in heritage.[340] One may argue that the actual basis for the necessity to foster these friendly relations may be bolstered by a number of factors, however there is no reason to refute the possibility of loyal attachments that were formed amongst the sincere leaders of both these communities; men of genuine spiritual attainment whose spiritual sustenance arose from a shared esoteric vision.

Conclusion

The proliferation of esoteric vocabulary and categories of thought shared amongst the various traditions discussed here, especially the Ismā'īlīs, do not take away from each community's own approach to faith and practice. Rather the infusion of ideas that penetrated into the literatures suggests a complementary relation between the desire to know (God and oneself) and to act upon the divine message in a manner that reflects the mercy of the creator. It becomes clear that throughout the histories of the aforementioned communities, the human need for divine guidance remained constant. Whether Ismā'īlī thinkers influenced Ṣūfī thinkers or vice versa may have some historical significance, but most important are the genuine efforts in formulating a medium of communication that sought to pronounce both the imminence and transcendence of the True Reality in relation to humanity. I am reminded here of a story that goes back to a correspondence that may have taken place between the philosopher Ibn Sīnā and the mystic Abū Sa'īd Abi'l-Khayr. Following the encounter, tradition informs us that the philosopher said of the mystic "he sees what I know" and the mystic declared "all that I see he knows." There responses illustrate the complementary

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[339] Original anecdote recorded in Nā'ib al-Ṣadr Shīrāzī *Tarā'iq al-haqā'iq,* Vol. 3 (Tehran: Kitābkhāna-ye Baranī, 1960-6), 434.

[340] More of these formulations will be made apparent in the next chapter when discussing some of the reforms of Aga Khan III.

relation that exists between different approaches, informing us that upon arduous reflection everything stems from a single reality.[341]

This chapter provided an overview of Ismāʿīlī historical phases where one is able to observe possible moments – what may be examples of the cosmopolitan ethic in practice. These cosmopolitan instances are of course govenrned by the context of the various stages in Ismāʿīlī history and refelect the interpretive tendencies of the Ismāʿīlīs. Nevertheless, there is a peculiar attitude of openness that is witnessed throughout the community's history, the factors of which are many, that lends itself well to a cosmopolitan vision inspired by the Greeks and the Abrahamic religions. The reader was also introduced to the concept of Imāmate and its pivotal position in the Shīʿī tradition. A brief account of Shīʿism and its teachings are of great benefit to better understanding the effects on Ismāʿīlī tradition and development. More importantly, the exploration of the need for divine guidance and the role of the Imām are pivotal to understanding the function of Aga Khan IV as spitirual leader of the Ismāʿīlīs and recognizing his responsibility as an intellectual concerned with issues of human diversity, justice, ethics, pluralism and much more.

As already noted, the expression of esoteric thought evolved over the centuries. And this evolutionary process was articulated in a milieu (i.e.: Indo-Persian context) that absorbed these ideas in various ways. The recognition of this phenomenon helps the reader to notice a pattern of spiritual temperament and vocabulary expressed in Ismāʿīlī thought that is coloured by an interpretive tendency explored in the previous chapter. The religious and cultural history (not extensive by any means) of the Ismāʾīlīs and their rich esoteric perspective further helps to frame the question of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic within Ismāʿīlī thought, but also confirms the concept's association with a longer history discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. The earlier analyses together with the present chapter prepare us to situate and evaluate Aga Khan IV's rhetoric of a

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[341] The historical validity of this story is questionable. However, it is the meaning behind this tradition that concerns us. See Reynold A Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 42. It is worth noting that Aga Khan IV (49th hereditary Imām of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims) also recounts this dialogue when discussing "the interdependence of spiritual inspiration and learning." See his speech at the Inauguration Ceremony of the Aga Khan University, Karachi, Pakistan, November 11, 1985. Quoted in IIS Deparment of Curriculum Studies, *Faith and Practice in Islamic Traditions*, IIS Secondary Curriculum, Student Reader Vol. 1 (London, UK: Islamic Publications Limited and IIS, 2015), 26.

cosmopolitan ethic, which I argue is infused by his own religio-cultural history and the Abrahamic moral tradition, as well as contemporary philosophical leanings of Western thought of a concept that extends back to the Greeks.

Introduction

Born November 2, 1877 in Karachi, Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh al-Ḥusaynī Aga Khan III was the first of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms to be born in the Indian subcontinent.[342] He ascended the throne of Imāmate at eight years old and remained as Imām for seventy-two years until his death in 1957 (Daftary 2007). He dedicated the majority of his life to the religious and material uplift of the Ismāʿīlī community. His period of Imāmate was unique and unprecedented: "The metamorphosis of a moribund society from the depths of its degradation to its proud position in modern civilisation during the course of only about half a century, is a saga of success with probably no parallel in history" (Thawerbhoy 1977, 19). Aga Khan III made constant efforts to instill important ideals of service and love for one another, influenced by Islam, amongst his community and the wider *umma*. Apart from being the forty-eighth Ismāʿīlī Imām, Aga Khan III was an influential social reformer grounded in Islamic ideals. A man with many connections to European and non-European elites, Aga Khan III held many roles in numerous fields[343] that shaped the course of Ismāʿīlī identity and the perception of Islam in British India as well as at the global level. In a tribute marking the centenary birth of Aga Khan III, his youngest son Prince Sadruddin[344] expressed in *The Times:*

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[342] The previous Imāms were directly affiliated with the regions known today as North Africa and the Middle East. Aga Khan III's father was from Iran.

[343] A short biography of Aga Khan III was provided in Chapter 3. For some of the public positions he held see Chapter 3, fn. 279.

[344] Ṣadr al-Dīn Aga Khan (d. 2003), known more commonly as Prince Sadruddin, was the second son of Aga Khan III and the uncle of the current Imām, Aga Khan IV. He studied at Harvard University's School of Arts and Sciences. After graduating he pursued further studies at the University's Centre of Middle Eastern Studies. While at Harvard, Prince Sadruddin co-founded the Harvard Islamic Society. After graduating the Prince would begin a long career in diplomacy humanitarian aid. He was the one of the longest serving UN High Commissioner for Refugees, from 1965 until 1977. After stepping down from this role, Prince Sadruddin became increasingly involved in environmental campaigns, leading him to establish the Bellerive Foundation in the late 1970s. This Foundation, now integrated into the Aga Khan Foundation, focused on concerns of natural resources and poverty in the developing world and a number of issues affecting the environment. Prince Sadruddin was also fond of Islamic art and collected a number of paintings, drawings and manuscripts; many of which have been bequeathed to the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto. A new publication by Diana Miserez entitled *Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan:*

For me, of course, he was all of these things and many more…My father was first and foremost a deeply religious man who had no difficulty in integrating an active political and social life and everything it entailed in terms of formality and obligations in the post-Victorian era, with the close communion with God which is the aspiration of every practising Muslim…It was this Islamic sense of unity in all forms of life which confirmed my father's faith in a God-governed order. He achieved a synthesis which enabled him to conciliate his faith in the Almighty as well as in Darwin's theory of the origin of the species which swept across Europe in his youth and generated such heated debate (S. Aga Khan 1977, 18).

This chapter takes into account the socio-moral reforms as well as the socio-historical forces at play during Aga Khan III's lifetime. The distinct ideas and actions of Aga Khan III during this dynamic time draw attention to broader processes that accentuate a larger cosmopolitan *durée* linked to the ethos of the early Greek articulation of cosmopolitanism. This perspective places attention on the cosmopolitan ethic of Muslim efforts toward spiritual and worldly progress that were integral to the Ismāʾīlī ethical philosophical traditions.[345] Inherent in his leadership was a language of cross-cultural engagement and a deterritorialized understanding of religion. He enjoined on his co-religionists to advocate for the progress of Muslims by appealing to the cosmopolitan ethos of past Muslim civilizations. His cosmopolitan pursuit, as I hope to demonstrate, is characterized by his attempt to make Islam, the office of Imāmate, and his community more relevant to the rapidly changing social and economic advancements of nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

This chapter will shed light on certain aspects of Aga Khan III's thought, paying particular attention to his cosmopolitan vision as evidenced through his social reforms and his philosophy of religion. His overall commitment to peace and tolerance together with his emphasis on culture and spirituality further help to identify Aga Khan III as the ideal cosmopolitan. I point to Aga Khan III's nomination for a Nobel Peace Prize in 1924, which speaks volumes to his efforts towards continuous dialogue and peace

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Humanitarian and Visionary (Leicestershire: Book Guild Ltd, 2017) traces the life of Prince Sadruddin and his many accomplishments in humanitarian and environmental fields.

[345] For the purpose of this chapter, I will only focus on some of the initiatives of Aga Khan III. A complete analysis of the Ismāʿīlī lmāms and their works is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

efforts (Mukherjee 2017)?[346] Scattered throughout his writings and speeches is the constant reminder of the two dimensions of human life, *dīn* and *dunyā*, that lend itself well to a cosmopolitan spirit that underscore the overriding concern for humanity. Although Aga Khan III never used the notion of a 'cosmopolitan ethic', important themes such as education, the empowerment of women, interpretation of the faith as well as the role of reason, love, and ethics all point to the underlying trope of a cosmopolitan ethic invoked in the previous chapters. I argue, therefore, that the cosmopolitan spirit captured in Aga Khan III's worldview would influence the community to this day under the guidance of Aga Khan IV.

Two initial observations should be pointed out about the development of the religio-political thought of Aga Khan III. First, much of the Aga Khan III's reformist views took place in British India during a time where Indian Muslims were faced with socio-economic challenges and concerns about the nature of religious interpretation in the modern era. Second, Aga Khan III's actions were also informed by the legal developments affecting the *Khoja*[347] community from the 1860s and his ability to maximize his visibility as a reputable leader in the Indian public sphere (Mukherjee 2011). It is appropriate therefore to give some context around the community that looked to the Aga Khans as their rightful Imāms. I briefly take up the evolution of a formal Ismāʾīlī identity under colonial rule and then situate Aga Khan III's thought within the larger reform activities that affected the Muslim community in British India. Although I maintain that similar ideologies of social reforms are apparent, I also discuss how he departs from other Muslim modernists on some of his interpretations, which draw on *akhlāq* principles and the significance of *waḥdat al-wūjūd*. Throughout this chapter, I tease out some critical principles of Aga Khan III that serve as the roots for a cosmopolitan worldview.

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[346] "Thanks partly to Aga Khan III's Persian background and cordial relations with the Iranian ruling elites in general, and the efforts of the official nominator Prince Samad Khan of Iran (also a Member of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague), and not least backed by the resolution of the Upper Chamber of the Indian Legislature in particular, the Aga Khan's name was recommended to the Nobel Committee in Norway in 1924" (Mukherjee 2017, 101). See also nomination citation in the official web site of the Noble Prize, available at https://www.nobelprize.org/nomination/archive/show.php?id=694.
[347] See Chapter 3, fn. 268

Figure 4.1: Aga Khan III
Credit: Elliott & Fry / © The National Portrait Gallary, London

Carving an Ismāʻīlī Identity in British India

With the arrival of the forty-sixth Ismāʻīlī Imām, Aga Khan I (d. 1881) from Iran, the role of Aga Khan I and his successors came into the public view in British India.[348] From the early nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth century, these charismatic leaders consolidated "a socially and culturally diverse body of followers on the Indian subcontinent and elsewhere" (Hirji 2011, 132) and contributed to the formation of what is today considered a transnational religious identity – the Ismāʻīlīs.[349] In no certain terms does this suggest that, prior to the arrival of Aga Khan I, the *Khojas* had no self-understanding of their identity. "Rather it is to suggest that they were not defined as an unchanging religious group that had heavily marked and defined boundaries" (Shodhan 1995, 107).[350] The nature of the *Khoja* group was such

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[348] For a descriptive account of Aga Khan I's arrival in Bombay and the various legal cases that challenged the Imām's authority, see J.C. Masselos "The Khojas of Bombay: The defining of formal membership criteria during the nineteenth century," in *Caste and Social Stratification among the Muslims* ed. Imtiaz Ahmad (Delhi: Manohar Book Service, 1973), 1-20.

[349] Imāmate Institutions claim a worldwide population of 15-20 million Ismāʻīlīs. However, Faisal Devji believes this to be an exaggerated number arguing that a more realistic estimate puts the community between 3 to 4 million at most (2009, xi). This is a contentious issue because official numbers that are made public affect the socio-political context of the Imāmate and the Ismāʻīlī community. Further, the numbers only reflect estimates based on collected data by the community, which of course have their own limitations. To my knowledge, the community does not hold an accurate number of the global Ismāʻīlī community since such information would be sensitive given that some Ismāʻīlīs live in conflict affected regions. However, regional numbers collected in North America and European countries for example may accurately reflect those populations.

[350] It should be noted that belief in a distinct *Khoja* community that openly followed Nizārī Ismāʻīlism is simply not true. History affirms that Ismāʻīlī communities in the Indian subcontinent, prior to the

that, they were able to fluidly participate in other identities without hesitation, which made it difficult for the British and other demarcated communities to conveniently categorize the *Khojas* (Asani 2003).

Religious faith in South Asia was traditionally connected with caste and the teachings of particular spiritual teachers such as *gurus* and *pīrs*. The context of the subcontinent furnished an atmosphere of overlapping identities, which suggests that religion was conceived of as "a territory with indistinct borders" (Esmail 1998, 40). The smooth crossing of 'borders' between faiths permitted exchanges of ideas, symbols and practices in all directions (Khan 2004).[351] Given the nature of identity in this context, Dominique-Sila Khan[352] suggests looking at the religious identity of groups like the *Khojas* as being "liminal" whose emergence are the result of a combination of complex factors (Khan 2004, 44).[353] The *Khojas*, as Faisal Devji[354] describes, were "a Vaishnav *panth*, a Sufi order, a trader's guild and a caste" concurrently (1987, 49).[355] Many of the *pīrs*, it is believed, lived under the guise of indigenous holy men as well as Sūfī saints and spread the message of *Satpanth* (true path) under the guidance of the Imām who

presence of their Imām practiced *taqiyya* in order to survive. "Sunni persecution of the Ismailis was a perpetual menace, proved by numerous allusions in Indo-Muslim sources to 'heretics' being discovered and exterminated if they did not embrace Sunni Islam" (Khan 2004, 47- 48).

[351] Several Ṣūfīs were known to have interacted and conversed with Indian pious individuals such as *yogīs* and *bhaktas*, with respect to finding common conceptions of 'Reality' and 'Existence'. See Muzaffar Alam, *The Languages of Political Islam: India 1200-1800* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 82-83.

[352] Dominique-Sila Khan (d. 2016) was an independent researcher associated with the Institute of Rajasthan Studies. She obtained two doctorates, one in Literature and second in Anthropology from the Sorbonne University. She specialized in the study of shared and overlapping cultures of Hindus and Muslims in South Asia. In particular her research unearthed the obscure and hidden identities of missionary-saints belonging to the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī tradition in India. Her work provided evidence and better understanding of Ismāʿīlīs and other groups that defied demarcated boundaries in the South Asian context.

[353] Khan presents in her introduction her choice of the concept of 'liminality.' Other concepts like 'syncretic' fail to encompass the full spectrum of cross-community interaction because they assume the existence of a structured and absolute religion (2004, 5-6). She regards liminal figures as "the sacred custodians of the threshold" similar to the ancient Roman deity Janus Bifrons, the god of doorways, who has two faces pointing in opposite directions. In this sense, the *Khojas* were a community with two natures: "one [pointing] towards the wide sphere of Islamic movements, the other towards the complex continuum of indigenous/ Hindu religions" (Ibid, 44).

[354] Faisal Devji is University Reader in Modern South Asian History. He is also a Fellow at New York University's Institute of Public Knowledge and Yves Otramane Chair at the Graduate Institute in Geneva. Devji was Junior Fellow at the Society of Fellows, Harvard University, and Head of Graduate Studies at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. His area of interest concerns Indian political thought and modern Islam, as well as ethics and violence in a globalized world. He has authored 4 books and written a number of articles.

[355] Also quoted in Asani "From Satpanthi to Ismaili Muslim", 97.

resided in the West.[356] Their adherents were concealed under the label of *Satpanthis* which itself was comprised of various subgroups like the *Khojas, Shamsis, Nizarpanthis* and others (Asani 2011; Khan 2004; Hirji 2011). In fact, so many of these *pīrs* were so successful at concealing their true identity under the garb of spiritual teachers that even today several non-Ismāʿīlīs revere them as Ṣūfī masters (Asani 1991; Ivanow 1948).

Nevertheless, the hitherto fluid nature of the *Khojas* and other liminal groups became suspect. Religious identity seemed too convoluted to delineate for the British. As such, British officials turned to Western ideas about religious communities to draw clear-cut categories such as 'Hindu' and 'Muslim'. "Islam and Hinduism were supposed to have 'pure' or 'pristine' forms which were defined as the norm, while the forms that could not fit into these pigeonholes were termed 'deviant'" (Khan 2004, 70). The British consensus categories pushed these amorphous groups to express a distinct religious identity among the more prominent Muslim and Hindu sects. The nineteenth century also saw Aga Khan I asserting direct control over the internal matters[357] of the *Khojas* and over much of the communally owned property managed by a handful of rich merchants, which was seen as threat to the authority of certain elite members. The disputes over the legitimate authority over the *Khoja* affairs took place in the British courts, culminating in the famous Aga Khan court case (1866). The result of the Bombay High Court rulings helped to redefine the *Khoja* community, initially understood as a caste group, came to be understood as a distinct Shīʿī Muslim sect in purist terms (Devji 2014).[358] In other words, Aga Khan I's authority was officially

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[356] History tells us that the Ismāʿīlī Imāms in Iran received tributes from the *Khojas*. The Imām is portrayed as the Shāh in one of the earlier *Satpanthi gināns,* residing in the West or Persian land (Purohit 2012). Tradition informs us of the *pīrs* and some of the wealthier adherents travelling to see the Imāms as part of a pilgrimage rite (Asani 2003). Refer also to Joseph Arnould, *Judgement of the Hon'ble Sir Joseph Arnould in the Kojah Case otherwise known as the Aga Khan Case* (Bomaby: "Bombay Gazette" Steam Press, 1867), 15 and John Norman Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India* (London: Luzac, 1953), 390-392.

[357] For instance, Aga Khan I began to introduce new religious practices that were aligned with Shīʿī rituals. In 1847 he made a change to the traditional *Khoja* custom around inheritance by supporting the daughter's right to inherit a share in her father's property (Shodhan 1995, 110-111). It should be noted that prior to this landmark court case Aga Khan I, in 1861, wrote to his adherents advising them to abandon *taqiyya* and to acknowledge their identity as Shīʿī Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs (Khan 2004, 82).

[358] For an examination of the impact of British colonialism and the outcome of the Aga Khan cases on the *Khojas* of Karachi, Pakistan see Michel Boivin,"The Isma'ili – Isna 'Ashari Divide Among the Khojas: Exploring Forgotten Judicial Data from Karachi" in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. 24, no.3 (2014): 381-396.

sanctioned through the British courts,[359] which also legally ascribed an identity to the *Khojas* that defined them as a sect of the Shī'a Muslims (Asani 2011; Shodhan 1995).[360]

Although the British courts inculcated a legal identity, the Aga Khans had to address the official 'Ismā'īlī' identity based in Nizārī Ismā'īlī thought and practices.[361] A key aspect of this process was an institutionalization and reorientation of traditional values as well as a number of social and religious reforms executed through constitutions and *farmāns* (Asani 2011; Nanji 1988).[362] Ali Asani[363] aptly writes,

> The programme of reforms instituted by the Aga Khans dramatically transformed Ismaili Khoja social, economic and religious life. In the area of religious life and practice, it appears to have had two intersecting objectives: first, to promote among the Khojas a better understanding of Ismaili concepts and practices using frameworks consistent with Shi'i and general Islamic traditions; and second, to articulate an interpretation of Islam that was relevant to the emerging contexts of colonial and post-colonial South Asia in a changing world (2011, 111).

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[359] Faisal Devji goes so far as to suggest the fervent dependency of the Imāms upon the British Empire by pointing out Aga Khan III's strategic choice of affirming, in his *Memoirs*, "his legitimacy" through the 1866 pronouncement "rather than any religious text, thus very clearly anchoring his own authority in colonial law" (2009, xi). Nile Green (2011) also demonstrates how much of Bombay's Muslim religious leaders profited from the 'modernization' agenda implemented by the British.

[360] For a comprehensive analysis of the British court's involvement in contributing to a legally recognized religious identity of the *Khojas* see Amrita Shodhan, *A Question of Community: Religious Groups and Colonial Law* (Calcutta: Samya Press, 2001). She demonstrates the authority and role of colonial law in 19th century British India in formulating the idea of community, in particular the concept of 'religious community.'

[361] In particular it was Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh Aga Khan III "who outlined parameters of Isma'ili identity both institutionally and discursively" (Purohit 2012, 119).

[362] Another element of this programmatic reform included a reconfiguration of the Ismā'īlī prayer knows as the *du'ā*. For further details on the religious reforms of Aga Khan III see Michel Boivin, *Le Rénovation du Shî'isme Ismaélien en Inde et au Pakistan: D'après les Ecrits et les Discours de Sulṭān Muḥammad Shah Aga Khan* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2014). The role of constitutions and the evolution of Imāmate institutions is taken up in Chapter 6.

[363] Ali Asani is Professor of Indo-Muslim and Islamic Religion and Cultures and Director Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Islamic Studies Program at Harvard University. He holds a joint appointment between the Committee on the Study of Religion and the department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations. As an expert on Islamic civilization in South Asia, Asani research focuses on Shī'a and Ṣūfī devotional traditions in the region. In addition, he studies popular or folk forms of Muslim devotional life, and Muslim communities in the West. In addition, he is a specialist in Ismā'īlī literary traditions of the region. In 2002, Professor Asani was awarded the Harvard Foundation medal for his contributions to improving intercultural and race relations. Some of his books include *The Būjh Niranjan: An Ismaili Mystical Poem* (1991), *The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages: A Descriptive Catalog and Finding Aid* (1992).

The implications of this complex project sealed the community's relation with the office of Imāmate[364] and formulated "a new sense of community ethics" (Mukherjee 2014, 436) based on Aga Khan III's religio-political thought, explored below.

The Religio-Political Thought of Aga Khan III

In addition to being the forty-eighth hereditary Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs, Aga Khan III (1877-1957) was one of the most prominent political personalities of late colonial South Asia.[365] In the first decade of the twentieth century he quickly embarked on a career in public opinion-making with "[a] veritable avalanche of speeches and articles on a wide range of topics" buttressed by British authorities who saw in Aga Khan III an ally that shared a vision of progress and modernization (van Grondelle 2009, 27, 29).[366] Indeed, his appointment to the Imperial Legislative Council in India in 1902 by Lord Curzon enhanced his prestige among his Muslim counterparts (Rizvi 1986, 436). Aga Khan III also garnered much support from the broader Muslim community as a favourable representative thanks to his efforts around the Aligarh Movement (Mukherjee 2011).[367]

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[364] For details regarding the concept of Imāmate, see Chapter 3.

[365] At the start of the twentieth century, another legal case affecting the Aga Khan III's religious authority was debated in the British courts. The 1909 case re-iterated the unprecedented right of only the Imām over the community offerings and no other persons related to him. Justice Russell decided that "offerings made to the Aga Khan were only for *his* personal use, thereby closing much of the debate about his exact position and giving him a veritable free-hand over property matters" (Mukherjee 2011, 196).

[366] One cannot ignore Van Grondelle's rather persuasive argument, which illustrates how the relationship between the British and Aga Khan III grew stronger over time, wherein government officials desired to see him become the voice of Muslims. Furthermore, this relationship resulted in activities amongst the Ismāʿīlī community that were deemed valuable for British interests. This close bond continued with the succession of Aga Khan IV in 1957 who was "firmly established as a friend of Britain" (2009, 87).

[367] At the age of 19, Sir Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh visited Aligarh College and had the opportunity to meet Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. This event would begin Aga Khan III's lifetime dedication towards the betterment of Muslim life through education (Thobhani 2011). The Aga Khan writes in his *Memoirs*: "This was the origin of what was for many years one of the crucial concerns of my life – my interest in the extension and improvement of Muslim higher education, and specially the college and university at Aligarh." He also describes his formative role in garnering funds (exceeding three million rupees) towards establishing Aligarh as a university (Aga Khan III 1954, 35, 114-115). Rizvi (1986) writes that the Aga Khan collected over two million rupees and took all credit for himself, an accomplishment that was solely due to Mawlānā Shawkat ʿAlī Jauhar (d. 1938), a member of the All India Muslim League and leader of the Khilafat Movement. This account is based on Shawkat ʿAlī's younger brother, a leading Indian Muslim leader and political activist Muḥammad ʿAlī Jauhar (d. 1931). This accusatory narrative is alarming since Aga Khan III does acknowledge the help he received during his campaign: "My honorary private secretary, and my right-hand man throughout the campaign, was the late Maulana Shaukat Ali; without his steadfast, unwearying (*sic*) help I doubt if I should ever have been able to make a success of it" (Aga Khan III 1954, 115).

Aga Khan III's approach to Islam was in response to new concepts generated from the interface of Western secularism[368] and Islam in colonial South Asia. Teena Purohit[369] seems to place primacy on "secular values of the colonial public sphere" as the epistemic frame behind Aga Khan III's conception of Islam, which resembles Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ's[370] invocation of "a secular and post-Enlightenment idea of Islam-as-faith" (2011, 711).[371] However, I situate Aga Khan III's vision as part of a theologically sound vision that saw Islam in agreement with reason as well as the larger Muslim reformist approach that called for an active engagement with colonial rule.[372] Aga Khan III regarded science and religion as inseparable rather than disparate. Accordingly, the decline of Muslim advancement and the rise of Western science were inextricably linked in his view (Mukherjee 2011; Purohit 2012; Thobani 2011). Education therefore, became a matter of necessity through which a "programme of regeneration" (Thobani 2011, 163) could foster the desired progress and success of Muslims in colonial India. Indeed, Aga Khan III's path to effect a sort of 'Muslim renaissance' – specifically in the area of educational reform and the status of women – was shaped through his own education and upbringing. He was highly educated with knowledge in both Islamic and secular disciplines, including Qur'ānic studies, poetry,

[368] According to Talal Asad, "Secularism as a political doctrine arose in modern Euro-America. It is easy to think of it as requiring the separation of religious from secular institutions in government, but that is not all it is. Abstractly stated, examples of this separation can be found in medieval Christendom and in the Islamic empires – and no doubt elsewhere too. What is distinctive about 'secularism' is that it presupposes new concepts of 'religion', 'ethics', and politics, and new imperatives associated with them". See his *Formations of the Secular* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 1-2.

[369] Teena Purohit is Associate Professor of religion at Boston University. Her area of specialization is South Asian religions with a focus in devotional literature, religious identity and modern Islam. Purohit's particular interests also include concerns regarding the conceptualization of religion and the impact of colonial forms of knowledge on modern Muslim intellectual thought. She is currently working on her second book entitled *Making Islam Modern*.

[370] Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ's (d. 1948) was the founder and architect of Pakistan. Jinnāḥ was a lawyer by training who served as leader of the Muslim League and as Pakistan's first Governor-General. Jinnah became the first Governor-General of Pakistan and president of its constituent assembly. He spoke of Pakistan as nation that would reflect the ideals of unity, faith, and discipline. While studying in England, Jinnāḥ was to be influenced by the liberalist thought of William E. Gladstone, then prime minister of the United Kingdom. For more on Muḥammad 'Alī Jinnāḥ, see Ayesha Jalal, *The Sole Spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the Demand for Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

[371] See also Faisal Devji, "Minority as a Political Form", in *From the Colonial to the Postcolonial: India and Pakistan in Transition*, eds. Dipesh Chakrabarty, Rochana Majumdar and Andrew Sartori (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 89-90.

[372] For more details regarding the various political and religious trends in India during the late 19th and 20th centuries which serve as a contextual frame for the Aga Khan's vision, see Shenila S Khoja-Moolji, "Redefining Muslim Women; Aga Khan III's Reforms for Women's Education" in *SAGAR* vol. 20 (2011) 69-94.

mathematics, astronomy and metaphysics (Aga Khan III 1954).[373] Thus, an analysis of Aga Khan III's thought, which I claim carries key tropes of the cosmopolitan ethic, necessitates two aspects: 1) his pubic career as a strong advocate for Muslims and 2) his interpretation of Islam in the capacity of Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs.[374]

Education as an Instrument of Muslim Success

A deep concern for the future of Muslims and the preservation of Islamic values was the guiding force of the Aga Khan III's preoccupation with education; what he considered as a moral and religious duty. In one of his first public speeches, Aga Khan III devoted much of his energy to the subject of education in accordance with his nuanced understanding of Islam. In his address to the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference (1902),[375] considered his first appearance on the national stage, Aga Khan III broached the topic of Muslim progress in India:

> That you have attended this Conference at all, in spite of all these splendid attractions, is due I believe, to the fact that though education is our theme, we are deliberating upon something more important than the suitability of this or that textbook, or this or that course of study. We are, if I understand the purpose of this Conference aright, considering what in modern time are the ideals we must hold before our people and the paths by which they attain them; and upon the right answer to these questions depends no trifling matter, but nothing less than the future of Indian Moslems…We are undertaking a formidable task when we attempt to correct and remodel the ideals of our people. But for the task before us, we Indian Mussalmans possess many advantages…we enjoy complete freedom to devise plans for the amelioration of our people…We know that no book and no branch of knowledge will be forbidden to us by official command; and, lastly we know that, under the protection of British rule, we shall be allowed to work out to the end any plan for social and economic salvation which we may devise (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 205).

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[373] He claims to have been taught four languages through long hours of tuitions. He also informs the reader of his appetite for reading books in English, French, Persian and Arabic. He also adds, "by the time I was thirteen I could read and write English, tolerable French, perfect Persian and fair Arabic" (Aga Khan III 1954, 7, 40, 43, 45).

[374] Of course I do not want to ignore the reality that the Aga Khan III's wealth and Western outlook "made him a good Muslim interlocutor for the Empire, and therefore a good negotiator for his community" (Devji 2009, xi).

[375] Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān established the All-India Muhammadan Education Conference in 1886.

Purohit (2011) rightly points out Aga Khan III's affinity towards the structure of British rule as providing 'advantages' and a guarantee of religious freedom.[376] Although an advocate of modern (Western) education, by no means was he propounding a libertine form of education. As the Imām of his Muslim community, Aga Khan III believed that religion was not in conflict with other subjects and sincere efforts could lead to an "intellectual reconciliation" between religion, philosophy and science (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 1116). In this regard, he later penned an article "The Religious Revival of Islam" (1944) where he elaborated further on this topic:

> Genuine Islam is in perfect agreement with reason, and none of the real acquisitions of reason can be contrary to it. It is able to assimilate modern sciences and methods, without allowing them to interfere with the Faith and Muslim tradition. It would be able to catch up with the obstacles which separate it from the Western world and to undertake a fertile and efficient reorganisation in all domains. This reorganisation will not only be spiritual, but also material, in order to assure to the Muslim peoples a complete economic and industrial equipment and a technical independence, without which no permanent national satisfaction may be attained…" (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 1185-1186).

These sentiments point to a revitalization of religion in order to reconnect Muslims with an intellectual and spiritual tradition that inspired many Muslim thinkers, poets, and scientists. He considered Islam as a catalyst for reflective thought what was compatible with modern education. Aga Khan III was convinced that "the spirit of Islam should inspire continuous intellectual growth, not closure, as the basis of learning" (Thobani 2011, 183). He continues in his speech at the 1902 Conference to insist that Muslims educate their children about the faith "and at the same time in modern secular science" (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 201). It is clear that the faith of Islam was an essential part of Aga Khan III's revival that called for an intellectual enquiry and appreciation of Islam's literature, art, and architecture.

For Aga Khan III, the problem of education needed to be settled in order to address the quality of life of the Muslim community, to bring social progress and community consciousness. The lack of education among Muslims was, according to

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[376] Another advantage for Muslims claims for greater education was strategically favourable for British policy that sought to "counter-balance the growing influence of the Hindu educated classes" (Thobani 2011, 166).

Aga Khan III, their apathy towards progress in civil society (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 207).[377] A reinterpretation and reorientation of the Muslim faith, he was convinced would provide the necessary transformation that met the demands of the time. Both moral and material progress were necessary for the well being of Muslims in the modern world and thus he called for the pious to overcome "their present attitude of aloofness" of the present world in order "to create for our people an intellectual and moral capital" that is also in accord with "the justice and virtue and purity of our beloved faith" (Ibid, 209, 214). Inspiration for a 'this-worldly' attitude was evidenced in the companions of the Prophet who were heroes, he affirmed, "not only on the battlefield, but in the more difficult daily sacrifices of healthy and patriotic society" (Ibid, 207). Even the Prophet Muḥammad and the first four caliphs of Islam exemplified that time should not only be given to "silent prayers" but "to the service of [one's] nation" and to the social duty of each individual for betterment of the community (Ibid, 210). The true reformation as conceived by Aga Khan III was a spiritual movement as well as a call "to beneficent activity for mankind" (Ibid, 571). As such, the advantages offered by modern education together with Islam's intellectual heritage would contribute to further development in every facet of human life – intellectual, spiritual, and religious. Aga Khan III essentially saw himself as a modern leader of this 'Muslim educational renaissance' who could steer Muslims towards raising themselves to higher standards of modern advancement therefore preparing both men and women "to render the highest services to mankind" (Ibid, 1187).

Muslim Reform – Towards a "This-Wordly" Approach

Aga Khan III's discussions about education and progress were very much a product of colonial and reformist projects of his time. Colonialism, interestingly enough, occurred in geographic locations where many of the colonized peoples happened to be Muslims, such as the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent. For Muslims, colonialism was

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[377] Aga Khan III expressed this general apathy as a disease caused not by the faith of Islam but external factors, such as retreating to silent prayer, the terrible position of Muslim women and the doctrine of necessity (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 207-212). In his, *India in Transition: A Study in Political Evolution*, Aga Khan III reminds his readers that "[m]ost of the ills of India can be ascribed to the general want of knowledge. Moral and intellectual growth have fallen far behind the material gifts brought by British rule" (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 581).

associated with European modernity and universalist endeavours that sought to intervene in the affairs of the Other in order to save them from chaos and anarchy.[378] The presence of European colonizers in India, for example, forced religions, willingly and unwillingly, to engage with new structures that were frequently perceived as foreign and threatening to Musim cultural values (Hughes 2013; Sharify-Funk and Dickson 2013). As a result of this complex encounter, "Muslim knowledge traditions became forcibly entangled with Euro-American knowledge traditions with greater intensity than previously documented and produced new hybridities" (Moosa 2009, 177). Indeed, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which saw the assertion of western powers pushed the Muslim community to rethink its place in the world and triggered a reassessment of "human intellect and interpretive possibilities" (Mukerjee 2017, 114).[379]

One response to European political rule and modernity[380] was a push to reform Muslim socieities by accepting certain European categories. This interaction with European dominance of the nineteenth century gave way to a movement that came to be celebrated as Muslim modernism.[381] It can be argued that Aga Khan III's position in this struggle to reject or accept European models for Muslim progress placed him

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[378] See Chapter 1 regarding the colonial trope of exploitation and salvation and its connection to the European cosmopolitan agenda.

[379] Faisal Devji notes that Islam's encounter with European modernity resulted in Muslim discourses that "took the form of defining a relationship, whether of acceptance, rejection or compromise, between East and West, Islam and Christianity" (2007, 61).

[380] Modernity here is understood as a dynamic and comlex term that is linked to certain attitudes ot the world, poltical structures, and economic models. "Modernity is a difficult concept to define owning largely to its ability to cover under its broad canopy any number of social, economic, political, and intellectual forces. As a movement, modernity tends to coincide with the rise of capitalism, secularization, and the emergence of postindustrial life – as well as with all the consequences to which these changes gave rise" (Hughes 2013, 227).

[381] On the other hand, the advent of Western powers was taken by so-called 'traditional' Muslim clerics as a sign that Muslims had deviated from the true path and neglected a strict adherence to God's will. "The ignominy of Muslims, they claim, is the consequence of a divine scourge, God's punishment for their having lost the true faith" (Alam 2004, 16). Broadly speaking, the traditionalists believed that a political and social rejuvenation of the Muslim community could only occur by turning to the foundational texts of Islam and eschewing the 'heterodox' practices that have corrupted the faith. For more on the tradionalists' responses to the socio-political issues facing the Muslim communities of the subcontinent see Barbara D. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); Usha Sanyal, *Devotional Islam and Politics in British India: Ahmad Riza Khan Barelwi and His Movement, 1870-1920* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Francis Robinson, *The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic Culture in South Asia* (Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001). The traditional revivalists clashed with what they saw as wanton agenda of the modernist camp that sought to buttress the colonizer's hegemony in India.

within the modernist camp. The rhetoric of Aga Khan III's renaissance program was closely associated with a shift from an 'other-worldly' towards a 'this-worldly' approach. A 'this-worldly' direction valued an active engagement with shaping human life on earth and placing responsibility on human beings for their failures and successes (Robinson 2004). Invoking the Prophet and some of the heroes of the early Muslim community, as does Aga Khan III, is a re-affirmation of "an activist this-worldly socio-political ethic" that the early community successfully expressed (Robinson 2004, 47). For him, the Prophet Muḥammad served as the ultimate paradigm of religious and secular virtue. The Prophet, according to Aga Khan III, was to be emulated by saints and heroes: the former whose role is that of a mediator between man and God is recognized for his experience of divine reality and access to esoteric knowledge. The hero, on the other hand, is identified as an ardent contributor to Islamic civilization, which encompasses the religious, cultural, and political aspects of Muslim life (Boivin 1994, 204).[382]

Amidst the Muslim reform and revivalist movements that took shape in the nineteenth century, it was the so-called modernists who buttressed the shift towards a 'this-worldly' approach to religion.[383] They wished to improve Islam in the modern world, by adopting 'modern' values while preserving certain Islamic characteristics that would contribute to the wellbeing of Muslims. However, the modernist approach was not simply about accomodating European models, it also responed to Western critics who loathed Islamic civilization and the Islamic faith for its backward and inferior character.[384] The modernist movement by no means was monolithic in nature. Many of its leading figures used a variation of approaches to deal with modernity, which of

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[382] In fact, it would not be implausible to claim that Aga Khan III saw himself as the ideal emulator of the Prophet, who embodied both the saint and hero. Thus, his position as Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs who held esoteric knowledge and his efforts in incarnating Islamic virtues for the service of men and women fit well into the reformist rhetoric, further enabling Aga Khan III to take a leading role.

[383] The modernist approach of these Muslim activists began to take form in the early nineteenth century (circa 1840) "as several Islamic states adopted European military and technical organization, and various Muslims travelers to Europe brought back influential tales of progress and enlightenment" (Kurzman 2002, 4).

[384] See for example Ernest Renan's *L'Islamisme et la Science* (Paris: Ancienne Maison Michel Lévy Frères, 1883) and Sir William Muir's, *The Rise and Decline of Islam* (London: The Religious Tract Society, n.d.).

course meant that disagreements were a natural reality.[385] Nonetheless, a general

conviction to raise the moral and intellectual standards of the Muslim community

(*umma*) is evident among the modernists.[386] Some of the key thinkers who offered

intellectual rigour to this reform movement included Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (d. 1897),

Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905), Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898), and Sayyid Amīr

ʿAlī (d. 1928).[387] Although these modernists differed in their approach, they were

preoccupied, in one way or the other, with issues of social uplift and the well-being and

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[385] Generally, the modernists' agenda was variegated as Kurzman notes. "The modernists' Islamic faith encompassed both mysticism and abhorrence of mysticism; strategic use of traditional scholarship and rejection of traditional scholarship; return to a pristine early Islam and updating of early practices in keeping with historical change" (2002, 5).

[386] Ali Zaidi raises questions concerning the apologetic nature of Muslim modernists who welcomed European dominance. Were they blinded in their modernist efforts to fail to recognize "the value transfers inherent in science and technology"? Zaidi goes on to state, "their overwhelming desire for a synthesis of modernity and Islam seems to have overlooked the *ulama*'s criticisms of the modern condition, as well as the internal critique of modernity that had already emerged in the work of Nietzsche and Sigmund Freud, for instance" See his *Islam, Modernity, and the Human Sciences* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), quotes at 56.

[387] Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (d. 1897) is considered the first and most famous proponent of Modernist Islam. He was a philosopher, teacher, journalist, and politician who encouraged a Pan-Islamic perspective. For him this was the only way to empower the Muslim *umma,* which was threatened by colonialist European powers. Compared to other modernists, he advocated for a militant reformist movement that was anti-imperialist. In addition he made a strong appeal to revive scientific thought and reforms the educational system in Muslim majority countries. He was viewed as an innovator who proposed Islamic responses to modern problems. His consistent reformist aim however, remained at the political level in order to revive the power and image of the Islamic world (Kurzman 2002; Rahman 2002). Muḥammad ʿAbduh (d. 1905), was another prominent Egyptian Muslim Modernist who was a student and disciple of al-Afghānī. Encouraged by his mentor, ʿAbduh studied theology, Sufism, philosophy and science. ʿAbduh became closely associated with al-Afghānī's reformist ideas during his sojourn in Egypt (1871-1879), however he did not believe in Afghānī's militant resistance. In the late 19th century, ʿAbduh would concentrate on educational and legal reform by devising programs to reform the educational system, advocating for girls' education and introducing reforms in the Muslim court system. His overall aim was to use Islamic principles and practices that would be acceptable to the modern mind, allowing for further reformation and the pursuit of modern knowledge. ʿAbduh's influence extended beyond Egypt, inspiring reformists throughout the Islamic world (Rahman 2002). Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898) was an important early leader of the modernization movement among Indian Muslims. As an employee of the East India Company, Khān was affected by the failed struggle for independence of 1857 (Kurzman 2002). This pushed him to better understand the real causes of the revolt and the lack of progress in social fields by Muslims. He believed Muslims required a practical program to adapt to British rule in order to address many of the contemporary issues facing the Muslim community. Khān's interpretation of Islam carried a 'this-worldly' approach that placed emphasis on human beings helping one another. He connected revelation with human progress through the development of reason and knowledge and emphasized the intrinsic relationship between *dīn* and *dunyā* (Jalal 2008). He attempted to integrate the modern scientific world-view with the Islamic doctrine. He generally called for an 'ethical revolution' which is reflected in the journal he launched called *Tehzīb-ul-Akhlāq* (Refinement of Morals) based on Miskawayh's work on ethics. For him, the only means to achieve a reformation of Muslim social ethics was through an education that would incorporate both modern subjects and a respect for Islamic values (Rahman 2002). See also Hafeez Malik, "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Doctrines of Muslim Nationalism and National Progress", *Modern Asian Studies* 2, no. 3 (1968): 221–44.

quality of life of their fellow Muslims. According to Fazlur Rahman,[388] it is this attitude – "a type of modern humanism, a concern for man as such" – that shaped Muslim modernist thought towards a 'this-worldly' approach. The logic of their methods lay in asserting belief in "the transcendental truth of Islam" while emphasizing its effect "as a betterment of…the socio-moral life *in this world*" (2002, 216).[389] To this end, Muslim modernsists attempted to bestow upon their fellow Muslims a shared heritage of Islam stripped of any parochial connotations and encouraged a holistic interpretation of faith while remaining true to a rational engagement with modernity (Bennison 2012).

Indian Muslim Modernists and Liberal Thought

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[388] Fazlur Rahman Malik (d. 1988) was the Harold H. Swift Distinguished Service Professor of Islamic Thought at the University of Chicago. His childhood education can be considered 'traditional' in that he received tutorship under his father, an '*alim* of the *Deoband* Seminary in India. At university he studied Arabic and continued his training in the Islamic sciences including *ḥadīth*, law, theology and philosophy. He obtained his doctorate from Oxford where he wrote on Avicenna's philosophy. As a scholar, Rahman was a staunch critic of 'traditional' Islam and admired the *Mu'tazilī* theory of rational ethics, which played an important component in his own hermeneutical approach to Qur'ān. In particular, his theory of revelation and his emphasis on the Qur'ān as an ethical text put forward some innovative approaches to Islamic thought. His thought has influenced many contemporary scholars of Islamic Studies, some of whom were his students. See Abdullah Saeed, "Fazlur Rahman: a framework for interpreting the ethico-legal content of the Qur'an," in *Modern Muslim Intellectuals and the Qur'an,* ed. Suha Taji-Farouki (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
Some of his well-known books include *Prophecy in Islam: Philosophy and Orthodoxy* (1979); *Islam and Modernity: Transformation of an Intellectual Tradition* (1982) and *Revival and Reform in Islam* (1999).
[389] Faisal Devji derides the modernist position for being a weak movement that failed to engage in an intellectual dialogue with European thinking. For him, "the modernist debate among Muslims continued to revolve around historical oppositions that could not enter into any real, let alone systematic, relationship, so that relations between East and West, Muslim and Christian, were thought of in partial and fragmentary ways, like attempts to enter into conversation with someone speaking a different language" (Devji 2007, 62). Devji focuses on the works of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān (d. 1898), whose works, Devji labels as "apologetic" at best. Khan and his modernist contemporaries utilized the concept of modernity –as it developed in European thought- and anachronistically justified it to early Islam. In essence, the modernist position "failed to develop a system of thought or even a way of thinking systematically, for its accommodations were not developed intellectually and therefore had no histories" (Devji 2007, 70). This is because "Muslims had their own concept of a once-and-future or 'apologetic modernity' associated with the tradition of Prophecy. This concept morally and intellectually circumvented the West's own modernity and was largely incommensurable with it" (Bayly 2012, 232). On the other hand, Ayesha Jalal contends, "[c]riticisms of Sayyid Ahmad Khan as either a loyalist or an apologist fray at the seams when we locate them within the historical context of nineteenth-century colonial India" (2008, 167). I tend to agree with Jalal; in fact I find Devji far too dismissive of the modernist attempts to grapple with the European dominance and intellectual ideas. Simply viewing modernist efforts in a monolithic fashion as mere adoption and claiming modern day Islam to be a western construction fails to account for Islam's own instruments that offer instruments of (re)thinking, (re)constructing and (re)adaptation in the wake of modernity. I ask, did Islam not evolve, albeit in different formulations, throughout the various Muslim civilizations? And did it not contend with pertinent issues in those moments?

It is clear to see that the modernist movement illustrates a cutting theme that called for action on earth, urging human beings to take personal responsibility.[390] As such, Aga Khan III's modernist campaign can be understood within the context of the broader reformist agenda. It is worth pausing and considering the relationship of Muslim modernism and liberal political theory that swept across northern India during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In doing so, the modernist position adopted by Enlgish-educated Indian Muslims[391] becomes more intelligble (Bayly 2012; Mukherjee 2017). This broader movement of Indian liberalism was characterized by a "range of thought and practice directed to the pursuit of political and social liberty" (Bayly 2012, 1). The underlying trope of the modernist campaign that sits well with the larger rubric of liberalism is the latter's emphasis on certain inviolable freedoms of the individual. "[Liberalism] grants people a very wide freedom to choose a conception of the good life, and then allows them to reconsider that decision, and adopt a new and hopefully better plan of life" (Kymlicka 1995, 80). Indian intellectuals were confident in their ability to rewrite an import liberal framework by ridding any domineering colonial aspects and repackaging it through an Indian lens (the particular), while still retaining universal idioms beneficial to society's progress (Bayly 2012, 3-4). There were indeed some affinities between an Indian brand of liberalism and English liberal concepts, in

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[390] The focus on the responsibility of human beings as representatives of God on earth (*khalīf*) was expressed by Muḥammad Iqbāl (d. 1933). Iqbāl emphasizes "the enormous responsibility of each individual human being in the trust that he/she received from God and encapsulates that relationship in the concept of the caliphate of each individual human being" (Robinson 2004, 54). Refer also to Muḥammad Iqbāl, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,* edited and annotated by M. Saeed Sheikh (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013). On a deeper level, I opine that there is a connection to be made regarding human responsibility and the concept of *fiṭra* (see Chapter 2). *Fiṭra* – the natural disposition that God has instilled in every person – acts as an internal inspiration in each being that develops over time by seeking knowledge and knowing oneself and others, achieved through faith and reason. Each being evokes his or her state of *fiṭra* in responding to their responsibility on earth. The endowment of *fiṭra* reaffirms each individual's pledge to God and draws him or her to expend their efforts in improving themselves, in their spiritual and worldly life, in order to attest the dignity and nobility of every human being through actions.
[391] For some more examples on the intellectual elites of South Asia who advocated an engagement with modernity, resulting in a reformulation of Muslim thought refer to Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1967* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Christian W. Troll, *Sayyid Ahmad Khan: A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology* (Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1978); David Lelyved, *Aligarh's First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

particular the thought of John Stuart Mill.[392] For example, Mill argued that everyone should have access to "inherited social practices in all areas of life" and should be able to choose which practices are worth following based on their value and worth (Kymlicka 1995, 160). Individuals must have the option to decide if certain customs are "properly applicable to his own circumstances and character" (Mill 1982, 122).[393] Mill was critical of people who blindly followed practices and social customs. His liberal thought rested on "an ideal of rational reflection that applies to human action generally, and that is intended to 'inform our thought and conduct as a whole'[394]" (Kymlicka 1995, 160).

Of significance to the overall discussion are Aga Khan III's liberal bent and more specifically his reading of Mill's writings that argued for representation as a moral and political duty. Aga Khan III's liberal bent is evident in his address to the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference (1902)[395] in which trust is placed in the British guarantee of freedoms. "Mill's advocacy of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion found an appropriate 'ecological niche' in what Indian liberalism saw as their own tradition" (Bayly 2012, 12). This feature of Mill's liberalism entrusted the British to ensure that fundamental beliefs and individuals' rights were not violated.[396] More importantly, it helped to further endorse the Muslim modernist goals that focused

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[392] Indian liberals also differed on certain British liberal principles. For example, they cannily ignored the fact that Mill seems to have endorsed the colonization of other barbarian countries by European liberal states in order to teach them liberal principles (Bayly 2012; Kmylicka 1995). An interesting interpretation regarding Mill's defense of British colonialism, which seeks to rescue liberalism from colonial coercion is offered in Bhikhu Parekh's "Decolonizing Liberalism," in *The End of 'Isms'? Reflections on the Fate of Ideological Politics after Communism's Collapse*, ed. Aleksandras Shtromas (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), 85-103. "As Parekh shows, this assumption, which was invoked to defend British colonialism, has had a profoundly distorting impact on liberal thought. In order to defend colonialism, Mill was led to create an exaggerated, almost Manichaean, division between European and non-European societies. This led not only to a caricatured misunderstanding of non-European societies, but also to various fixations within liberalism itself. Having defined liberalism as 'the opposite, the antithesis' of the allegedly tradition-bound and stagnant non-European ways of life, liberals became 'obsessively anti-tradition', and started to fetishize economic growth and the domination of nature, since these features provided the clearest distinction from non-European societies" (Kmylicka 1995, 2017 n.4).
[393] Also quoted in Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 160.
[394] Quote from John Rawls "The Idea of an Overlapping Consensus," *Oxford Journal of Legal Studies* 7, no.1 (1987): 6.
[395] See above excerpt of speech.
[396] "Of course, liberalism came to be widely employed as a language of colonial domination and of elite command within the subcontinent. But Indians constantly subverted these colonial and elite interpretations of liberalism"(Bayly 2012, 4). They also turned to the same sources used by the British to counter their coercive arguments and proving and transgressions committed by the new sovereign rulers.

on the pursuit of the welfare and wellbeing of Muslim Indians.[397] Aga Khan III was "an advocate of an economic system of the type developed by J.S. Mill, according to which the State has the duty to ensure well-being" (Boivin 2014, 251).[398] This of course was no different than his Indian liberal intellectuals who were attracted to Mill's main criterion of the rational pursuit of the Good life (Bayly 2012, Kymlicka 1995). Indeed, Mill's rational sensibility seems to have struck a chord with the Muslim modernist agenda and other Indian rationalists that argued for moral action on the basis of reasoned judgement and not intuition. "Any religious person could claim to be guided by intuition…Religious conviction dressed up as 'conscience' or 'intution' could not provide a justification for right conduct. An act had to be judged by its tendency to create good or bad outcomes…" (Bayly 2012, 226). One should, however, not assume that this involved an unintelligible translation of Western liberal ideas, but rather a creative process whereby Indian intellectuals "drew analogies with [Western] thinkers" and "deconstructed and reassembled" British liberal ideas (Ibid, 346). It is also important to recognize that inherent in the liberal tradition was an underlying assumption: "that our beliefs about the good life are fallible and revisable" (Kymlicka 1995, 81). This made liberalism a portable feature in which indigenous values and beliefs could be superimposed on a complex system of governance.

The Perso-Islamicate Cosmopolis and Mughal Heritage[399]

Generaly speaking, liberal thought may have gained prominence across the globe during the nineteenth century, especially in India, however one cannot ignore the Indo-

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[397] Regarding the case of religion, "A liberal society not only allows individuals the freedom to pursue their existing faith, but it also allows them to seek new adherents for their faith (proselytization is allowed), or to question the doctrine of their church (heresy is allowed), or to renounce their faith entirely and convert to another faith or to atheism (apostasy is allowed)" (Kymlicka 1995, 82).

[398] My translation. "[Aga Khan III] est plutôt partisan d'un système économique du type développé par J.S. Mill, d'après lequel l'Etat a le devoir d'assurer le bien-être" (Boivin 2014, 251).

[399] The Mughal dynasty (1526-1858) ruled most of northern India. The Mughals are notable for their effective rule over India, their administrative organization and for their cultural achievements. In this capacity, the Mughals were known for blending elements from Persia and India. The most famous Mughal ruler was emperor Akbar (1556-1605) who helped to make the Empire an artistic and military power. Of significance was his tolerant attitude to all religious communities. He believed that a ruler's duty was to treat all believers equally and thus created a holistic policy towards religion that continued under his son Jahangir (1605-1627) and grandson Shah Jahan (1628-1658). See Meena Sharify-Funk and William Rory Dickson, "Islam," in *World Religions Canadian Perspectives,* ed. Doris R. Jakobsh (Toronto: Nelson, 2013), 172.

Muslim complex, which offered an immediate moral context that was congenial to certain aspects of liberal thought. Here I consider the impact of Mughal culture that drew heavily from the Persian context that wove together the spiritual and cultural characteristics of being Muslim.[400] The ethical tradition of the Mughal Court, I suggest, left an indelible mark on the socio-cultural milieu of medieval India that offers another link to Aga Khan III's worldview and other modernist reformers of the time. Here, I would like to draw attention to the qualities and principles valorized under the Mughals – heavily inspired by Ṭūsī's *Ethics*[401] as well as Ṣūfī and philosophical thought. Ṭūsī's book was a favourite reading at the Mughal court. Emperor Akbar insisted on having the book read to him regularly and instructed his officials to read Ṭūsī and Rūmī (Alam 2004, 61).[402] The imprint of *akhlāq* literature in the affairs of Mughal India is undeniable. They served as important sources on cultivating correct conduct and action in the social and political aspects of the Mughal elites. As such, human obligations constituted a vital aspect of *akhlāq.* As previously discussed in Chapter 3, the *akhlāq* texts contained discussions on human character, the necessity of a code of conduct and order that helped to maintain a balanced society inspired by justice. The advices offered in these texts were understood as a benefit to peoples in all ranks of human society, assisting in fulfilling their potential as 'the crown of creation' (*ashraf al-makhlūqāt*) on earth. "The perfection of man, according to the authors of these texts, is to be achieved by the admiration and adulation of divinity, but is impossible to attain without a peaceful social organization wherein everyone earns his living cooperatively and by helping others" (Alam 2004, 54). The main goal of these texts is cooperation among

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[400] See Chapter 3.

[401] There is scant evidence that affirms an exact time when Ṭūsī's treatise entered into the Indian subcontinent. For Alam (2004), it seems very plausible that the first entry of this text would have taken place between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

[402] In a letter addressed to Mughal officials, Akbar insists that his members should "appreciate the truth of religion" and when they find spare time from their daily duties, "they should read books written by the pious and saintly, such as the ones on *akhlāq* that cure moral and spiritual ailments." Akbar further adds that "[t]he best prayer is service to humanity. They should welcome all with generosity, whether friends, foes, relatives or strangers; in particular they should be kind to the recluse and seek the company and advice of the pious" (Alam 2004, 62). Also refer to Abu'l Fazl, *Inshā-i Abu'l Faẓl,* vol. 1 (Lucknow: Nawalkishor Press, 1863/1280 H.), 57-67. This proclamation of the royal code of conduct bares similarities to the shared Ṣūfī–Ismāʿīlī writings discussed in Chapter 3, which instruct much of Aga Khan III's discourse of service and welfare of mankind. Clearly, we see a continued cosmopolitan spirit imbued with ethical ideals inspired by a certain interpretation of Islam but also a long tradition of sacred hospitality (see Chapter 2).

social and political organizations that can only be achieved through justice (*'adl*) – which for Ṭūsī stemmed from mutual love (*maḥabbat*), a guarantor for such cooperation (Alam 2004).[403]

Although a detailed history of Persian cultural, political, and religious influences on the Indian subcontinent is beyond the scope of this chapter, a few remarks are worth reiterating in consolidating a link with the socio-religious context explored in Chapter 3. India came into contact with Persian culture in the ninth century and by the end of the tenth century, the appearance of Persian language and culture grew stronger with the presence of the Ismāʿīlīs in regions such as Sind, Multan, and Punjab (Virani 2007). However, an official association between Persia and the Indian subcontinent started around the eleventh century, and from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries Persian scribes, writers, and poets became integral to the socio-political vision of the Delhi sultanate (Alam 2004).[404] When the Mughals finally succeeded to power, they continued to patronize Persian literary culture. The images and the metaphors well-known to the post-Mongol ethos of Persia made a lasting impression on the lives of the Mughal elites, which was further directed through the influence and social activism of Ṣūfī figures in Mughal politics. "Manuals on Nasirean ethics, together with the liberal Sufic tradition and Persian poetry, contributed significantly to the making of this milieu and provided guidance for an acceptable pattern of living in a heavily religious but multicultural medieval set-up" (Alam 2004, 74). Some of the major factors that facilitated the rise of Persian culture under the Mughals, according to Muzaffar Alam[405] include:

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[403] Ṭūsī writes, "…the need for justice (which is the most perfect of human virtues) in preserving the order of the species, arises from the loss of Love; for if Love were to accrue between individuals, there would be no necessity for equity and impartiality…In these regards, the virtue of Love over Justice is obvious." Naṣīr ad-Dīn Ṭūsī, *The Nasirean Ethics*, trans. G.M. Wickens (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1964), 196.

[404] For a critical survey on the growth of Persian language and literature in India (pre-Mughal era until the advent of the Mughal dynasty) see Muhammad Abdul Ghani, *Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan* (Allahabad: Allahabad Law Journal Press, 1941). Some of the elements of Persian tradition that flourished in the Indian subcontinent are discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[405] Muzaffar Alam is George V. Bobrinskoy Professor in South Asian Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago. His area of specialization concerns Mughal political and institutional history as well as history of Indo-Islamic culture. Some of his books include: *The Crisis of Empire in Mughal North India, 1707-1748* (1986); *The Mughal State, 1526-1750* (1998)*;* and *Indo-Persian Travels in the Age of Discovery: 1400-1800*, with Sanjay Subrahmanyam (2007).

1) As the Ṣafawid regime implemented strong measures that led to religious persecution of those who did not conform to their narrow interpretation of Shīʿī doctrine, many Persian writers and poets sought refuge in Akbar's India; 2) Territorial expansion under the Mughals received assistance by the Persians; 3) As Akbar's court drew more and more Persian artisans and scholars, Mughal India revitalized the pre-Ṣafawid culture and heritage that dictated the worldview of the Mughal elites and the quotidian lifestyle of India (Ibid, 122-133, 140).

Taking into account the socio-political and religious context of South Asia in which the Aga Khans carved themselves an authoritative position, Aga Khan III could not have been ignorant of what had taken place during the Mughal period of leadership. In Aga Khan III's reform objectives there are indications of a cosmopolitan ethos that a leader should consider in the interest of maintaining a balanced healthy society comprising of people from various religions who hold diverse interests. Indeed, "a political sensibility about the need for toleration of various traditions, rooted in the idea of the unity of God, was well developed in the subcontinent and this was in some cases assimilated into later liberal thought as sentiment and allusion" (Bayly 2012, 36). Aga Khan III saw himself as intervening to resolve the Muslim dilemma in accordance with the challenges put forward by the social reality of Muslims and the inherited tradition of Islam. This undertaking was essentially inspired by the *akhlāq* texts, particularly the work of Ṭūsī, developed under the auspices of Ismāʿīlī reign at Alamūt.[406]

Aga Khan III and the Status of Women

A dominant thrust of the modernist project was the articulation of plural voices that invoked idioms of human intellect and Islam's civilizational grandeur.[407] The

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[406] "Islamic ideas of good society drawn from the akhlaq tradition tradtion also inflected the ideas of Muslim modernists, such as Sayyid Ahmad Khan or Syed Ameer Ali, who remained liberals up to the point where their veneration for the Chain of Prophecy interdicted this. Here they indirectly drew upon still-vibrant indigenous ideologies. Liberalism, in any rigorous definition, certainly did not exist in pre-colonial India, any more than it did in European classical antiquity. Yet the tradition of spiritual openness in both the Hndu and Muslim traditions, represented by the Kabir Panthis, the Chishti Sufis or the memory of the Emperor Akbar, for instance, certainly provided a hospitable context for the emergence of Indian liberalism" (Bayly 2012, 347).

[407] Soumen Mukherjee (2017, 123) reminds us, "this process necessitated striking a balance on politico-religious front that could effectively wed certain sectarian specificities to general religio-cultural ethos leading to a political consensus among the subcontinent's Muslims." Indeed this was a strategy invoked by Aga Khan III in his writings and speeches, which emphasized the 'dynamic qualities' of Islam, the 'foundational sources' of the faith, and the 'Prophetic model'.

integration of modern ideas and revitalization of rational interpretations of Islam could only materialize through social reforms, which really took effect in the educational sphere. Nowhere else was this most notable than in the modernist promotion of women's education. Even Aga Khan III included in his priority the concern of women's progress in India: "In matters of social reform I have tried to exert my influence and authority sensibly and progressively. I have always sought to encourage the emancipation and education of women" (Aga Khan III 1954, 186). Education was the domain through which powerful leaders (mostly men) contested the role of women and their ability to achieve social, economic and political equality.[408] For Aga Khan III, the crisis of Islam in modern times was also due to the failure of recognizing that social progress was not possible without the participation of women: "A second cause of our present apathy is the terrible position of Moslem women…There is absolutely nothing in Islam, or the Koran, or the example of the first two centuries, to justify the terrible and cancerous growth that has for nearly a thousand years eaten into the very vitals of Islamic society (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 210).

He believed that women had a crucial role to play in society and argued against the many ills that beset Indian women. He placed significant value on the status of women and supported women's rights to act as responsible independent contributors to India's economy. Aga Khan III's views on the vital contribution of women to furthering the advancement of society is laid out in his *India in Transition*:

> Biologically the female is more important to the race than the male. While average women are capable of earning their own livelihood like men, they are the guardians of the life of the race, and only through their natural constitution are the able to bear the double burden. Experience shows the strong probability that the active influence of women on society, under free and equal conditions, is calculated not only to bring about practical improvement in the domestic realm, but also a higher and nobler idealism into the life of the State. Those who know Moslem society from within readily admit that its higher spiritual life

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[408] The issue of women's education even brought to the forefront the specificities of different Muslim groups and their interpretations, especially in Bombay. A case in point is the Sulaymānī Bohra Tyabji clan of Bombay, which stood out amongst other Bombay Muslims in regards to women's education. Even before the Muhammadan Educational Conference of 1896 addressed the importance of women's education, a Sulaymānī Bohra by the name of Badruddin Tyabji sent three of his daughters to an all girls' school around 1876 (Mukherjee 2017, 127).

owes a great debt to the example and influence of women…No progressive thinker to-day will challenge the claim that the social advancement and general well-being of communities are greatest where women are least debarred, by artificial barriers and narrow prejudice, from taking their full position as citizens. Hence it is with deep sorrow that the admission must be made that the position of Indian women is unsatisfactory, that artificial obstacles to their full service of the commonwealth are everywhere found, and that, from the point of view of health and happiness alike, women suffer needlessly through chains forged by prejudice and folly…These and other social evils have so handicapped India that it is impossible to conceive of her taking a proper place in the midst of free nations until the broad principle of equality between the sexes has been generally accepted by her people. The present abrogation of this principle is the more to be deplored since the natural intelligence and ability of Indian womanhood are by no means inferior to those of their emancipated sisters (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 593-594).

Aga Khan III recognized the dignity of women as individuals worthy in and of themselves. He saw "no contradiction with Islamic principles of gender justice in his campaign for Indian women" and defined women as bearers of civilization that necessitated compulsory access to education (Kassam 2011, 255).[409] His remarks aimed to critique the inferiority of women based on biology and their limited domestic capabilities. To him women needed "to be seen as intelligent individuals capable of independently charting the course of their private family lives as well as the public life of the nation" (Kassam 2011, 255). Many of Aga Khan III's modernist contemporaries also pushed for women's educational enfranchisement, however their articulations rested on education as a means to make women better mothers. The more educated a woman becomes, the more aware she will become regarding her duties as a wife and mother. For example, Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān in advocating for women's education said, "[t]he learning that will be beneficial today to women is the same that benefited them in the past, namely, religion and practical morality" (Rahman 1982, 77).[410] It is

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[409] Even Rokeya Sakhawat Hossein (d. 1932), a Bengali activist for women's education, emphasized this theme in her presidential address to the Bengal Women's Education Conference in 1926: "The opponents of female education say that women will become wanton and unruly. Fie! They call themselves Muslims and yet go against the basic tenets of Islam, which accords women an equal right to education." See Sonia Nishat Amin, The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal, 1876-1939 (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1996), p. 158.

[410] Interestingly, some conservatives like Ashraf ʿAlī Thānawī (d. 1943), a leader of the *Deoband* reform movement that crystalized in north India towards the end of the nineteenth century, could support women's education on this understanding. His book, *Bihishti Zewar* (Heavenly Ornaments) was written in hopes to bring Islamic teachings to women by providing detailed guidance about everyday domestic

clear that Aga Khan III's reasoning went beyond other reformers, who continued to support strict practices of seclusion and preferred educating women at home (Khoja-Moolji 2011). At the same time, he realized the necessity to provide an environment at the community level that valued women. Kassam notes that Aga Khan III's public views on the status of women were echoed in his own messages to the Ismāʿīlī community. In some of his earlier *farmāns* or guidance to the community, Aga Khan III insisted that men and women were equal in the Ismāʿīlī faith; he advised Ismāʿīlī men against keeping women behind the veil; and in other instances he commented that "men and women should be in step with each other" (Kassam 2011, 257).[411]

The manner in which women were to be viewed and treated according to Aga Khan III went a step beyond those of other modernists. Khoja-Moolji (2011)[412] believes that there are external factors other than Aga Khan III's interpretive tendency, which shaped his position on women. During his lifetime, Aga Khan III may have been exposed to discourses about citizenship as well as feminist ideas that were taking form in the West through his travels and experiences in Europe.[413] He notes that certain countries like the United States have long given voting rights to women and in England, "women have secured political enfranchisement" through "their determined and self-sacrificing labour." He further writes, "In the Great War the women of the United Kingdom, France, Italy, and there is reason to believe of Germany, have eagerly

duties, religious rituals and morals. See Baraba D. Metcalf, *Perfecting Women: Maulana Ashraf ʿAli Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar*, A Partial Translation with Commentary (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990).

[411] Aga Khan III set up institutions that would give men and women access to education. In fact, he established over 200 schools in India and East Africa during the first half of the twentieth century. He encouraged them to serve in leadership positions within the community institutions and to form volunteer organizations (Khoja-Moolji 2011). However more research is required to illustrate how many Ismāʿīlī women were in fact appointed to positions of responsibility during the tenure of Aga Khan III (Kassam 2011, 260).

[412] Shenila S. Khoja-Moolji is a postdoctoral scholar at University of Pennsylvania. She received her Ph.D. Education and additional certification in Feminist Theory from Columbia University (2016). Her research touches on the broader discussions of gender and education. In particular her work focuses on girls' education and empowerment as a solution to societal problems, especially in relation to Muslim-majority nations. She has written on the role of girls in transnational development agendas and has addressed issues concerning education policy in the United States and teacher development in the global South. She is currently working on her book tentatively entitled *Gender, Education, and Governmentality: The Making of Educated Female Muslim Subjects in Colonial India and Postcolonial Pakistan (1857-2015)*.

[413] Aga Khan III, *The Memoirs of Aga Khan: World Enough and Time* (London: Cassell, 1954), especially Chapters 2 and 3.

devoted themselves to manifold forms of toil, at office, munition factory, and farm, and near the 'front' for war purposes. They have proved themselves in patriotism and selflessness the equals of men" (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 593-594). It is also plausible that he would have been aware of the feminist consciousness in Muslim majority countries like Egypt. Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Egypt was undergoing what is referred to as 'the women's awakening', a time when women were voicing their demands by the pen and through public political action (Ramdani 2013).[414] From the early 1890s, Egypt saw the development of a women's press, which corresponded with an increase in female literacy. The press therefore, became another crucial avenue through which Egyptian women (upper and middle classes) became empowered.[415] In addition, Aga Khan III's personal interaction with many accomplished and powerful women cannot be ignored. These women surely left and indelible mark on his understanding of the significance of women to the advancement of society (Khoja-Moolji 2011).[416]

Reformer, Modernist, or Liberalist? A Dilemma of Labels

Broadly speaking, Aga Khan III loosely resembles a typical personality of the Muslim modernist movement. Indeed, liberal rationality was an important premise of Aga Khan III's reformist perspective. Nevertheless, he does not disregard each individual's innate potential to act morally, which I discuss in the section on his religious interpretation. Simply stated, any attempt to confine Aga Khan III to a single label falls short of his

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[414] Elite women such as Hudá Shaʿarāwī (d. 1947) took part in the earliest demonstrations. Shaʿarāwī was an influential female activist who led Egypt's first 'western-styled' women's movement. She was the president of the Egyptian Feminist Union (EFU) in 1923. For more on Shaʿarāwī see Mohja Kahf, "Huda Sha'rawi's 'Mudhakkirati': The Memoirs of the First Lady of Arab Modernity," *Arab Studies Quarterly* vol. 20 (1998), 53-82.

[415] For instance, Zaynab Fawwāz (d. 1914) wrote a biographical text that narrated the lives of important female personalities, which included Greek mythological figures as well as Biblical and Qurʾānic characters. She was a model Arab feminist, who worked tirelessly to ameliorate educational standards for women, inspired by her faith (Ramdani 2013).

[416] In his memoirs, Aga Khan III mentions the various women he was impressed by such as Queen Victoria, Florence Nightingale, Lady Randolph and Fatima Jinnah. To this list one must also add the Aga Khan's mother – Shams al-Mulūk also known as Lady ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1938) – who served as a model for Ismāʿīlī women and played a weighty role as an important decision maker during the early years of the Aga Khan's tenure as Imām. See his *Memoirs* (1954), pp. 18-19, 30, 45-47, 53-54, 86, 268-269, 321. Refer also to Shenila Khoja-Moolji, "Redefining Muslim Women: Aga Khan III's Reforms for Women's Education," *South Asia Graduate Research Journal* 20 (2011): 86-87. Khoja-Moolji's page references to the influential women in Aga Khan III's *Memoirs* differ from those that I have provided.

'cosmopolitan' sensibility. In some ways he stands firmly in a tradition of rationalism characterized by Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. However, Aga Khan III's vision also reflects aspects of Sayyid Amīr 'Alī's spiritual pan-Islamism and moral historicism of the tradition of the Prophet. On the other hand, Aga Khan III perhaps displayed more of an intellectual commitment to Islam typified by the liberal Muslim reformer, Badruddin Tyabji.[417] Aga Khan III was far from being an apologetic modernist much like his counterpart Tyabji who "conceded that whatever greatness early Islam had achieved, in the previous two hundred years the intellectual and scientific advances of the West were unparalled and Muslims should learn from them" (Bayly 2012, 239). A number of examples of Tyabji's liberalist stance highlight Aga Khan III's own efforts:

> 1) Tyabji advocated for an educated male citizen who could participate in local government, resulting in "a healthy spirit of manliness and self reliance, of competition and rivalry in the discharge of civic duties." 2) He urged Muslims to educate themselves and dismissed Muslims' placing blame on Hindu influence. 3) He called for a distinction between religious and secular authority, consigning conservative *mullas* to a teaching role. 4) He understood religion as having a "sectional interest" in the public domain and 5) Tyabji took a strong position against female seclusion (Ibid, 239-241).

The vision of moral leaders like Badruddin Tyabji and Aga Khan III exemplify a 'cosmopolitan' stance that attempted to balance difference under an unversalist commitment to progress and political representation for the better good of Muslim citizens. More importantly, their efforts speak to an affinity for a sort of hybrid cultural practice invoked to defend a modernist approach to Islam, supported by an international network of ideas and movements. Successfully negotiating personal beliefs and an intellectual quest, reformists like Aga Khan III were willingly connecting themselves to wider international issues (Mukherjee 2017). The vocabularies of spiritual universality, religious ideals, and ethics became the rubric by which Aga Khan III served as a protagnonist of dynamic religious energies in wake of colonial encounters, secular ideologies (i.e., liberalism), political and economic changes and many other new

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[417] Badruddin Tyabji (1844-1906) was a member of the Sulaimānī Bohra community and often labeled as as 'liberal' Muslim. He was a barrister trained in London and an early leader of the Indian National Congress. He was also a leading member of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, but was hghly critical of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Trustee of the Bombay Anjuman-i Islam organization (Bayly 2012; Mukherjee 2017).

developments of the time. It is this interaction that exemplifies the labours of Aga Khan III and many of his contemporaries as 'religious internationals'[418] (Green and Viaene 2012). "It is this internationalism that constituted the ideational cornerstone of much of [Aga Khan III's] wide range of religio-political and, not least, social activism, marking at once a significant departure in the format of the Imamate's operations while also setting a new benchmark to emulate" (Mukherjee 2017, 71). From this perspective, nineteenth century India was a bedrock of transforming and contested ideals mobilized by a diversity of faith groups, thinkers and leaders, which presaged some of the current unremitting concerns of religious beliefs and secularism. As such, Aga Khan III's reformist endeavours – predicated on a 'practical liberalism' that echoed broader internationalists aspirations – bestowed him with a unique position in which to secure a *modus vivendi* that bridged what may have often seemed like differing ideals.

A Cosmopolitan[419]*Muslim Visionary*

The above summary of Aga Khan III's modernist aspirations and his role as an important Muslim public figure puts into perspective this leader's official discourse regarding the compatibility of Islam and modernity. It also places his dominant concerns within the widespread reformist agenda of India. His ultimate purpose undoubtedly was to raise the intellectual and moral standards of the Muslim *umma*. He essentially equated education with the future of Muslims in India. However, I opine that on a deeper level, Aga Khan III's effort as an influential leader of his time was about reinvigorating the cosmopolitan ethos of early Muslim civilizations that was noted in Chapter 2. Remember, the connections between Islam and knowledge were so commonplace and that such an affiliation was a basic truism of a Muslim cosmopolitan spirit.

The emphasis on education was very much in keeping with the cosmopolitan spirit that demanded a conscious effort to understand God's creation and to engage with it in the best way possible. Simply put, education was the medium through which to

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[418] "At a very basic level, 'religious international' (or 'religious internationalism') can sere as an umbrella term for a broad spectrum of international/transnational religious activity in the modern world" (Green and Viaene 2012, 1-2).
[419] Although Aga Khan III did not call himself a cosmopolitan, I contend that this label best captures his religio-political endeavours and worldview.

translate that spirit into concrete action, so that every Muslim man and woman could emulate those beliefs and convictions laid out by earlier Muslim communities, which were indeed inspired by the Prophet. In a speech at a reception given by the Muslim Citizens of Bombay, Aga Khan III said "Muslims should enlarge the sphere of education where it exists already and must create it where it is absent." He emphasized that knowledge of the Sciences as well as the Humanities "must be the main practical objects of our energy and ambitions" (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 322). The precedent for this pursuit came from the example of the Prophet, who encouraged learning in all areas of life. The purpose was to increase human knowledge for the purpose of understanding God's creation but also to better 'citizens' of a just community. Aga Khan III reminded his audience of the *ḥadīth* exhorting Muslims to travel as far as China to seek knowledge,[420] thus persuading his fellow men that gleaning, what is appropriate, from foreign thought is not antithetical to Islam and the growth of the individual (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 322). The cosmopolitan spirit captured in the scope of Aga Khan III's social reforms speaks to the underlying trope of being a better human (citizen). It carries forward the endeavour to engage with the best and worse that life offers in order to learn from it and evolve in the process.

By drawing upon reason, belief, and ethics, Aga Khan III was able to draw attention to an overarching Muslim universalism, which had positive benefits for the Ismāʿīlī community that sat at the fringes of a Sunnī majority community. "The notion of universality, then, both subsumed and drew strength form a plurality of forces, different interpretive possibilities, intellectual traditions, and a re-invigorated quest to rehabilitate the individual in any interpretive exercise" (Mukherjee 2017, 7). This process also spoke to the 'fluid' nature of Ismāʿīlism in its various contexts, which bears significant aspects to strategies of wedding the universal and particular realities of communities – what is generally expressed under the metanarrative of 'rooted cosmopolitanism.'[421] Soumen Mukherjee (2017)[422] describes Aga Khan III as a

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[420] For a discussion regarding the effect of this *ḥadīth* on cultivating a Muslim cosmopolitanism, see Chapter 2.
[421] Refer to Chapters 1 and 2 for a discussion on rooted cosmopolitanism and Muslim cosmopolitanism.
[422] Soumen Mukherjee is Assitant Professor and Head of the Department of History at Presidency University, Kolkata. Her research interests fall within a wide spectrum of socio-religious and intellectual

champion of cosmopolitan citizenship who remains loyal to a sovereign state while drawing attention to universal ethical aspirations. A review of Aga Khan III's writings and personal guidance to the Ismāʿīlī community also point to his conviction of participating as full citizens of countries in which the Ismāʿīlīs live, obeying the laws of the land while remaining devoted to the principles of the Ismāʿīlī faith. "It has been the practice of my ancestors, to which I have strictly adhered, always to advise Ismailis to be absolutely loyal and devoted subjects of the State – whatever its constitution, monarchical or republican – of which they are citizens…and if they have any political grievances they must approach their government as legally constituted, and in loyalty an fidelity to it. All my teaching and my guidance for my followers has been in fulfillment of this principle: render unto God the things which are God's and to Caesar those which are Caesar's" (Aga Khan III 1954, 187). It should also be acknowledged that Aga Khan III's inspiration was also conditioned by the internal dynamics of the Ismāʿīlī community in the colonial context and informed by a language of Muslim universality expressed by the Modernist Muslim reformers. I agree with Mukherjee that, "Aga Khan III was in effect anticipating a language of cosmopolitanism that operates through the medium of global assemblages drawing upon both postnational and denationalizing forces" (2017, 92).[423]

Oneness, Love and Servitude: The Core of Aga Khan III's Religious Interpretation

As Mukherjee (2017) suggests, Aga Khan III's socio-political undertaking was very much impacted by the particular context of his time. I argue however, that Aga Khan III's endeavours were inspired by a rich esotericism found in both Ismāʿīlī and Ṣūfī literature. This esoteric interpretation that served as the cornerstone of Shīʿa Nizārī Ismāʿīlī thought,[424] continued to be active in Aga Khan III's religious interpretation. It is this interpretive tendency that furnished a legitimate religious approach to Aga Khan

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history of modern South Asia. At the university, Mukherjee teaches courses on social, religious and intellectual history of modern South Asia.

[423] Mukherjee echoes many of the scholars mentioned in Chapter 2 (i.e., Euben, Lawrence, Leitchman etc…) who understand this cosmopolitan sensibility as part of inherited Muslim tradition that offers a counter narrative to the normative Kantian cosmopolitanism of Western Enlightenment.

[424] Refer to Chapter 3.

III's reform activities. In what follows, I examine the key themes of love, monorealism and servitude in Aga Khan III's religious thought that dictate his conception of Islam and their ethical application in this world.

Aga Khan III's reformist discourse, discussed above, underscores the importance of interpretation in Islam, a principal concern shared by modernist reformers.[425] Rational interpretation or *ijtihād*[426] was critical to Aga Khan III as it was conceived by other Muslim reformists who saw it as a critical concept that allowed Muslims to take into account the changing conditions of contemporaneity and "to question values not strictly embodied in the Qur'an" which "is in keeping with the Islamic aim of effecting a revolutionary change in human consciousness through ethical social development" (Boivin 1994, 206; Jalal 2008, 13). It is clear for Aga Khan III that *ijtihād* serves a critical instrument for interpretation that promotes the best interest of fellow Muslims. In a chapter written by Aga Khan III and Dr. Zaki Ali, "Religious Revival of Islam" the authors emphasize that "the interpretation of the precepts and laws which regulate the lives of the Faithful, as laid down in the Quran and in the Traditions of the Prophet, can be done at any time and for any generation. Such an interpretation, by means of the *Ijtihad* which is a personal and living research, can be made, within the general limits of the Qur'an and Traditions" (Aga Khan III 1997-1998, 1184).[427] Rational interpretation therefore allows for religious texts to be actively engaged with and comprehended in accordance with the context that precedes the text. "[I]t is this understanding of *ijtihad* as a part of a constellation of ethical issues, with a remarkable degree of emphasis on the question of human agency and intellect, that underwrites the didactic mediation of the Imamate and informs the Ismaili ethical ethos" (Mukherjee 2017, 161).

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[425] According to this view, "Religion is divine, but its interpretation is thoroughly human and this-worldly." See Abdul-Karim Soroush, "The Evolution and Devolution of Religious Knowledge" in *Liberal Islam: A Source Book* ed. Charles Kurzman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 246.

[426] According to Muḥammad Iqbāl "*ijtihad*, the jihad of the mind, was the moving principle of Islam" (Jalal 2008, 237). Refer also to Iqbāl's, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought In Islam* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel, 1996), 130.

[427] Refer to Prince Aga Khan and Dr. Zaki Ali, *Glimpses of Islam* (Lahore: Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, 1944). The book has four chapters with Aga Khan III penning two chapters: 'The Fundamentals of Islam' and 'Religious Revival of Islam'.

Given that Aga Khan III was a religious authoritative figure of the Ismāʿīlī community, his ability to interpret and offer timely guidance – which stems from a particular understanding of Islam – is vital to the office of Imāmate.[428] As such, it is important to consider that the 'theologian' within Aga Khan III surfaces in his articulation of Ismāʿīlism; indeed, Aga Khan III constructs his own interpretation of Islam, which includes esoteric knowledge. As such, he stressed the importance of a living guide (himself)[429] who employed *taʾwīl* (esoteric interpretation or allegorical interpretation)[430] to confer meaning of spiritual truths. A prominent example of *taʾwīl* as employed by Aga Khan III is evident in his explanation of monorealism in his *Memoirs*. He defines monorealism through his esoteric interpretation of the *Shahāda* with the help of allegorical commentary attributed to Imām Ḥassan (Aga Khan III 1954, 175). Elsewhere in his *Memoirs,* when Aga Khan III discusses his thoughts on moments of enlightenment and of esoteric knowledge, he quotes the *Ayat al-Nūr* (Q24: 35) at length and writes, "[t]o a certain extent I have found that the following verse of the Koran, so long as it is understood in a purely non-physical sense, has given assistance and understanding to myself and other Muslims. I must, however, warn all who read it not to allow their material critical outlook to break in with literal, verbal explanations of something that is symbolic and allegorical. I appeal to every reader,

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[428] Refer to Chapter 3 for more on the concept of Imām and Shīʿī thought. It is even stated that the Imām has the sole authority to " determine all questions that may arise as regards the meaning and interpretation of any religious or Jamati tradition or custom of the Ismailis and amend or discontinue it at any time." See *The Constitution of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims*, article one: "Power and Authority of Mowlana Hazir Imam," 1.2 (a) (1998, [1986]), 9.

[429] Aga Khan III writes in his memoirs, "All Islamic schools of thought accept it as a fundamental principle that, for centuries, for thousands of years before the advent of Mohammed, these arose from time to time messengers, illuminated by the Divine grace, for and amongst those races of the earth which had sufficiently advanced intellectually to comprehend such a message…Thus Man's souls has never been left without a specially inspired messenger form the Soul that sustains, embraces, and is the Universe" (1954, 174).

[430] Although *taʾwīl is* considered a hermeneutic tool employed by the Imām to disclose the inner truths of the Qurʾānic revelation, its effect goes beyond the esoteric realm. For example, the speeches of Aga Khan III (including those of Aga Khan IV that I take up in Chapter 4) point to expressions of *taʾwīl.* The Imām by employing this hermeneutical tool offers commentary and explanations of esoteric philosophical concepts that are applied to practical matters. Commenting on the work of the 11th century Ismāʿīlī philosopher Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 1077), Eric Ormsby notes, "philosophy and science apply in the realm of the *zahir*, the exoteric aspect of things, while *tawil* addresses the privileged realm of the *batin,* the esoteric understanding of revelation. Neither realm is essentially separable from the other; they are complementary and constitute a whole. They are as interdependent as the bodily senses and the soul, each of which plays a fundamental role in the constitution of the human being and of the cosmos." Eric Orsmby, *Between reason and revelation: Twin wisdoms reconciled* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 8. Refer also to Chapter 3 in this dissertation for the centrality of *taʾwīl* in *Shīʿī* thought.

whether Muslim or not, to accept the spirit of this verse in its entirety" (Aga Khan III 1954, 171-172).

Monorealism and Love

One such aspect of Aga Khan III's personal beliefs was an emphasis on monorealism as the best way to understand Islam.[431] The term 'monorealism' here reflects ibn al-'Arabī's metaphysics of Oneness or *waḥdat al-wujūd*.[432] For Aga Khan III, monorealism is what encapsulates the entirety of relations that exist between the Creator and His creation, "the essence of existence" (Aga Khan III 1954, 175). One will recall that the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is connected to the Divine love and the understanding that God has created man so that He may be known. Michel Boivin (1994, 205) explains:

> Monorealism seeks to explain the nature of the relationship which unites God to Creation. God has created man so that He may be known. All that man perceives has its origin in a unique principle. The origin of existence, as much as it can be known, is the Universal Soul. The desire of God to make himself known is the unique basis of the relationship between the Universal Soul and the individual soul. According to the Aga Khan, each molecule and each atom had its own relationship with the Universal Soul. Monorealism thus permitted the Aga Khan to resolve the contradiction between the plurality of existents and the unicity of divinity.

The immanent experience of God apprehended through love was an important part of this direct experience. This all-consuming love, Aga Khan III notes, is beautifully expressed through the writings of the Persian poets who expressed the ability of some to attain this greater love.[433] Although he is skeptical about the overwhelming majority to be in possession of this 'all-embracing' love, he does believe in every individual's

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[431] In a chapter from *Glimpses of Islam*, entitled 'The Fundamentals of Islam' the Aga Khan introduces the concept of monorealism as way to understand Islam. This is something he later discusses in his memoirs as well. However, this interpretation was first described by the Aga Khan in an earlier French article (1943) where he defines the 'Islamic principle' as 'monorealism rather than monotheism. The chapter in *Glimpses of Islam* is understood as an English translation of the earlier French article (Boivin 2014, 413). Also refer to Prince Aga Khan, "Le libéralisme musulman", *Le Monde Religieux,* Lausanne, T. IV, Oct. 1943, 69-74.

[432] See Chapters 2 and 3.

[433] The form of love alluded by Aga Khan III is associated with the paradigmatic love as a mode of experiencing the attributes of the Divine Truth (see Chapter 2) as expressed through the rich Persian poetic writings of Ḥāfiẓ, Rūmī and others (see Chapter 3). The human love or "earthly love" of which the Aga Khan speaks, "is metaphorical love (*'ishq-i majāzī*), and is the experiential means by which to come to know Real-True Love, or love for/in Real-Truth" (Ahmed 2016, 38).

potential to strive for this reality which resides in each individual's innate state of *fiṭra*:
"Everyone should strive his best to see that this spark [of the Divine light] be not
extinguished but rather developed to that full 'Companionship-on-High'" (Aga Khan
III 1954, 176). He goes on to write at the end of his memoirs, "…it is my profound
conviction that man must never ignore and leave untended and undeveloped that spark
of the Divine which is in him. The way to personal fulfillment, to individual
reconciliation with the Universe that is about us, is comparatively easy for anyone who
firmly and sincerely believes, as I do, that Divine Grace has given man in his own heart
the possibilities of illumination and of union with Reality" (Ibid, 334). Indeed, the
world is merely a reflection of the one and only Divine Existence and consequently, all
of creation is also a reflection of the Absolute.

But the question of how to prepare oneself to unveil the Divine spark and to
recognize the essence of the Absolute in the image of creation still remains.
Fortunately, Aga Khan III provides some guidance to this arduous task that can only be
achieved through love. He states:

> We can, however, make up for its absence from our lives by worldly, human
> love for individual human beings; and this will give us a measure of
> enlightenment attainable without the intervention of the Holy Spirit. Those who
> have had the good fortune to know and feel this worldly, human love should
> respond to it only with gratitude and regard it as a blessing and as, in its own
> way, a source of pride. I firmly believe that the higher experience can to a
> certain extent be prepared for, by absolute devotion in the material world to
> another human being. Thus from the most worldly point of view and with no
> comprehension of the higher life of the spirit, the lower, more terrestrial spirit
> makes us aware that all the treasures of this life, all that fame, wealth, and
> health can bring are nothing beside the happiness which is created and sustained
> by the love of one human being for another. This great grace we can see in
> ordinary life as we look about us, among our acquaintances and friends. But as
> the joys of human love surpass all that riches and power may bring a man, so
> does that greater spiritual love and enlightenment, the fruit of that sublime
> experience of the direct vision of reality which is God's gift and grace, surpass
> all that the finest, truest human love can offer. For that gift we must ever pray
> (Aga Khan III 1954, 171).[434]

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[434] It was noted in Chapter 2 that loving God and others was central to the teachings of Christ as well.
Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all they mind. This is
the first commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. One of
these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." See Matthew 22: 37-40.

Aga Khan III's understanding of love provides some direction for further discussion regarding the role of love in relation to knowledge and revelation, which serve as the pillars of expressing a cosmopolitan ethic.[435] In other words, "[l]ove functions as an elevating experience for the realization, apprehension, and experience of the values and higher Truth" (Ahmed 2016, 42). It is a mode of knowing and engagement, impregnated with meanings and values, that ignites the spark within us in turn inculcating a profound ethos of encounter and dialogue. Love in this sense is not simply an ephemeral emotion but rather an illuminating spirit that serves as a mediator linking each being with the Divine and all of existence. Helmut Ritter (2003, 358-359)[436] offers a compelling definition of the unparalleled importance of love in Muslim history:

> There is a spiritual power which is suited above all other to promote the soul's concentration on another being, to suppress and eliminate all other ties and interests, to make that being the center of one's feelings, and from within this emotionally laden center to dominate all aspects of life and to determine all expression in life; a power which is more effective than any other efforts at overcoming restraints and hindrances, which can traverse the distance of a day's travel in minutes and performs achievements of high aspiration where all other efforts fail. The power in question is love. It provides the mystic with assistance to attain his goal, closeness to God, and to achieve union with him.
>
> In the case of the lover the intensity of feeling is stronger, the capacity for suffering and endurance is greater, the happiness of proximity is higher than with the world-renouncing ascetic and the saint of actions who sees the purpose of his existence in acts of obedience…Love has its own laws and specific qualities of emotion which makes it more than simply a means of intensifying other spiritual emotions.

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[435] Refer to Chapter 2 where I present the approaches to a cosmopolitan ethic informed by knowledge, scriptural guidance, and love.

[436]The quote from Ritter is also cited in Ahmed, *What is Islam?*, 41. Helmut Ritter (d. 1971) was a German scholar of Islamic studies, and particularly of Persian literature and mysticism. Ritter was a scholar of profound and encyclopaedic learning. He wrote 26 books and more than 100 learned articles on Persian, Arabic and Turkish poetry and Islamic mysticism. Son of a protestant father, Ritter studied under renowned German Orientalist Carl Brockelmann. Ritter received his doctoral degree at the age of 22 in 1914, which displayed his strong interest in Persian. In the thirties, Ritter became a lecturer for Persian and Arabic at the University of Istanbul. Later, while in Turkey, Ritter was commissioned by UNESCO to catalogue manuscripts of Persian poets in Istanbul's libraries. He would remain in Istanbul until 1969. He was also elected as corresponding member of the Arab Academy of Damascus, member of the British Academy, and was awarded an honorary degree by Istanbul University. For more on Ritter see Translator's Preface to *The Ocean of the Soul: Men, the World and God in the Stories of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār* by Hellmut Ritter (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2003), xi-xxvi.

Love therefore, consists of a power that invites each being to become a human that assimilates and utilizes the sublime qualities of the Creator in themselves. It is an everlasting process of embodying and becoming fully human. So of what purpose does this spiritual sensibility, referred to as love, serve in the context of Aga Khan III's cosmopolitan endeavour observed in this chapter? It was previously made apparent that knowledge was the single most important concept through which to realize the purpose of human beings in the quest to know God, creation, and to embrace everything in between. What should we make of this seeming contradiction in the writings of Aga Khan III? To make sense of this dilemma, it is useful to do away with simple binaries that isolate these concepts into distinctive and independent categories. In fact, love, intellect, and revelation are intimately connected; they are always reinforcing one another and creating an exalted human being that is responsibly aware and actively expressing manifestations of the cosmopolitan ethic.

One will recall from Chapter 2 how the search for knowledge, together with pursuit of virtue ethics, under the guidance of the Qur'ān was quintessential to an individual's effort in manifesting a cosmopolitan ethic that called for a deeper consciousness of one's action and awareness. In other words, a sincere orientation towards the Other grounded in encounter and engagement. Together, these manifestations are to be used for the well being of humanity, for the service of others. Remember, Ibn al-'Arabī demonstrated how the Divine qualities like justice, knowledge, forgiveness to name a few, flow from the One to all humanity. As such, love is considered to be the work of the heart and serves as the spirit of knowing that breathes life into our being, instilling the attributes of the Absolute in order to mobilize the intellect. Imām 'Alī recognized the heart as the innate source that guides the human being[437] towards the knowledge of reality: "For Imam 'Alī, the 'true intellectual' (*al-'āqil*) is one who not only *thinks* correctly but also *acts* ethically, and, at the deepest level, one who seeks to *realize* the ultimate Reality" (Shah-Kazemi 2006a, 35). However, intelligence can only be awakened by Divine revelation in order to realize its full potential. "In the depth of one's heart lies that immense potentiality of

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[437] Human being here incorporates both individual and society.

consciousness 'breathed' into the human soul at its creation – this breath, in essence, being nothing other than the very Spirit of God. To realise the knowledge latent in this spiritual consciousness, however, requires divine revelation" (Shah-Kazemi 2012, 86). There is a tripartite relation formed between love, knowledge, and revelation that are engaged in orienting the self towards an inner essence that awakens one's potential character (a mirror of the Divine qualities) in order to act in accordance to those virtues embedded in the sacred text.[438] Such a vision also carries an ethical dimension that is determined by Aga Khan III's worldview, in which the notion of *waḥdat al-wujūd* is pivotal.

Whereas the imprint of a Persian spiritual-philosophical tradition is observed in Aga Khan III's interpretive tendency, the prominence of the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in the Indian subcontinent would have allowed for a hospitable environment in which Aga Khan III's engagement with the concept would have been received without much objection. *Waḥdat al-wujūd*, Alam writes, "represented a fact within the common man's religious ethos, and was much more than a verbal equation" (2004, 92). Since the early sixteenth century the concept of *waḥdat al-wujūd* was ubiquitous within a number of intellectual and religious circles of north India. Alam points out that the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* had parallels with the numerous interpretations of non-dualism (Ibid, 91-92). He believes that this doctrine left indelible marks within the Mughal courts of Akbar and his son Jahanghir, and indeed many of the decisions taken by them can only be understood in light of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (Alam 2004). The effect of this doctrine held strong well into the seventeenth century and was still noteworthy at the time of the reform movements that took place during the religious and political careers of the Aga Khans in India.

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[438] Imām 'Alī also said "There is no religion for one who has no intellect'; and stressed that the intellect cannot acquire true knowledge without the participation of such qualities as kindness and contentment, courtesy, generosity, modesty, wise forbearance (*ḥilm*), as well as love and sense of beauty, both outward and inward" (Shah-Kazemi 2012, 86). This saying of Imām 'Alī has also been referenced to by Aga Khan III who reminded his followers that "there could be no religion without Reason ('*aql*), meaning thereby the faculty of understanding" (Boivin 1994, 204). For primary references see 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, *Ghurar al-ḥikam wa durar al-kalim,* compiled by 'Abd al-Wāḥid Āmidī vol.2 (Qom, 2000), 970, no.160 and Aga Khan III, *A Collectanea of Some Recent Speeches and Writings of His Highness the Aga Khan* (Mombasa, 1955).

With respect to Aga Khan III's religious interpretation, I have demonstrated the centrality of *waḥdat al-wujūd* in his thought, which historically found its way into the circles of many philosophers and *akhlāq* authors as well as Shīʿī religious thought in the Persian context.[439] Further, one cannot ignore Aga Khan III's own upbringing in India, where he is likely to have been exposed to this philosophical interpretation within his household, as well as through his studies and affiliations with various religious leaders and scholars. Indeed this perspective was also made possible by a historical past that encompasses the Ismāʿīlī and Ṣūfī interpretive tendencies in Persia and its resurrection under the Mughals in the Indian subcontinent. Overall, spirituality and morality in the here-and-now were ubiquitous in Aga Khan III's message to the Ismāʿīlī community as well as the larger Muslim community. For him the ethical aspect of Islam constituted an *a priori* of the faith, an ethico-spiritual force shared by all of creation – a cosmopolitan ethic in the making.

Expressing Love through Servitude (ʿIbāda)

Another aspect of Aga Khan III's interpretation of Islam was a strong commitment to service, which as we have seen constituted an important aspect of his understanding of Islam as monorealism. Later in his memoirs, Aga Khan III adds to his thoughts on human love, labeling it as "the crown of a lifelong attachment, in which the human being devotes all that he has, knows, and feels to the love and service of another" (Aga Khan III 1954, 249).[440] Interestingly, it is believed that in the teachings of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh, founder of the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfī order,[441] Ibn al-ʿArabī's *waḥdat al-wujūd*

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[439] Refer to Chapter 3 where I discuss the historical processes involved in the absorption of this concept in the Persian milieu.

[440] Service is a deeply held Ismāʿīlī value. To this day service to the Imām and the Ismāʿīlī community as well as the wider community remains a fundamental characteristic of the The Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps (IVC). The IVC was officially formed in 1919 in British India and today is an international community body that serves the Ismāʿīlī community in various capacities as well as the Imām and other communities in which they reside. Although the nature and duties of this volunteer body has changed since its inception, the principle of service to the Imām and humanity remains unaltered. The motto of the Corps offered by the 48th Imām, "Work no words," continues to embody the character and commitment of the Ismāʿīlī volunteers to this day. For more on the inception and historical evolution of the Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps see Rizwan Mawani and Nashila Velji "Towards a tradition of service: The first decade of the Ismaili Volunteer Corps," *The Ismaili Canada*, no. 2 (December 2012): 39-43.

[441] See bio of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh, Chapter 3, fn.333. It is interesting to note that the Shāh Niʿmat Allāh is considered an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* in the oral tradition of the Iranian Ismāʿīlīs. They consider the Niʿmat Allāhī *ṭarīqah* as a branch of Ismāʿīlīsm that steered away from the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imām's guidance (Ruthven

played a prominent role along side a certain ethic of work that was recognized as an important obligation to society. Shāh Ni'mat Allāh found in the occupation of farming a model of self-sacrifice and a path through which the disciple could polish the heart in the service to fellow human beings (Boivin 2014; Ruthven 1998). In a similar manner, Aga Khan III expressed that in Islam, "free and honest trade and agriculture – in all its forms – are encouraged, since they manifest a Divine service, and the welfare of mankind depends upon the continuation and the intensification of these legitimate labours" (1954, 177).[442] It is no coincidence that service was also invoked as a national Muslim cause in Aga Khan III's reformist rhetoric, which was indeed inspired by the divine notion of service grounded in the Qur'ān and the example of the Prophet. As such, Aga Khan III was able to add the notion of work as a 'this-worldly' divine service. "He sacrilized the notion of work, and in the process, sacralized also its objective, which was the *welfare* of humanity. His implicit reasoning was simple: *welfare* is the realization of the good of humanity; it is known that this is one of the pillars of Koranic ethics; consequently work aimed at *welfare* is equivalent to the service of God" (Boivin 1994, 211). It seems that service here is a mode by which to sacrifice the self for others and to bring one closer to the Divine spirit– a notion of service that is very much inspired by the ethic of *futūwwa/jawānmard*.[443] As Aga Khan III stated, "[after] having known the real, the Absolute, having understood the Universe as an infinite succession of events, intended by God, we need an ethic, a code of

1998, 376). Also refer to Rafiq Keshavjee, "The Quest for Gnosis and the Call of History: Modernization among the Isma'ilis of Iran" (unpublished PhD diss., Harvard University, 1981), 22.

[442] "According to Michel Boivin this tradition was given special emphasis in the Gunabadi branch of the *tariqa* founded by Hajj Sultan Muhammad Bidukhti (1835-1909). It is not clear how far 'the Ni'mat Allāhī work ethic' directly influenced the teachings on hard work and service that characterise many of the firmans of Aga khan III. But the Ni'matullahi ethos which his father and grandfather as well as his influential uncle Aga Jungi Shah inhabited may well have helped instill the atmosphere of 'this worldly asceticism' exemplified by the modern Isma'ili community"(Ruthven 1998, 376).

[443] For more on *futūwwa/jawānmard* see Chapter 3. Another important observation regarding the notion of service is that it contained a *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* interpretation as expressed in the thought of Aga Khan III. There was the worldly endeavour of service as work/sacrifice for others but also the spiritual elevation of the self through service as love/devotion to the Imām. Furthermore, the inspiring spirit of the code of *futūwwa/jawānmard* together with the principles of *dīn* and *dunya* is echoed in the thought of the Muslim modernist Sayyid Aḥmad Khān who once commented, "*din* and *duniya* had 'a strange relationship.' Leaving religion does not result in leaving the world, but leaving the world does result in leaving religion: 'This is worship, this is religion [*din*] and faith [*iman*]: When human beings help human beings in the world'" (Jalal 2008, 149). Refer to original quotation in Sayyid Ahmad Khan's address at Patna College, 26 May 1873, in *Sir Sayyid Ka Aina Khana-i-Afkar: Muqalat, Khutbat, Muktubat aur Manzumat ka Intikhab,* compiled by Sayyid Abul Khair Kashfi (Karachi: Fazli Sons, n.d.), 131.

conduct in order to be able to elevate ourselves towards the ideal demanded by God"
(Aga Khan III 1954, 176). Of course Aga Khan III here would be alluding to the ethical
code put forward by the Ismāʿīlīs *dāʿī*s and perhaps more directly to the ideal of the
jawānmard, which embodies in it the notion of service. Recall how in Chapter 3, the
fifteenth century Ismāʿīlī text *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī* provided guidelines on how to
live in accordance to the Qurʾānic virtues. It offered advice based on moral and ethical
qualities that allow one to develop his/her potential into a model human being. The text
demonstrated how worship in Islam included ethics and social relations with the
intention to please the Divine.[444] The notion of service (spiritual and worldly) was a
central characteristic of becoming a *jawānmard* who understood that faith and service
must operate in everyday life in order to live a balanced life in this world. Essentially
the code of conduct envisioned in this text demonstrated that ethical values were
meaningless if they were inconsistent with human nature. This theme was also
articulated by the Aga Khan III's older half-brother Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī (d.
1884).[445]

Turning to the Shihāb al-Dīn's *Risāla dar Haqīqat-i dīn* (Treatise on Religious
Truth) offers us another entry point into Aga Khan III's mindset that was taking shape
between the 1870s and 1880s. Although an incomplete treatise, it carries forth similar
ideas discussed in the *Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī*, focusing on the doctrine of Imāmate and
ethical values as well as mystical aspects of Ismāʿīlī thought. With reference to the
Imām, Shihāb al-Dīn points to the necessity of a legitimate spiritual guide who was a

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[444] Worship here is not simply about the outward mode of practicing what are considered as prescribed
acts of 'formal' worship. Rather, worship in this context "encompasses the whole of one's life, one's
inner being in fashioned by the permanent awareness of the divine presence, a presence which is
conscious." This form of worship is linked to an understanding that considers a symbiotic relation
between virtue and beauty, which is captured by the term *iḥsān* (making beautiful). In the Shīʿī tradition
of ethics emphasis is placed on the principle of *iḥsān*. "It is a state of being which is determined by a
vision, which is not in the first instance moral, but which carries is its train moral rectitude; it is a vision
of ultimate reality, which elicits and generates an existential disposition: one must first *be* and then *act,*
being taking priority over action in the measure that spirit takes precedence over form, and the principle,
over its manifestations." Reza Shah-Kazemi, "Theocentric Ethics in Islam: from Spiritual Consciousness
to Moral Conscience," in *A Catholic –Shiʿa Engagement: Faith and Reason in Theory and* Practice, eds.,
Anthony O'Mahony, Wulstan Peterburs and Mohammad Ali Shomali (London: Melisende Publishing,
2006), 181-194, quotes at 186.
[445] Shihāb al-Dīn Shāh al-Ḥusaynī was the eldest son of the forty-seventh Imām, Āqā ʿAlī Shāh and was
expected by many to succeed to the Imāmate. However he died while in his thirties in 1884, before his
father. Shihāb al-Dīn spent the greater part of his life in Bombay and Poona and is remembered for
composing some treatises in Persian dealing with the doctrines of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs (Daftary 2007).

descendant of Imām ʿAlī, through a particular blood lineage and now present in the world in the form of the Aga Khans. "God has left amongst you a Guide, or 'Proof', *ḥujjat*, who shows the right way which you have to follow" (al-Ḥusaynī 1947, 5)…"Man must have in this world a leader (*pīshwā*)" (Ibid 1947, 7) …"therefore the meaning of ʿ*itrat*, or the (rightful) successors, belongs only to the legitimately appointed successors, *awṣiyā*. It is they who can show the right path, and who rightfully, from father to son, have inherited their rank of leader" (al-Ḥusaynī 1947, 17). He also emphasizes the connection between devotion and obedience in order to understand the "true meaning of religion". He writes, "Brother, obedience (*iṭāʿat*) is the same thing as devotion (*ʿibādat*), and devotion is the basis of the religious knowledge (*maʿrifat*). In the created world devotion and religious wisdom constitute its (spiritual) basis…Great men of religion regarded worship and religious wisdom (*maʿrifat*), as one and the same thing" (Ibid 1947, 9).

Throughout the text, the general reader is exposed to Ṣūfī terms and concepts that were a staple of Muslim parlance within the Indian subcontinent. The vocabulary employed by the author resembles that found in the *Pandiyāt,* signaling the reader of the esoteric symbolism shared by Ṣūfīs and Shīʿīs. For instance, Shihāb al-Dīn describes the Imām (his father) as the 'Perfected Human' (*insān al-kāmil*).[446] Another aspect of Shihāb al-Dīn's treatise also provides guidance regarding work and good deeds, a recurring theme of our current discussion:

> You can remain faithful to the command of God, to be His servant while keeping the affairs of this world in a flourishing condition, even in a better order than usual. The great religious authorities have divided the day and the night into three equal parts, each eight hours long. And if you do the proper things which are prescribed for each part of the day and night, you will succeed in your spiritual progress as well as in you worldly affairs…Each has its own form of devotion, which is prescribed for it (al-Ḥusaynī 1947, 4, 23).

Following this advice, the author then informs his reader, "you must sever the ties which bind you to the affairs of the world, and hasten to attain that world, to do some work which become the 'capital' of your future salvation…" (al-Ḥusaynī 1947, 4). At

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[446] Green (2011) believes that the use of such terminology was merely a tactic to compete with the rival figures in the religious market place in order to promote the status of Shihāb's father, Aga Khan II, as the rightful Imām.

first glance this may seem contradictory to the 'this-worldly' approach that insists on service/work as a sacred duty. However, in the preface to the text, Ivanow explains that the recommendation is not one of abandoning worldly affairs. Rather, in taking account of the context of this treatise and the broader movement of the nineteenth century, severing ties with worldly pursuits refers to controlling one's dependence on materiality;"[t]herefore, brother, do not become infatuated with the things of the world that you possess. Suppress the impulses of you lower self, and do not tie up so much your thought with the matters of the worldly life" (Ibid 1947, 7). He explicitly encourages the believer to worship God through obedience and devotion to the rightful guide in order that all things of the world come under one's control. He regards the discharge of one's duties (spiritual and worldly) as forms of pleasing God. Toward the end of the text, Shihāb al-Dīn writes:

> Thus, with the help of God, in labour and worship, in the struggle with your own evil impulses, with the spiritual knowledge kept alive in your heart, with certainty in reason, with study and the acquisition of a religious education (*'ulūmi dīn*), with the vision of the saints of God and of their example in the heart, by the discharge of your duties, you will attain a high degree of spiritual refinement, as it has been systematically explained. If you do all this, you may attain the degree which you seek (Ibid, 26).

Although the authorial nature of the text regarding unconditional love and service to the legitimate leader cannot be ignored, there is a prevailing summons to strive for spiritual progression. The overall gist of the *Risāla dar Haqīqat-i dīn* concerns the individual's refinement, a way of polishing the heart and improving one's character. Service and work are critical values that further the cause of attaining the ideal of the *jawānmard*. The implication of Shihāb al-dīn's advice points to a shared interpretive tendency expressed by Shāh Niʿmat Allāh and Aga Khan III. More generally, the text echoes notions central to Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlī teachings previously explored in Chapter 3. The purpose of creation was to remember the Creator through love in Him and love for others. More importantly, human beings were to unveil the manifestation of Divine Beauty and Perfection in all of creation through hard and meritorious work as well as service to the other. The process would be aided by the ethical message of scripture and a charismatic guide whose purpose was to open the hearts of human beings in order that

they may acquire knowledge of the 'One'. Further, the dialectic relation between the immanent and transcendent understanding of God played an important part in Aga Khan III's concept of monorealism. His role in this process was to tease out the inner meaning of the Qur'ān and offer guidance that upheld those central tenets of Muslim spirituality.[447] Aga Khan III was convinced that the Qur'ān refers to existence and nature as the proof of the reality of God. He understood nature to be the reflection of divine perfection. Through his interpretive approach, Aga Khan III integrated the intellectual and mystical with rational argument, knowledge of history, and moral injunctions. This thought also combined with the humanistic characteristics of *adab* and *akhlāq* writings contributed to, what I refer to as, a 'lived' cosmopolitan ethic that remained central to Aga Khan III's interpretation of Islam.

Conclusion

Aga Khan III's period of Imāmate was a time of great transformation. It was under his leadership that the Ismā'īlī community progressed under colonial rule. As Imām of the Ismā'īlīs, Aga Khan III set about to consolidate an identity for the Ismā'īlīs while advancing his reformist agenda for the progress of all Muslim communities. Aga Khan III's involvement in both the Indian subcontinent and the international arena helped him to gain much fame and visibility as a cosmopolitan Muslim leader. Speaking about Aga Khan III, the Maharaja of Bikaner[448] once said:

> "Though a genuine patriot, His Highness is also a true citizen of the world. His interest in humanity is not circumscribed by narrow geographical considerations. Equally at home in the capitals of Europe as among his own compatriots in India, the Aga Khan is a bridge between the East and the West, a connecting link between the two main civilisations of the modern world. His mission in life may justly be described as that of bringing the East and the West nearer to each other through understanding and sympathy" (quoted in Malick 1969, 6).

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[447] Revelation for Aga Khan III contains divine inspiration transmitted in a metaphorical language open to interpretation. He writes in his memoirs, "Fortunately the Koran has itself made this task easy, for it contains a number of verses which declare that Allah speaks to man in allegory and parable" (1954, 173).
[448] General Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh (d. 1943) was the ruling Maharaja of the princely state of Bikaner (in present-day Rajasthan, India) from 1888 to 1943. For a detailed biography on the Maharaja of Bikaner refer to K.M. Panikkar's *His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: A Biography* (London: Humphrey Milford Oxford University Press, 1937).

Indeed, Aga Khan III did much to advocate for a positive relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims, fostered through mutual respect of human beings, tolerance, and love for one another. "His life was one of service – service not only to Islam and his own far scattered community but to the highest ideals of humanity" (Merchant 1977, 38). Reflecting on some aspects of Aga Khan III's public career, this chapter offered a glimpse of the Imām's engagement with a reformist discourse that was conditioned in a particular space and time, yet carried with it traces of a cosmopolitan spirit in which religious and secular values were not at odds. I argued that Aga Khan III's interpretation of Islam carried within it a cosmopolitan ethic, emphasizing an inner orientation combined with intense outward activity. The cosmopolitan sensibility, that I am tracing, was reflected in his strong commitment to educational advancement that sought to initiate a sort of cultural renaissance of Islam, and which thrived on a religiously inflected language of service and a this-worldly approach. More importantly, his concern for ethics and social service speaks to the very notion of a cosmopolitan ethic. From this perspective, one is able to read Aga Khan III's approach to Islam as a dialogical exercise between universality and particularity. Aga Khan III's overall concern for a moral community and the dignity of human beings continues to be invoked by the current Imām of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, Aga Khan IV. Indeed, the reform efforts of Aga Khan III, including his teachings, laid a basis of continuity and further development leading to a sophisticated rhetoric of a cosmopolitan ethic expressed by the current Imām, which is explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5[449]
Aga Khan IV's Cosmoplitan Ethic:
Engaging the Other through a Reinterpretation of Dialogical Understanding

Introduction

This chapter examines the pronouncement of the multifarious manifestations of cosmopolitan attitudes – explored in earlier chapters – that are tied up with an explicit Ismāʿīlī identity achieved through the interpretive tendencies of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms. In particular I will focus on discourses of Shāh Karīm al-Ḥusaynī Aga Khan IV who is the forty-ninth hereditary Imām of the Shīʿa Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslims. Thus far, the thought and understanding of Aga Khan IV's articulation of a 'cosmopolitan ethic' has not been subject to academic analysis and this chapter attempts to begin this process. I argue that Aga Khan IV's vision of a cosmopolitan ethic is informed by philosophical debates on cosmopolitan ideals and a concern of human diversity but it also rests on foundational precepts grounded in the Abrahamic moral tradition. It is also rooted within the esoteric spirit of Islam that has long been captured in Shīʿī and Ṣūfī thought.

As a Muslim leader, Aga Khan IV puts faith into action by a commitment to sincere engagement and service to humankind. His cosmopolitanism envisions a type of human connectedness, among Muslims and other communities, that is informed by ideas of good governance. A beautiful example that encapsulates Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic comes in the context of his development projects. I am reminded of the creation of Al-Azhar Park – a process of symbolic transformation in which beauty and utility were actualized from a derelict site. The Park, which sits in the center of Cairo, is a place of gardens nestled between spaces of peace, contemplation and interaction. Today, this site is dubbed as the lungs of Cairo.[450] This anecdote highlights one aspect of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan practice that is grounded in a common ethical heritage of the Abrahamic religions that carry well-known tropes of hospitality, engagement with the Other, and service to humanity. His cosmopolitan commitment is

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[449] Some of the material in this chapter is drawn from Sahir Dewji, "The Aga Khan's Discourse of Applied Pluralism: Converging the 'religious' and the 'secular'," *Studies in Religion* Online First (2017): https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429817713738.

[450] See Farhad Daftary, Elizabeth W. Fernea and Azim Nanji ed. *Living in Historic Cairo: Past and Present in an Islamic City* (London: Azimuth Editions, 2010).

inspired by directives put forward by Aga Khan III, which remain true to the tradition of Ismāʿīlī teachings that place importance on the intellect and service.[451] At the homage ceremony of his Diamond Jubilee,[452] the Imām reiterated this dedication and obligation, saying: "Ours is an intellectual tradition which premiates the pursuit of knowledge that is to be used for the good of larger society. Live your faith through acquiring knowledge with which to help others" (AKDN 2017).

For the past sixty years Aga Khan IV has devoted the majority of his time and efforts to guiding the global Ismāʿīlī community in all areas of life. In his own words, "I have dedicated my life to the uplift and progress of Ismailis all over the world and I pray for all your happiness and success" (quoted in Frischauer 1970, 217-218). On July 11, 2017, the worldwide Ismāʿīlīs commemorated the Diamond Jubilee of the Imām – sixty years as Imām of the community. This is a milestone anniversary for the community who takes this opportunity to reaffirm their spiritual allegiance to the living Imām and to reflect on the Imām's vision and work. This sixtieth anniversary is also a chance to revisit past initiatives of the Imām and to set new trajectories that meet the Imām's wishes for the future.[453] "It also commences a year of milestone

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[451] "Regarding the admiration of Aga Khan IV for his grandfather and his influence on Aga Khan IV, he says: " My grandfather was a most gifted person, and amongst his many qualities, one of them had always particularly impressed me. While the past was a book which he had read and re-read many times, the future was just one more literary work of art into which he used to pour himself with deep thought and concentration. Innumerable people since his death have told me hoe he used to read in the future, and this certainly was one of his very great strengths. As a child I used to listen to him for many hours on end and I think, in fact I am convinced, that it was his inspiration which has created in me such a strong interest in the future, while at the same time, guiding me to learn from the teaching books of the past." Aga Khan IV, "A Common Human Denominator," (Karachi, Pakistan, December 5 1964), quoted in "Thoughts That Breathe: Extracts from the speeches of His Highness The Aga Khan IV," *Ilm* 3, no. 1 (1977): 15-20, quote at 17.

[452] The Diamond Jubilee marks the fourth instalment of jubilee celebrations of Aga Khan IV. In the context of the Ismāʿīlī community, a jubilee is an occasion to celebrate the life and leadership of the Imām denoting the 25th, 50th, 60th, and 70th anniversary. Jubilee anniversaries are generally closely associated with Royal families (such as the British monarch) to celebrate significant periods in monarchs' reigns and the national life. However, the concept of the jubilee began in biblical times with the first formal jubilee taking place around 1300 A.D. by Roman Catholic Church. These are celebrated every 25 years. See The Royal Household, "A History of Jubilees," *Official web site of the British Royal Family,* https://www.royal.uk/history-jubilees (accessed July 14, 2017). We are again reminded here of the influence of some British customs on the development of the Ismāʿīlī community's organizational nature. It can also be inferred that the model of jubilees in the Biblical context offer a parallel for understanding the intention and design of jubilee celebrations of the Ismāʿīlī Imāms. The jubilee years place special significance on understanding one's relation to the Imām and (re)cultivating spiritual goal as well as continuing to sustain ethical practices within the Ismāʿīlī community and society at large.

[453] Jubilee years are considered to be special and opportune moments in the life of the Imām and the community. In the past, Jubilee projects – such as the 'Silver Jubilee project' that saw the development of

announcements by the Aga Khan for a global commitment to partnerships based on the principles of ethics in action, peace and pluralism" (AKDN 2017). Some of the goals set by Aga Khan IV for the Diamond Jubilee include a number of issues: continuing efforts towards a better understanding of Islam and Muslims, the alleviation of poverty which includes addressing climate change and providing access to economic resources, strengthening the capacities of AKDN institutions, expanding the religious education system and furthering early child development (*The.Ismaili* 2017a). The Diamond Jubilee thus serves as an opening to begin implementing these goals.

Born in Geneva in 1936, raised in Nairobi, Aga Khan IV completed his schooling in Switzerland and attended Harvard University where he attained a B.A. in Islamic Studies (Frischauer 1970).[454] His life story is nothing short of a cosmopolitan narrative however, it is his effort to weave together the universal and the particular as well as the spiritual and the material that best captures the cosmopolitan spirit. Over the years Aga Khan IV has received many honorary degrees and civic awards and has been invited to deliver over one hundred keynote addresses across the globe (*Table of Honours,* Appendix A). More recently, he has emerged as a contemporary champion of 'cosmopolitan ethics' who explicitly expresses the values of faith and theological interpretations of Islam to promote values such as tolerance, peace, and development.[455] This is best captured by Aga Khan IV's global institutions like the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN),[456] "renowned around the globe for its work in providing quality healthcare, education, revitalisation of cultural heritage, safeguarding the environment, and uplifting of marginalised peoples through community and economic development" (Hussain 2017). In what follows, I explore Aga Khan IV's

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the Aga Khan University in Karachi, Pakistan- "have been catalytic in realising significant goals and initiatives, and have left behind legacy programmes" (*The.Ismaili* 2017a).

[454] For a brief bio of Aga Khan IV see Chapter 3.

[455] Another Muslim by the name of Fethullah Gülen (1941-), founder of the Gülen Movement has also been noted for his cosmopolitan endeavours. Influenced by the teachings of Ṣūfī figure Saʿīd Nūrsī, Muslim ethics and ideas of service are integral to the movement's interpretation of Islam and activism. The Movement also uses education and philanthropy to promote a more peaceful understanding of Islam in the West. In contrast to the Ismāʿīlīs, the Gülen Movement is tied to the history of Turkish politics and Islamic heritage. See Sara Shroff, "Muslim Movements Nurturing a Cosmopolitan Muslim Identity: The Ismaili and Gulen Movement" (MA Thesis, Georgetown University, 2009). For a brief overview of the Gülen Movement see Bulent Aras and Omer Caha, "Fethulla Gulen and His Liberal 'Turkish Islam' Movement," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 4, no. 4 (2000): 30-42.

[456] More on the AKDN will be discussed in Chapter 6.

public messaging found in his widely available speeches, that offers an insight into the theme of cosmopolitan ethics. Aga Khan IV's speeches, many of which are placed on the website of the Aga Khan Development Network, contain a 'this-worldly' moral appeal. He refers to salient issues concerning humankind in the contemporary world and expresses the challenges of living under such conditions. More importantly, he promotes through his public speeches a tolerant and cosmopolitan attitude with deep spiritual underpinnings that appeal to a broad range of individuals, not just Ismāʿīlīs. After establishing these important characteristics, the chapter will deconstruct some of the central principles of the Aga Khan IV's worldview and teachings that best highlight the theme of a cosmopolitan ethic. I argue that Aga Khan IV's formation and discursive enactment of a cosmopolitan ethic emerges from an entanglement of religio-ethical precepts and Muslim experiences. I then contextualize Aga Khan IV's approach in relation to contemporary articulations of cosmopolitanism in Western literature.[457] The remainder of this chapter will situate Aga Khan IV's position in relation to the two-fold nature (*dīn* and *dunyā*) of the cosmopolitan ethic.

In the Footsteps of his Grandfather: a New Leader, an Inherited Vision

There is no question that the community protocols and reform objectives of the Aga Khan III, discussed in Chapter 4, helped to define a particular Ismāʿīlī identity and the role of the Imām. The transition of authority from Aga Khan III to Aga Khan IV also guaranteed a continuation of legitimate guidance and a discourse of "social service with religious underpinnings" (Mukherjee 2014, 437). This continuous commitment to an ethical system of engagement, I argue, inspires the cosmopolitan endeavour of Aga Khan IV, the current Imām. Aga Khan IV assumed the office of Imāmate on July 11, 1957 at the age of twenty-one, while still a Junior at Harvard University.[458] In the Will left behind by his grandfather, Aga Khan III wrote:

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[457] The earlier chapters will facilitate our analysis of the 'cosmopolitan ethic' imbued in the speeches and works of Aga Khan IV. A discussion on how Aga Khan IV's narrative of a cosmopolitan ethic translates into institutional practice is the subject of Part III this dissertation.

[458] He returned eighteen months later to finish his degree at Harvard with a better sense of the issues facing the world. There was a burning desire to know even more since he would have to address many of the new socio-political realities affecting his community. Harvard offered him a variety of courses that would prove beneficial to his new responsibilities as Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs (Frischauer 1970).

In view of the fundamentally altered conditions in the world in the very recent years due to the great changes which have taken place, including the discoveries of atomic science, I am convinced that is in the interest of the Shia Muslim Ismaili community that I should be succeeded by a young man who has been brought up…in the midst of the new age and who brings a new outlook on life to his office as Imam (Frischauer 1970, 14).[459]

In his role as Imām, Aga Khan IV inherited both the religious authority of a transnational community as well as the responsibility of overlooking the well-being of the Ismāʿīlīs in their everyday life (Karim 2015a). He says:

When I assumed the responsibilities of the Imamate in 1957 I was eager – as I still am – to see that the countries where my followers live are sound and stable; that they are countries with clear development horizons; countries where, following my grandfather's example, I could help to underwrite the integrity of the State and to contribute to improving the quality of life for all communities, not just my own. I hoped to help bridge the gulf between the developed and the developing worlds. This aspiration, I felt, was particularly appropriate to the Imamate because of its commitment to broad social objectives without political connotations, save in its concern for the fundamental freedom of its followers to practice the faith of their choice (quoted in Kassam 2003, 481).[460]

This is precisely a function that goes back to the tradition of the Prophet who was a supporter of the community, looking at the day-to-day lives of the people as well as disseminating knowledge of the faith.[461] Considered to be the divinely-guided leader of the Ismāʿīlīs, religious interpretation is a fundamental priority but that does not mean that all other areas of human life are divorced from his position as Imām.[462] The office of Imāmate therefore serves "as a locus of inspired leadership and timely guidance defined to secure the overall welfare and happiness of the Ismaʿili community, the

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[459] Some two to three years prior to Aga Khan III passing away, much was underway to guarantee the smooth succession of the newly appointed Imām as well as the continuation of the title 'Highness' and other honours and privileges bestowed on Aga Khan III. Van Grondelle (2009) demonstrates how the British government took interest and contributed to the succession process. More specifically refer to his chapter, "The Question of the Succession to the Imamate (1953-1958)", 71-86.

[460] Original quote from Aga Khan IV, 1982, "Speech delivered at a dinner hosted by the president of Tanzania," Dar as Salaam, Tanzania, November 21.

[461] See Chapter 3.

[462] In an interview with the Sunday Times, the Aga Khan said, "[s]ince my grandfather, the last Aga Khan, died, I have been the bearer of the 'Nur' a word which means 'The Light.' The Nur has been handed down in direct descent from the Prophet. But my work and responsibilities overflow into the practical side of life." See Nicholas Tomalin, "The Ruler Without A Kingdom [interview with Aga Khan IV, Part I]," *The Sunday Times*, December 12, 1965, http://www.nanowisdoms.org/nwblog/1400/

Muslim umma, and humanity as such" (Kassam 2003, 480). Reflecting on the role of

religious leaders in the Canadian context, Huguette Labelle[463] expressed the following:

> We have seen various imams speak out to their community regarding young
> Canadians that might have joined in to some of the unstable groups
> internationally. We have seen some of the imams take a very strong constructive
> position in their community seeking tolerance. This is where I think religions
> and religious leaders have to exercise their leadership. We have seen the Pope
> recently speak about the globalization of indifference with each other, there
> again something positive and constructive.
> So I think that religious leaders, like the Aga Khan, have a very important role
> to play within their communities to remind their communities about the tenets
> of their religion and what it stands for, not what some individuals might have
> decided it is. What the religious doctrine really stands for, what are the essential
> values that are part of the fiber of those religions. So I think that each religion
> has a very important role to play so that they promote the essential human
> values but at the same time promote inter-faith not only tolerance, because that
> is the minimum for understanding and appreciation.[464]

Integral to Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan awareness is a certain moral conduct and

ethical code that invokes contemplation and reflection on the purpose of life. From this

context, it is clear that Aga Khan IV's conception of cosmopolitanism is embedded in

an ethical sensibility inspired by the Abrahamic moral tradition and the function of the

Imām in the Shī'ī interpretation of Islam.[465] On the other hand, this conception is also

informed by philosophical debates on cosmopolitan ideals and concerns of humanity.

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[463] Huguette Labelle is a Companion of the Order of Canada and a recipient of the Order of Ontario. She
has been awarded honorary degrees from twelve Canadian Universities and the University of Notre
Dame USA and has received several additional honors. She has served for a period of nineteen years as
Deputy Minister of different Canadian Government departments including Secretary of State, Transport
Canada, the Public Service Commission and the Canadian International Development Agency. A former
Chancellor of the University of Ottawa and former Chair of transparency International she has also
served on several boards. She is currently member of the Board of the UN Global Compact, Vice-Chair
of the Rideau Hall Foundation Board, Vice-Chair of the International Senior Advisory Board of the
International Anti-Corruption Academy, member of the Advisory Group to the Asian Development Bank
on Climate Change and Sustainable Development, member of the Executive Board of the Africa
Capacity Building Foundation, member of the Board of the Global Centre for Pluralism, member of
Global Financial Integrity, member of the Trustlaw Advisory Board, and Board member of the Aga Khan
Museum.. She also serves on additional national and international boards. She provides advisory services
to national and international organizations.
[464] Interview with author, via telephone, January 7, 2015.
[465] In her dissertation on Ismā'īlīs in Canada, Kim C. Mathews concludes that their religion and the
guidance of their Imām serves as an alternative form of cosmopolitanism that is taking shape within the
community. Her findings suggest that the basis of her respondents' cosmopolitan sensibility is precisely
their religious identity. Guidance provided by their spiritual leader is perhaps the single most
fundamental factor that impacts how Ismā'īlīs understand and interact in the world. As Mathews states,

Aga Khan IV has emerged as a public intellectual advocating for a cosmopolitan ethic as a bold response to the 'clash of civilizations' that plagues societies and cultures of all kinds.[466] An important aspect of the current Ismāʿīlī leader's approach relies on the inseparability of *dīn* and *dunyā* (faith and world) that has been pivotal to his grandfather's mindset and those of the nineteenth century modernist-reformist Muslims. Further, much of what Aga Khan IV has to say aligns well with convictions shared by influential academics and religious actors. His discourse carries many of the essential interpretations and critiques penned by contemporary Muslim and non-Muslim scholars. Trained in the humanities and social sciences himself, Aga Khan IV is able to come forward and play a significant role in the socio-political and cultural issues of the contemporary world. In a speech addressed to the graduates of Columbia University Aga Khan IV said:

> A passion for justice, the quest for equality, a respect for tolerance, a dedication to human dignity – these are universal human values which are broadly shared across divisions of class, race, language, faith and geography. They constitute what classical philosophers – in the East and West alike – have described as human 'virtue' – not merely the absence of negative restraints on individual freedom, but also a set of positive responsibilities, moral disciplines which prevent liberty form turning into license (Aga Khan IV 2006b).

"[t]he promotion of a cosmopolitan ethic amongst adherents to a particular faith increases the likelihood that this worldview will become part of who the person is, and how they experience and understand the world." See her "Ismailis in Canada: Locations of Subjectivity" (PhD dis., McMaster University, 2007), 131.

[466] The 'Clash of Civilizations' is a widespread theoretical framework used for understanding current and past Muslim-West interactions. This conflict-laden theory was developed by Samuel P. Huntington (d. 2008) and was adopted as a framework for Western foreign policy. "He offered a worldview in which civilizations were the most salient entities for cultural identification and political action" (Karim and Eid 2012b, 18). Huntington clearly believed that what lied ahead was a future grimed with violent clashes and conflict between civilizations. In particular, he invokes Islam's propensity toward violence and backwardness as evidence of its incompatibility with western civilization. His approach is based on the assumption that the world must conform to Western norms and values in order for the world to attain peace and stability. This perspective has been challenged by many scholars who argue that this framework focuses on radical trends without any close analysis of their roots as well as economic and political forces that contribute to radical actions. "[This] is an impoverished portrayal of a complex reality and discourse about and within Islam-and also ignores the new clash of individualist and communitarian views in the West, one whose fault lines run through the core of public policy" (Sajoo 1995, 579). I will discuss more in regards to Aga Khan's rebuttal of this problematic theory later in this chapter. For more on the 'clash of civilizations' theory see Samuel Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996). In the same vein Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) and Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Avon Books, 1992).

Although it can be easily agreed that these human values are "rational, rigorous, and humanistic in scope" (Kassam 2003, 493) – and indeed they are; these principles are drawn from the ethical tradition embedded in the Qur'ān and the rich tradition of *adab* and *akhlāq*. Ethics from this perspective recalls the effort of bridging *dīn* and *dunyā* in Islam through the *khalīfa* ideal, which calls attention to the role of human beings as responsible and just representatives of God on earth. In this sense, to act ethically involves conforming to one's God-given nature (*fiṭra*). "This is the foundation of Muslim ethics: 'to take on the attribute of God' through continual acts of harmonious fashioning, which the Qur'an expresses in the exhortation to mankind to 'vie with each other in good works' [2:148]" (Lakhani 2014, 49). As previously noted, Aga Khan IV favours an ethical approach to Islam rather than a dogmatic attachment to its theological doctrine – an interpretation that focuses on the esoteric (*bāṭin*) teachings that has much in common with Ṣūfī perspectives (Corbin 1993). "A central element in a truly religious outlook," Aga Khan IV asserts, "is a recognition that we all have a great deal to learn from one another…our faiths ask us to listen – and learn from one another" (Aga Khan IV 2007).

In Chapter 2 I discussed the interconnectedness of revelation and knowledge as integral components of the cosmopolitan spirit in Islam. It is also critical to remember, as illustrated in Chapters 3 and 4, that this intellectual engagement with faith is a cornerstone of Shī'ī thought. This ethico-religious narrative reiterates an underlying duty of Muslims to commit themselves to the betterment of humankind. "Rooted in Muslims doctrine and practice is a this-worldly perspective of tolerance and engagement in which man is the symbol of existence (*al-insan ramz al-wujud*) conjoining the demands of intellect and faith" (Sajoo 1995, 592). This perspective is predicated on a long tradition that places human beings as God's most noble creation who must put the foundational teachings of the Qur'ān into practice through the human quest to understand all of God's creation. Islam provides a clear message of sacredness of human persons because they are God's vicegerents on earth. "According to the Qur'an, God created all human beings with perfect souls and bodies and bestowed upon them the *karamah*, honor and dignity" (Senturk 2006, 36). The Qur'ānic imperative to seek knowledge would raise questions about the best kind of human life and how

reason relates to revelation, ultimately urging Muslims to engage in the search for wisdom about the way human beings are to live with one another. In sum, engaging with creation requires one to put into practice the ethics of one's faith. Fostering a cosmopolitan spirit requires both a spiritual and intellectual commitment. "It requires a readiness to study and to learn across cultural barriers, an ability to see others as they see themselves" (Aga Khan IV 1996). This ethical sensibility, for Aga Khan IV, can foster a spirit of "creative encounter," one that rests on "the ability to respect that which is truly different, to understand that which we do not embrace" (Ibid). One can only infer that this sensitivity that must be cultivated in each person according to Aga Khan IV, is an early expression of what he would later develop into a cosmopolitan ethic. It follows then, from this context, that knowledge (in its many forms) for Aga Khan IV is expressed of encounters.

Expressing a Cosmopolitan Ethic

In the process of nurturing a healthy sense of identity, we must resist the temptation to normatize any particular culture, to demonize 'the other', and to turn healthy diversity into dangerous discord.

- Aga Khan IV[467]

Sadly, the world is becoming more pluralist in fact, but not necessarily in spirit. 'Cosmopolitan' social patterns have not yet been matched by 'a cosmopolitan ethic.'

- Aga Khan IV[468]

In November 2015, Aga Khan IV was invited to deliver the esteemed Harvard Jodidi lecture[469] entitled "The Cosmopolitan Ethic in a Fragmented World." In his speech, Aga Khan IV aptly illustrates his thoughts on the subject of cosmopolitanism as the basis for human coexistence:

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[467] Aga Khan IV, "Foundation Ceremony, the Aga Khan Academy," Dhaka, Bangladesh May 20 (2008), *Aga Khan Development Network* website, http://www.akdn.org/Content/661/Foundation-Stone-Laying-Ceremony-of-the-Aga-Khan-Academy-Dhaka (accessed July 10 2017).
[468] Aga Khan IV, "Address of His Highness the Aga Khan to both Houses of the Parliament of Canada in the House of Commons Chamber," Ottawa, Ontario, February 27 (2014), *The Ismaili* website, https://www.theismaili.org/speech-parliament-canada (accessed June 11 2016).
[469] Established in 1955, the Samuel L. and Elizabeth Jodidi Lecture Series is one the most important and distinguished lecture series of the Weatherhead Center at Harvard University. The series brings eminent individuals to speak on issues such as peace, tolerance and coexistence.

A cosmopolitan society regards the distinctive threads of our particular identities as elements that bring beauty to the larger social fabric. A cosmopolitan ethic accepts our ultimate moral responsibility to the whole of humanity, rather than absolutising a presumably exceptional part. Perhaps it is a natural condition of an insecure human race to seek security in a sense of superiority. But in a world where cultures increasingly interpenetrate one another, a more confident and a more generous outlook is needed. What this means, perhaps above all else, is a readiness to participate in a true dialogue with diversity, not only in our personal relationships, but in institutional and international relationships also. But that takes work, and it takes patience. Above all, it implies a readiness to listen.

What is needed, as the former Governor General of Canada Adrienne Clarkson has said, and I quote, is a readiness "to listen to your neighbour, even when you may not particularly like him." Is that message clear? You listen to people you don't like! (Aga Khan IV 2015c).

Figure 5.1: Aga Khan IV delivering the Jodidi Lecture at Harvard University
Credit: Farhez Rayani / © AKDN

What one observes through the lens of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic is an embodiment of the human potentiality for reciprocity, respect and compassion. He offers an approach to cosmopolitanism where faith is instrumentalized as a productive medium by which ethical precepts bring sustenance to an engaged form of cosmopolitanism. "It is an ethic that requires human beings to live their lives integrally, transcending outward differences through dialogue and a respect for human dignity, according to the principles and values of their faith" (Lakhani 2016, 154). Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic is essentially built on relationships and not written in rigid laws and codes, thus favouring values that are sensitive to modern realities. A cosmopolitan ethic is thus more than just an ideal; it is constant striving to bridge the gap of empathy

and ignorance. Aga Khan IV says, "The struggle to remain empathetically open to the Other in a diversifying world is a continuing struggle of central importance for all of us" (Aga Khan IV 2014c). The practice of a cosmopolitan ethic serves as viable tool to appreciating and understanding the Other, and an antidote against fearing what we do not easily understand.

> It is an ethic, in fact, that is firmly rooted in our faith – a value system which grows from deeply spiritual roots. It understands that human diversity is itself a gift of Allah – that pluralism is not a threat but a blessing. It sees the desire to explore and connect as a way to learn and grow – not to dilute our identities but to enrich our self-knowledge. This ethic emanates ultimately from a relationship to the Divine which inspires a deep sense of personal humility – and a relationship to humankind which is infused with a spirit of generous service and mutual respect" (Aga Khan IV 2008b).

Suffice it so say, a cosmopolitan ethic offers a counter approach to fear-centric tactics that seek to divide and conquer. Human beings will have to find a way to identify with the groups closest to them while still building empathy for others who are different; and this can only be attained if we are ready to welcome the other in all its alterity and learn from each other.

Aga Khan IV's prioritization of a cosmopolitan ethic does not mean upholding one principle of human commonality and zeroing out everything else. Rather it affirms difference, taking inspiration from the Qur'ān, which presents human diversity as a gift of the Divine.[470] Such a disposition insists upon an openness towards Others, a willingness to encounter what is different.[471] Let me recall here the Qur'ānic verse "We have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes so that you may know one another" (49:13). In Chapter 3, I argued how this verse served as an imperative to put faith into action. The implication is that knowing the Other is a fulfillment of the divine will and therefore of being Muslim and indeed of being human.

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[470] The Judeo-Christian heritage also informs us that the world is a gift and that we are given to each other, we are all part of this gift. Refer to Chapter 2.

[471] In his acceptance speech at the North-South Prize Ceremony, the Aga Khan remarked, ""Since ancient times, great cultures have thrived because of their openness to diversity and not because of their exclusivity". See Aga Khan IV, 2014, "Remarks at the North-South Prize Ceremony, Senate Hall, Parliament," Lisbon, Portugal, June 12, Aga *Khan Development Network* website, http://www.akdn.org/speech/his-highness-aga-khan/north-south-prize-ceremony-senate-hall-parliament-portugal (accessed January 10 2017).

Humanity it follows, constitutes an integral element of the Qur'ān's universal teachings that serve as an indispensable source for the inviolability of human beings. This position is demonstrated in the works of Recep Senturk,[472] who writes:

> God created human beings so that they know Him and each other for this would increase their knowledge about Him. He put differences among human beings such as gender, color and language so that they know each other. Yet He declared that the superiority belongs to those with a higher moral conduct and piety. God looks at the hearts and deeds, said Prophet Muhammad, but not at appearances and wealth. God commanded repeatedly that His creatures also look at each other with God's eye (Senturk 2006, 36).

Inherent in Aga Khan IV's narrative is the intricate relation between religion and how one lives. This is made apparent in his support of the inseparability of faith and world. One can observe from this perspective, a deep influence of Qur'ānic principles such as *tawḥīd* (oneness) and the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (monorealism). The Qur'ān puts forward a comprehensive vision of diversity, difference and plurality not excluding the importance of universality within its words. According to Farid Esack (1997, 172) "the Qur'an acknowledges the fact of religious diversity as the will of God." As discussed in Chapter 2, the Qur'ān also affirms unity and diversity through the concept of *tawḥīd*, (unity or oneness). *Tawḥīd* affirms that the material world and the spiritual world are in reality one, and that "one cannot claim to be spiritual if one is unable to make a good thing of this life. Conversely, one cannot make a good thing of this life unless one is able to order one's spiritual life properly" (Said and Sharify-Funk 2003, 29). *Tawḥīd* serves as the founding principle that brings an overall harmony to the world all the while appreciating the diversity of existence. Implicit in this principle is the understanding of Islam as monorealism, the significance of which allows for an

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[472] Recep Senturk is currently the president of Ibn Khaldun University (IHU) in Istanbul. He holds a PhD in Sociology from Columbia Univeristy. He was the director of the Alliance of Civilizations Institute (ACI) and has been the general coordinator of the Istanbul Research and Education Association (İSAR) for 7 years. His primary interest is in the sociology of human rights and sociology of knowledge. Senturk has published in English, Turkish, and Arabic, including numerous journal articles. His most recent English monograph is entitled *Narrative Social Structure: Anatomy of the Hadith Transmission Network, 610-1505* (2005).

interpretation where "[i]nfinity (or multiplicity) is inherent in Absoluteness (or unity). Diversity can therefore be understood as an aspect of unity, or of inner and complementary harmony" (Lakhani 2016, 151). This central vision bears imprints of Ibn al-ʿArabī's profound philosophy that emphasizes the inseparability of human life from its source and that each being must seek to know the other that lies internally and externally. Indeed, the Qurʾān reminds us: "O mankind! Be careful of your duty to your Lord, Who created you from a single soul and from it created its mate and from the two spread a multitude of men and women" (Qurʾān 4:1).[473]

Aga Khan IV, when referring to the above verse, promotes "a universal ethical sensibility" carried out from an Islamic basis (Clarkson 2008, 6) that underscores "the inherent diversity of mankind [and] the multitude" as well as "the unity of humankind" engulfed in "the single soul created by a single Creator" (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 126). Diversity therefore, is God's wish to create a pluralist world where different humans must learn to coexist. Such a cosmopolitanism that envisions a type of human connectedness, among Muslims and other communities, informed by the Qurʾān and its ethical imperatives is pivotal to Aga Khan IV's effort to knit together a more embracive community. Elaborating on his understanding of a cosmopolitan ethic, Aga Khan IV stated during his keynote speech at the tenth Annual LaFontaine-Baldwin Lecture in Toronto:[474]

> [W]hat we must seek and share is what I have called '"a cosmopolitan ethic," a readiness to accept the complexity of human society. It is an ethic which balances rights and duties. It is an ethic for all peoples. It will not surprise you to have me say that such an ethic can grow with enormous power out of the spiritual dimensions of our lives.[475] In acknowledging the immensity of The

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[473] This verse and many others affirm the divine origins of human diversity and unity; see for example Qurʾān 5:48, 11:118, 30:22 and 49:12. One also finds a similar message in Genesis (1:27) "So God created mankind in his own image, in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them."

[474] The LaFontaine-Baldwin Lecture series occurs annually since 2000. It was established by John Ralston Saul and pays tribute to the leaders of Canada's first democratic movement, Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine and Robert Baldwin. This lecture series serves as platform for Canadians to reflect on issues revolving democracy and citizenship.

[475] "Cosmopolitans posit particular ontological beliefs that require moral agents to engage in processes of internal self-transformation. They believe that internal self-transformation is necessary in order to develop the internal capacities to morally respond to the human dignity of others." See Dale Snauwaert, "The Ethics and Ontology of Cosmopolitanism: Education for a Shared Humanity," *Current Issues in Comparative Education,* 12, no. 1 (2009): 14-22, quote at 14. Recall in Chapter 1, how Chris Durante's

Divine, we will also come to acknowledge our human limitations, the incomplete nature of human understanding.

In that light, the amazing diversity of Creation itself can be seen as a great gift to us – not a cause for anxiety but a source of delight. Even the diversity of our religious interpretations can be greeted as something to share with one another – rather than something to fear. In this spirit of humility and hospitality – the stranger will be welcomed and respected, rather than subdued – or ignored.

In the Holy Quran we read these words: "O mankind! Be careful of your duty to your Lord who created you from a single soul ...[and] joined your hearts in love, so that by His grace ye became brethren.[476]"As we strive for this ideal, we will recognize that "the other" is both "present" and "different." And we will be able to appreciate this presence – and this difference – as gifts that can enrich our lives (Aga Khan IV 2010c).

This extract of Aga Khan IV's speech brings together many of the ideas explored in the earlier chapters, some of which I have already touched upon. Firstly, there is recognition that one's way of living in the world is shaped by one's inward character. This idea flows from a deep spiritual insight that places emphasis on the individual's inner character, which must strive to live in a way attuned to the primordial nature as created by God. Internal self-transformation is necessary to acknowledge the dignity of each human individual. The cosmopolitan ethic is indeed inspired by the spiritual dimension, which guides the well-being of the Self and the Other.[477] An internal commitment to ongoing spiritual reflection can therefore deepen and refine one's own ethical sensibilities. Rizwan Mawani[478] notes that Aga Khan IV's notion of spirituality

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(2014) reframing of cosmopolitanism provides a mechanism by which to better grasp how Aga Khan IV is reconceptualizing the cosmopolitan ideology into an ethic that consorts with what some political scientists now label as 'rooted cosmopolitanism'.

[476] This is a translation of the Qur'ānic verse (4:1). The unity of human beings was also an important component of early 18th century British Deism. For instance, the influential philosopher and political theorist, Thomas Paine (d. 1809) emphasized the belief of one God and the duty of mankind to imitate His moral character – the practice of moral virtues. He writes, "Every history of the creation, and every traditionary account, whether the lettered or unlettered world, however they may vary in their opinion or belief of certain particulars, all agree in establishing one point, *the unity of man;* by which I mean that man is all of *one degree*, and consequently that all men are born equal, and with equal natural rights…and consequently, every child born in the world must considered as deriving its existence from God…It is also to be observed, that all the religions known in the world are founded, so far as they relate to man, on the *unity of man*, as being all of one degree" Thomas Paine, *The Political Writings of Thomas Paine* Vol. 2 (New York: Solomon King, 1830), 71.

[477] The Qur'ān reminds Muslims that there exists no difference in the treatment of people of different religions, except in their faith and deeds. See Qur'ān (3:113-114; 2:62; 5:69).

[478] Rizwan Mawani is an educator, scholar and research consultant with experience in more than 30 countries. Rizwan was previously Research Coordinator and Lead Researcher in the Department of Community Relations at the Institute of Ismaili Studies. He has conducted field research on Muslim

is clearly embodied in his ethical discourses and worldview. Mawani expressed to me that for many Ismāʿīlīs who hear the speeches and the *farmāns* of the Imām, what stands out is:

> That being a good Ismāʿīlī is being a good human being which relates to the idea of cosmopolitanism expressed by the Imām. It is also about ethical action, it's not just about being true to values but ethically engaging in the world…it's one of envisioning action, so the community will be seen as a community that's respected, one that's engaged in civil society, and one that genuinely cares about larger concerns of the human life.[479]

Mawani's description of Aga Khan IV's ethical pursuit should go without saying. It reiterates once again, the role of religion as a vital moral constituent to the vagaries of life. Linking together the theme of a cosmopolitan ethic to religious interpretation seems fitting to an Imām who welcomes the diversity of human beings as the mercy of the Divine, who has accorded respect and rights to each individual. He reminds us:

> In an increasingly cosmopolitan world, it is essential that we live by a "cosmopolitan ethic," one that addresses the age-old need to balance the particular and the universal, to honour both human rights and social duties, to advance personal freedom and to accept human responsibility.
> It is in that spirit that we can nurture bonds of confidence across different peoples and unique individuals, welcoming the growing diversity of our world, even in matters of faith, as a gift of the Divine. Difference, in this context, can become an opportunity – not a threat – a blessing rather than a burden" (Aga Khan IV 2014c).

Building on a Tradition of Justice

Let me pause for a moment at the above excerpt. I would like to draw attention to the passing reference of the rights, responsibilities, and freedoms of human beings that are claimed as a Divine guarantee. One could make the case that the Imām's reference is an allusion to his hereditary past, the Fāṭimids who affirmed the diversity and safety of other communities under the *Aman* document (see Chapter 3). But of more interest is

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practices amongst 50 communities in 17 countries. He is authoring two books featuring his research and photographs exploring the diversity of ritual, piety, space and music amongst contemporary Muslims. Mawani has a BA in Anthropology and Religious Studies from Carleton University in Canada and MA in Theology from the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California. He is also an alumnus of the Institute of Ismaili Studies' Graduate Programme in Islamic Studies and Humanities.
[479] Interview with author, at his home, Toronto, Ontario, January 9, 2015.

the possibility of an even earlier inspirational source that predates the Fāṭimids – the *Risālat al-Ḥuqūq* (The Treatise on Rights) of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn – the third Imām in the Ismāʿīlī tradition – whose main theme concerns the observance of the rights of all God's creatures. This work is understood as an elaboration of a well-known saying of the Prophet Muḥammad collected in the *ḥadīths*:

> God has made seven rights incumbent upon the person of faith (*al-mu'min*) toward the person of faith: To respect him in his person, love him in his breast, share with him in his property, consider backbiting against him unlawful, visit him in his illness, escort his coffin, and say nothing but good about him after his death (Chittick 1988, 279).[480]

'The Treatise on Rights' provides a lengthy explanation of what it means for each individual to possess a right in accordance to God. It comes as no surprise that the explanation of rights is not about the individual per say, but rather about the rights of Others that must be upheld by the individual.[481] In this context, 'rights' may be better understood as "duties, obligations, or responsibilities" since Islam considers first "[the individual's] relationship with God, then his relationship with God's creatures" (1988, 280). At the heart of this treatise is an orientation towards justice that is linked to the ethical precepts prevalent in Islamic spirituality.[482] There is a fundamental spiritual imperative to act justly in this world because each person is created in the image of the Divine, who is the source of justice.

> Man's moral effort to act justly in the world here below – where things are not in their right place – is rooted in an innate spiritual predisposition to justice. Just action thus expresses the principle of justice, which, in man as in God, is that

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[480] For original source refer to Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, *Al-Khiṣāl*, vol II, ḥadīth 6 (Qum: Mu'assasah al-Nashr al-Islami, 1403).

[481] The 'Treatise of Rights' is considered as a sharp refutation to neoliberal approach to rights and responsibilities. Neoliberalism suggests that there is not real sense of responsibility to the Other. The individual self is the limit of responsibility; "We are individualized…We are seen primarily as economic actors, an untapped market, potential consumers, or small-scale entrepreneurs." Shenila-Khoja Moolji, "Why Is Trump's Racism and Islamophobia So Appealing?," *The Huffington Post,* March 2, 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/shenila-khojamoolji/why-is-trumps-racism-and-islamophobia-so-appealing_b_9360430.html. For more on neoliberalism refer to Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2015).

[482] It can be inferred that the overall theme of the *Risālat al-Ḥuqūq* takes precedence from an earlier saying attributed to Imām ʿAlī: "If a man behaves properly in matters between himself and Allāh, then Allāh keeps proper the matters between him and other people;" *Peak of Eloquence,* trans. Syed Ali Reza (New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur'an, 1996), 598, Saying no. 89.

immutable principle by which everything is in its right place. Just as divine action in creation, judgement and other realms is an expression of absolute justice, so in man just action is an expression not only of a moral, volitive and intellectual effort to realize justice, but also of a spiritual affinity with the ultimate nature of reality – of things as they truly are in God, and therefore as they ought to be here on earth (Shah-Kazemi 2006a, 82-83).

What relates the *Risālat al-Ḥuqūq* to the sacred virtue of justice is precisely to be found in the word *al-ḥaqq* (pl. *ḥuqūq*). In the Qur'ān, *al-ḥaqq* is taken as both 'the Truth' and 'the Reality.' The notions of 'right' and 'responsibilities' as explicated in the above treatise are infused with the absolute Truth, the absolute Reality. As Nasr explains,

> In all traditional religious and sapiental traditions justice is associated with truth, while truth itself is reality in the metaphysical sense. Again, this fact is made the [*sic*] clear in the double meaning of the Arabic term *al-ḥaqq* which means both truth and reality. To be just is to conform to the nature of the Real and not to the transient and the illusory (Nasr 2006, xii).

In other words, one is ethically inspired to be just because one's primordial nature (*fiṭra*) is attracted towards the absolute Reality (*al-Ḥaqq*), which is inseparable from human life (Nasr 2006; Shah-Kazemi 2006a). The running thread in this discussion of justice is that human beings are able to offer the rights that are due to others as a consequence of their relation to one another and ultimately to the Divine. All relations are characterized by rights and duties as evidenced in the *Risālat al-Ḥuqūq*. "Therefore, all human beings, including the infidels who deny God, have *karamah*, inviolability and dignity. Human beings are required to treat each other with dignity – the way God treats them. Human beings should treat others the way God treats them and the way they want God to treat them" (Senturk 2006, 36). Theologically speaking, the cosmopolitan ethic is therefore governed by a concrete vision of Divine love that is ethically empowering and all pervasive. This is further actualized through intellectual discernment that is deepened by the spiritual vision, which resides in the Divine qualities of justice, forgiveness, mercy, etc., discussed earlier.

Hermeneutics of a Cosmopolitan Ethic: Overcoming the Self-Other Dichotomy
Given Aga Khan IV's retention of transcendental principles, there still remains a question of how to communicate between Self and Other.

After all, is it possible to understand the Other as he or she really is? "the Other", in fact, is always perceived through the distorting eyes of the individual "I" or the social "we"…We are – all of us – prisoners of our own egos and our own group mentality, and it is probably impossible for us to free ourselves completely from our own prison bars…"the Other" is always "shaped" or "constructed." "The Other" is the image that is projected on the screen of my individual "I" through the filtering lens of our social "we". This constraint is inherent in our individual being, which is the bearer of endogenous values. It constitutes a natural blockage, a kind of immunizing code that preserves our identity (Talbi 1992, 134).[483]

We have seen through numerous examples when discussing cosmopolitanism within Islam that ethical practice and self-realization are fundamental to encounter and engagement. Is it possible that Aga Khan IV's ideas around cosmopolitan ethics are infused with the principle of *walāya,* which is central to the practice Shī'ism?[484] To explore this possibility, I turn to Rebecca Masterton[485] who proposes *walāya* as a model for engagement that is genuine to the Qur'ān's injunction "to know one another." She presents this principle as a means to overcome the Self-Other dichotomy. *Walāya* was discussed in Chapter 3 in the context of the Imāmate, however the underlying meaning of the term (closeness and intimacy) flows from a Divine imperative of love and friendship that enables one to enter in a dialogical exchange:

Walāya could be described as a framework of ethics that establishes a relationship between God and humanity. It implies a connection of love, not only between God and the Muslim, but also God, the prophets and imams; the prophets and imams and their followers. It also includes a connection of love among followers themselves; and between followers and the rest of humanity, whatever their religion, culture or race, but providing that the ethics of respect are upheld (Masterton 2016, 23).

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[483] Also quoted in Reza Shah-Kazemi, *The Other in the Light of the One: The Universality of the Qurʾān and Interfaith Dialogue*, 118.

[484] See Chapter 3. *Walāya* also plays an important role in Ṣūfī thought and is indeed the central value of Ibn al-ʿArabī's visionary teaching.

[485] Rebecca Masterton is a British Islamic scholar, educator, public speaker, academic, author, television presenter, and philosopher. She received her Ph.D. in Islamic literature of West Africa from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. She is currently Director and Tutor at Online Shiʿa Studies. Her interests include the Shīʿī mysticism, comparative literature and comparative philosophy.

Masterson further explains that *walāya* (universal and specific) in connection to the concept of *wujūd* "opens up the parameters of the human being's 'world'" and "[it] addresses not human beings divided up into nations and cultures, but the human being per se: a being that has both conscious and responsibility" (2016, 25).

Masterson's insight into *walāya* with respect to engaging the Other, supports an ethical sensibility that transcends "the spiritual dimensions of our lives." It posits the universal connection of each being articulated in Aga Khan IV's conception of cosmopolitanism.[486] It also encompasses the particular wherein each being seeks to know him/herself so that he/she may know the Other, the Divine. "Walāya as love, friendship and divine authority and protection continuously radiates from its Source upon all creation and is, in fact, 'kneaded' into the 'clay of creation'" (Lawson 2016, 30). This spiritual attitude prevents the 'Self' from being absolutized and opens up an eventual "fusion of horizons"[487] where the 'Self' attains the capacity to see itself as an 'Other.'[488] *Walāya* thus serves as an antidote to the anomie of today's world. In this form of dialogical engagement, *walāya* and *tawḥīd* are valuable principles for an authentic dialogue, which Reza Shah-Kazemi describes as:

> …a dialogue rooted in the sincere desire for greater knowledge and understanding both of the other and of oneself-can be seen as a reflection of, and participation in, the very process by which God knows Himself in distinctive, differentiated mode; that is, not in respect of His unique, eternal essence, but in respect of the manifestation of the 'treasure' comprised or 'hidden' within that essence, a process yielding the perpetually renewed

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[486] One can draw inspiration from the teachings of Ibn al-'Arabī's wherein "we may understand as 'hallowed friendship' (something of a pleonasm) and we bear in mind that its sacredness or holiness derives not from an external 'anointing' but is generated from within the essential divine reality of 'friendship' as such" (Lawson 2016, 23). Although Ibn al-'Arabī argues that there is a hierarchy of *walāya*, also acknowledged in Shī'ī thought, there is nevertheless a recognition that all people can participate in a general *walāya* (Lawson 2016; Masterton 2016).

[487] The 'fusion of horizons' is taken from Gadamer (influenced by European philosophies) who sought to think through "an outlook where difference was somehow attenuated in favor of a nearly preestablished harmony between self and other and of an eventual fusion of horizons" (Dallmayr 1996, 41). The 'fusion of horizons' only becomes operational through a dialogical interaction in which human beings (even at the level of communities and societies) are willing to open themselves to developing effective tools for an engagement that incorporates multiple possibilities and rejects any form of Eurocentrism.

[488] "The question 'who is who?' may arise, a question to which frequently the only unambiguous response can be: it is friendship (walāya) itself that is the important identity. Such rhyming is seen to be indicated in the philosophical notion that a friend is another self and that in a friendship 'covenant' each friend acquires the characteristics of the other friend" (Lawson 2016, 18). Refer also to Aristotle, *The Nichomachean Ethics*, Book VIII, trans. W.D. Ross (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1908).

theophanies of Himself to Himself through an apparent 'other', the 'seeing of Himself as it were in a mirror' (Shah-Kazemi 2006b, 115-116).

If *walāya* has an empowering role to play in finding a genuine experience of engagement with the Other, then there is another source found in Western European thought – Gadamerian hermeneutics – which acknowledges dialogue as an ontological condition.[489] Gleaning from Gadamer,[490] Fred Dallmayr notes that, "[t]o live with the other, as the other of the other – this basic human task applies to the micro- as well as to the macro-level. Just as each of us learns to live with the other in the process of individual maturation, a similar learning process holds for larger communities, for nations and states" (1996, 52).[491] As Dallmayr indicates, this form of encounter engenders a dialogical engagement that accepts as *apriori* a willingness to enter in an open exchange that decenters one's own being – an "interpenetration of self and other"

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[489] Both Masterton and Dallmayr offer sound perspectives that support the achievement of developing a cosmopolitan ethic. Although I view Masterton and Dallmayr's works as complimentary in their attempts to challenge the Self-Other dichotomy, it should be noted that Masterton is skeptical of Dallmayr's approach. She takes issue with the unacceptability of a 'guardian class' of people – who possess certain wisdoms – to be included in the dialogical model. This of course is a concern in the Muslim context particularly in the case of Shī'a Islam wherein the *ahl al-bayt* and the *Imām* (in the case of the Ismā'īlīs) are considered as "a guardian class of ultimate knowledge" (Dallmayr 1996, 41). She views Dallmayr's dependence on Gadamer as ironic because there is an underlying assumption of European thought and culture as a model for the rest of the world to follow despite the critique of Eurocentrism. In addition, she suggests that Dallmayr's model stops at the 'Other' and cultural diversity becomes an end itself. "Paradoxically, the exteriority of otherness becomes a barrier to moving beyond otherness" (Masterton 2016, 13). Nevertheless, I think Masterton is perhaps over critical of Dallmayr's purpose because, to a certain degree she culpable to the same prejudice that she calls out Dallmayr for. Her article argues for a model based on *walāya,* which is a concept that is rooted in a specific Shī'ī understanding. She is faced with the same challenge: getting the Other to be willing to accept *walāya* as an *apiriori* to sincerely engage. Unfortunately, there is no perfect model to mimic; there may actually always be a concern for a hierarchy of power. It is however more productive to strive for an ideal than not engage in either model of engagement; there is always something to be learned.

[490] Hans-Georg Gadamer (d. 2002) was a German philosopher of the continental tradition and is considered the decisive figure in the development of twentieth century hermeneutics. Gadamer's goal was to uncover the nature of human understanding and was influenced by Martin Heidegger's interest in the 'question of Being.' His hermeneutic position attracted and continues to attract widespread attention among scholars. Gadamer's major opus, *Truth and Method* (1960), is an authoritative work in modern-day hermeneutics. One of the most profound theories offered by Gadamer is his formulation of the dialogic that dictates key elements for ethical dialogue. For Gadamer, understanding of one another can only be achieved through a conversation that sustains the interplay of question and answer. Gadamer's *Truth and Method* continues to hold an important place in the philosophy of art and on literature and theology. Hans-Georg Gadamer has been honored with numerous prizes, among them the Reuchlin Prize of the City of Pforzheim and the Hegel Prize of the City of Stuttgart. For more on Gadamer see Jean Grondin's *Hans-Georg Gadamer: A Biography* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

[491] Refer to Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Das Erbe Europas* [The Legacy of Europe], (Frankfurt-Main: Suhrkamp, 1989), 28-30. Disturbed by the enduring effects of Nazi Germany's aim to annihilate the Other (Jews, gypsies, disabled persons), Hans-Georg Gadamer attempted to find a philosophy to remedy the Self-Other paradigm that infested German society.

(1996, 40). To embrace the Other in all her otherness, without compulsion is for Gadamer the highest of human goals. He writes, "[t]he highest and most elevated aim that we can strive for is to partake in the other, to share the other's alterity…in this way we may learn to experience otherness and human otherness as the 'other of ourselves' in order to partake in one another" (Dallmayr 1996, 53).[492] This model of dialogical understanding is quite compelling since Gadamer's interpretation of hermeneutics also recognizes the rootedness of the Self and the Other;[493] a premise that is shared with the cosmopolitan sensibility that emphasizes a genuine willingness to engage with the Other.

Here, the concepts of 'hospitality' and the 'stranger' discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, bring into focus the Self-Other dichotomy of human expressions of identity. Given the context of this discussion and the prominent theme of religion and ethics,[494] it goes without saying that Islam, as I argue, is essentially about living an ethical life. Thus, it should come as no surprise to see Aga Khan IV employ terms such as 'hospitality' and 'stranger' in relation to the cosmopolitan ethic. In this regard, one is able to accept that the Imām's discussion on fostering a cosmopolitan sensibility resonates well with contemporary discussions on the ethical inquiry of cosmopolitanism as expounded in the writings of key figures such as Emmanuel Levinas, Jacques Derrida, and Julia Kristeva.[495] In this regard, I would venture to suggest that Aga Khan IV is continuing the cosmopolitan legacy, historically practiced by the medieval Islamic philosophers and those from the traditions that inspired them. In other words, it would be misguided to think of his articulation in a vacuum. It is

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[492] Ibid, 31-34.

[493] "Since we cannot entirely escape the limits of our own effective-historical tradition, a genuine and fair dialogue is one in which we remain open to Other voices, all the while accepting the limits that their traditions impose on them." See Ali Zaidi, *Islam, Modernity, and the Human Sciences* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 36. A precipitous acceptance of this diaological model however, fails to consider some shortcomings. For instance, Gadamer assumes that dialogue is never ending and ignores the possibility that radical differences may impede the possibility of continued dialogue. For Zaidi, interlocutors are sometimes confronted by "irreconcilable beliefs about salvation," especially in interreligious dialogue (Zaidi 2011, 49). Nevertheless, I find that a recognition of fundamental differences is actually a strating point of genuine dialogue that is not necessarily just about mere acceptance and consensus, but rather about building and sustaing relations that respect and work through the different truth-claims. Such engagement is not a guarantee of success, but is a step towards minimizing unresolved fears.

[494] Refer to Chapters 2 and 3.

[495] For their thought and contribution to rethinking cosmopolitanism refer to Chapter 1.

therefore more productive to position his thought within the conceptual chain that favours a moral-ethical disposition. An orientation that had its roots in the pre-Abrahamic civilizations which then transpired within the ethic of sacred hospitality, integral to the Abrahamic moral tradition. For example, in his acceptance speech of the Tolerance Prize at the Tutzing Evangelical Academy in 2006, Aga Khan IV drew on the ethic of loving the stranger found in Biblical teachings, which resonates with Islamic ideals as well. He said,

> Despite the long history of religious conflict, there is a long counter-history of religious focus on tolerance as a central virtue – on welcoming the stranger and loving one's neighbour, "Who is my neighbour?" one of the central Christian narratives asks. Jesus responds by telling the story of the Good Samaritan – a foreigner, a representative of the Other, who reaches out sympathetically, across ethnic and cultural divides, to show mercy to the fallen stranger at the side of the road (2008c, 127)

Contemporary understandings of the 'stranger' and 'unconditional hospitality' opens a more complex and genuine space to engage with difference through a dialectic that considers both the sacredness and dignity of the Other. At the core of these thinkers' works is a concern to the relationship between Self and Other. Unconditional hospitality is the locus where the host opens himself/herself to the stranger whoever that may be. It is an ethical marker that is part of our everyday experiences that opens the possibility of conscious engagement. The gift of hospitality is an act of generosity experienced by the host and guest, where the stranger is but a reflection of the Divine. The theoretical reformulations of cosmopolitanism through philosophical ideals, such as hospitality, serve as an instrument for Aga Khan IV's own expression of a cosmopolitan ethic that is sensitive to the complex relation between the universal and the particular.

The expressions of cosmopolitanism encountered in Chapters 1 and 2 help to understand how the Imām understands the term today and how his initiatives may be underwritten by a similar commitment to enable a cosmopolitan hospitality in a world that is still seeking to make sense of its diversity. "In this light, our differences can become sources of enrichment, so that we see *'the other' as an opportunity and a blessing* - whether 'the other' lives across the street - or across the world" (Aga Khan

256

IV 2007).[496] Suffice it to say, Aga Khan IV's speeches are a conglomeration of ethical ideals, esoteric reflections and a humanistic appeal. His cosmopolitan attitude has deep spiritual underpinnings but also integrates concepts that are standard to theoretical discourses about human existence and experience, which serve as a sort of universal universality that stretch beyond the confines of religion. This is brings us to the second strand that is intertwined in the notion of a cosmopolitan ethic.

Acting on Cosmopolitan Ethics: the Premise for Pluralism

Some may argue that a cosmopolitan ethic is purely idealistic and unachievable. To be sure, the cosmopolitan ethic is not an end product; it is a goal that propels us to think beyond the reality of diversity or difference. Once we gain a conceptual appreciation of this ethic then only can we contend with political and social problems that arise in a plural society. The cosmopolitan ethic discussed thus far is a challenge that rests on a commitment to engaging with the other and an orientation towards pluralistic ideals and good values. This resonates with Appiah's cosmopolitan sensibility that develops through immersion and interaction with diversity. "One distinctively cosmopolitan commitment is to pluralism. Cosmopolitans think that there are many values worth living by and that you cannot live by all of them. So we hope and expect that different people and different societies will embody different values" (Appiah 2006, 144). As previously discussed, cosmopolitanism – as articulated by Aga Khan IV – essentially embodies an ethical field that connects the various dimensions of the spiritual and diverse cultural processes that sculpt pluralistic societies.[497] His cosmopolitan ethic, inspired by an ethical background (religious and secular), attempts to conceptualize and engage pluralism.[498] One of the features of cosmopolitanism (in our context) that lends

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[496] "This consideration is particularly important in the domain of human co-existence, that is, of intersubjective and cross-cultural 'co-being' in a shared world – where the issue is neither to distance the other into the indifference of externality nor to absorb or appropriate in an imperialist gesture" (Dallmayr 1996, 52).

[497] For Tariq Ramadan, cosmopolitanism is a "process of reconciliation" that takes place between the Self and the Other. He writes, "For if we are serious about a cosmopolitan take on our societies – which at the grassroots level means to reconcile people with a sense of the world's complexity and interconnectedness – it is necessary to engender a sense of 'I need to know, I need to understand myself, the other, the society, the processes'" (Ramadan 2015, 61).

[498] Daryoush M. Poor understands cosmopolitanism to be an aspect of pluralism that is limited in nature (2014, 154). In contrast, I view cosmopolitanism through an ethical lens that helps to orient the

itself well to pluralism is the attempt to practice the cosmopolitan ideal at the human level – the practical dimension of people's daily life. Speaking from his personal experience, CEO of AKFC and a board of director at the Pluralism Centre, Khalil Shariff[499] believes that "the core personal insight" or "the personal implication" which stems from the notion of pluralism and the cosmopolitan ethic "is a deep and firm confidence of one's encounter with the other."[500] When speaking about the conceptual relation between a cosmopolitan ethic and pluralism, Shariff offered a compelling overview:

> Well what the notion of a cosmopolitan ethic does is seek to root pluralism in a very particular set of ideas and ideals about human life and about values. And so I would say that a pluralist outlook demands a sophisticated view of cosmopolitanism, without which it will be a very empty pluralism. Essentially, the base of your pluralism would be very fragile if you didn't have this deeply rooted notion of the cosmopolitan ethic…
>
> Once you accept the premise of pluralism, rooted in the cosmopolitan ethic, it has, I think, two important psychic consequences for the individual. The first is that it demands that you have an evolving but clear sense of personal identity because it almost demands a certain articulation of an identity in relation to which you are different from others. And the cosmopolitan ethic demands that you have a view, an articulation of the way in which they are the

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individual to consciously create within society an interaction of co-creativity. If we accept that society or individuals are driven by goals, then the cosmopolitan ethic generates the possibility to advance pluralism as a mode of living in diverse societies. To this I must convey that during my interviews, a number of the individuals had difficulties distinguishing between cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitan ethic and/or pluralism. Some saw one or the other as the higher virtue, while others saw them as cognate terms. In one case, it was surprising to find that the individuals at the Global Centre for Pluralism –although very well articulated in pluralism – were not well-read on the concept of cosmopolitan ethics or rooted cosmopolitanism. I raise this because Aga Khan IV has spoken a great deal about cosmopolitan ethics in his public speeches than in his personal guidance to the Ismāʿīlī community. Given that the Global Centre for Pluralism is considered a secular institution whose chairman is none other than the Aga Khan IV, I was hoping to see a more acute awareness and understanding regarding this concept. Why this gap in understanding exists was not made clear to me.

[499] Khalil Z. Shariff holds a B.A. in International Relations and Economics from the University of British Columbia and a J.D. magna cum laude from the Harvard Law School. He is currently Chief Executive Officer of Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC). He was previously with McKinsey & Company, an international management consultancy, where he advised governments, financial institutions, and health care providers on strategy, organization, and operational improvement. Khalil served on AKFC's National Committee for 5 years, and has cultivated his interest in international development and conflict resolution issues through a variety of activities including as: Deputy Editor-in-Chief, Harvard Negotiation Law Review; Policy Co-ordinator and Research Associate, Harvard Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research; Legal Intern, Chambers of the Vice-President, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania; Intern, Office of Under-Secretary-General, UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations. He was the youngest member ever elected as a School Trustee in 1993 for the Board of School Trustees in Richmond, B.C.

[500] Interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, February 13, 2015.

same with others. And so I think it is demanding on you to be articulate and thoughtful even if it doesn't mean you have to be fixed on the question of personal identity and values. I think its second consequence is you're very open and you're certainly not fearful of an encounter with difference. You are ready to embrace it, you are ready to learn from it, you're ready to celebrate it, you're ready to see it as a strength and so it is a way in which you're able to move from a sense of discomfort, insecurity, fear in the face of difference to a position of security, of confidence, of hope, of aspiration in the face of difference. And I think that's a very, very productive mindset.[501]

In other words, if we begin with a cosmopolitan ethic as a conscious desire to seek out the Other, then pluralism is what allows one to say: now that I have recognized and acknowledged, how does it enable me in the current cosmopolitan milieu to come forward with humility and strength so that I may engage and exercise those values for a greater purpose that advances the good of individuals, groups, and larger society. So pluralism is a way of situating the cosmopolitan ethic into a more active arena. Indeed, there is a connection between the grammar of cosmopolitan ethics and the practice of pluralism. In her book *A New Religious America*, Diana L. Eck[502] provides a powerful definition of pluralism worth quoting at length:

> Pluralism is not an ideology, not a leftist scheme, and not a free-form relativism…[It] is not just another word for diversity. It goes beyond mere plurality or diversity to active engagement with that plurality…Pluralism is the dynamic process through which we engage with one another in an through our very deepest differences…It does not displace or eliminate deep religious commitments or secular commitments for that matter. It is, rather, the encounter of commitments…Such dialogue is aimed not at achieving agreement but at achieving relationship…Finally, the process of pluralism is never complete but is the ongoing work of each generation (2001, 70-72).

Pluralism, based on Eck's framework, is an active pursuit of engagement through the efforts of human agency and dialogue.[503] She offers a functional definition of pluralism

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[501] Ibid.

[502] Diana L. Eck is Professor of Comparative Religion and Indian Studies at Harvard University and Director of The Pluralism Project. She is also Fredric Wertham Professor of Law and Psychiatry in Society in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. Her research interests focus on religious pluralism in India and American civil society. In 1998, Eck was awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Clinton for her work of The Pluralism Project in the investigation of America's religious diversity. She also received the Montana Governor's Humanities Award and the Melcher Lifetime Achievement Award from the Unitarian Universalist Association in 2003.

[503] Although Eck's definition is compelling, Patrice Brodeur (2012) points to an important limitation. He suggests that "her explanation overlooks the complex power dynamics of supra-individual dimenstions

that provides guidelines to apply Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic, which is ultimately about creating possibilities for coexistence with others in a plural society and how diverse interpretations can allow for a communal goal of citizenship in the public arena.

The Aga Khan's Pluralist Appeal: From Divine Injunction to Pragmatic Practice

Aga Khan IV's has been speaking about pluralism as an integral fabric of human coexistence for more than two decades. From the 1980s and onwards, Aga Khan IV's discourse on pluralism became a prominent feature of his guidance to the community and rhetoric of the various Imāmate institutions (Kadiwal 2014). The prominence of this term was heightened in Aga Khan IV's messaging following the tragic events of September eleventh that propelled misconceptions about Islam and Muslims. Pluralism soon became more than "an asset or a prerequisite for progress and development"; It served as fundamental framework that "is vital to our existence" (Aga Khan IV 2003a; Poor 2014, 150). Perhaps the best definition of pluralism described by Aga Khan IV is found in his Convocation address at the University of Alberta:

> Pluralism means not only accepting, but embracing human difference. It sees the world's variety as a blessing rather than a burden, regarding encounters with the "Other" as opportunities rather than as threats. Pluralism does not mean homogenization - denying what is different to seek superficial accommodation. To the contrary, pluralism respects the role of individual identity in building a richer world. Pluralism means reconciling what is unique in our individual traditions with a profound sense of what connects us to all of humankind (Aga Khan IV 2009b).[504]

The concept of pluralism, as it is featured in the speech of Aga Khan IV, stems from a deep regard for religious precepts while partaking in contemporary commitments to

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that affect our thoughts and emotions, from the media and advertising to the myriad governmental and economic insitutions that shape our daily lives." See his "Religious Pluralism in the Light of American Muslim Identities," in *Diversity and Pluralism in Islam: Historical and Contemporary Discourses amongst Muslims*, ed. Zulfikar Hirji (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 61-82, quote at 81.

[504] There are striking parallels between Aga Khan IV's definition of pluralism and that of Diana L. Eck. As Reza Shah-Kazemi (2006b, 249-250: n.66) explains, "Eck's expression of pluralism does not appear to imply or require that commitment to one's religious tradition be diminished. She does, however, insist on moving from 'inclusivism' to 'pluralism' – that is, from viewing the other through the prism of one's own religion, accommodating the other within one's own frame of reference (inclusivism), to viewing the other in the other's own terms, doing justice to it in all its otherness (pluralism)." See her book, *Encountering God: A Spiritual Journey form Bozeman to Benares* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993).

define and express pluralism in theory and practice. [505] The spiritual dimension of pluralism that occupies Aga Khan IV's thought seems to be motivated by a *ḥadīth* of the Prophet: "There are as many paths toward God as there are people (or even as many as people's inhalations and exhalations)" (quoted in Soroush 2000, 145).[506] These wise words of the Prophet Muḥammad offer Aga Khan IV a legitimate basis on which to form his pluralist vision; one that combines the affirmation of particularities of religious and cultural values of different communities as long as these do not infringe on the shared universal values. In other words, the particularity (form and practice) of any religion is not at odds with a spiritual universality that is nestled in the different faiths, but that also transcends it. "Such a belief enhances one's intention to plumb the depths of one's religion, reaching down, as it were into the existential root of one's own

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[505] For a summary of the different discourses and critiques of Pluralism see Laila Kadiwal, "Religious Pluralism in Ismaili Muslim Religious Education: From difference to diversity" (PhD diss., University of Sussex, 2014), especially Chapter 2; Patrice Brodeur, "Religious Pluralism in the Light of American Muslim Identities," in *Diversity and Pluralism in Islam: Historical and Contemporary Discourses amongst Muslims*, ed. Zulfikar Hirji (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 61-82; Pamela E. Klassen and Courtney Bender, "Habits of Pluralism," in *After Pluralism: Reimagining Religious Engagement,* ed. Pamela E Klassen and Courtney Bender (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 1-28.
For details on Muslim conceptualizations of pluralism based on historical narratives of co-existence and tolerance see for example Abdulaziz Sachedina, *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Abdullah Al-Ahsan "The Clash of Civilizations Thesis and Muslims: The Search for an Alternative Paradigm," *Islamic Studies* 48, no. 2 (2009): 189-217; Adnan Aslan, *Religious Pluralism in Christian and Islamic Philosophy: The Thought of John Hick and Seyyed Hossein Nasr* (Richmond: Curzon, 1998); Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Pluralism in Muslim Societies," in *The Challenge of Pluralism: Paradigms from Muslim Contexts*, ed. Abdou Filali-Ansary and Sikeena Karmali Ahmed (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009): 9-15; Farhan M Chak, "La Convivencia: The Spirit of Co-Existence in Islam," *Islamic Studies* 48, no. 4 (2009): 567-590; Farid Esack (1997) *Qur'an, Liberation, and Pluralism* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1997); Karen Barkey, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Leila Fawaz and Chris Bayly, ed., *Modernity and Culture from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); John Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004); Omid Safi, ed., *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003).
For theories of pluralism in Western thought see John Hick, *The Metaphor of God Incarnate – Christology in a Pluralistic World* (London: SCM Press, 1993); "The Possibility of Religious Pluralism: A Reply to Gavin D'Costa," *Religious Studies* 33, no. 2 (1997): 161–66; John Hobson, *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004); Martin E Marty, *When Faiths Collide* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2005); Ole Riis, "Modes of Religious Pluralism under Conditions of Globalisation," *International Journal of Multicultural Societies* 1, no.1 (1999): 20-34; Thomas F Banchoff, *Religious Pluralism, Globalization and World Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); William E Connolly, *Pluralism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).
[506] Such narrations also serve to navigate a number of Muslim intellectuals who are advancing pluralistic commitments that are knotted in Muslim ethics. This line of thinking, which Amyn Sajoo (2008) labels as "cosmopolitan religiosity," bears the expression of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic.

religious roots, or into what Rūmī calls, in his subtitle for the *Mathnawī,* 'the roots of the roots of the roots of religion'" (Shah-Kazemi 2006b, 257).

In this same line of thought, one should mention here Seyyed Hossein Nasr's interpretation of pluralism that is characteristic of Aga Khan IV's deep spiritual and metaphysical basis of pluralism.[507] Nasr's approach to pluralism accounts for "the transcendent unity of religions, upon the complementarity between the particular forms and the universal essence of religion, and thus upholds the irreducible character – the divinely willed uniqueness – of each of the revealed religions" (Shah-Kazemi 2006b, 250).[508] Indeed, the principle of universality expressed by Aga Khan IV does not require one to abolish the uniqueness of individual traditions; rather it calls for a cooperative engagement – a perspective that is beautifully expressed by a musical metaphor known as 'counterpoint.' Drawing on this concept, Aga Khan IV notes that "[i]n counterpoint, each voice follows a separate musical line, but always as part of a single work of art, with a sense both of independence and belonging"(Aga Khan IV 2010c).[509]

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[507] Similar to the influence of important individuals in Aga Khan III's life, his grandson has been in the company of great minds which no doubt has left a mark in the way he addresses contemporary issues. One such individual is Seyyed Hossein Nasr. At a lecture given at the Ismaili Centre in Burnaby, Canada, Nasr expressed his life long association with Ismaili thought. He states, "I was one of the friends and instructors at Harvard of, and few years older than, the person who was going to become the Imam of the Ismaili community, someone who has been for over 50 years very close to me. His Highness Karim Aga Khan used to come to our house in Boston from time to time and eat Persian food from my mothers' cuisine which he enjoyed; he is a person with whom I have enjoyed many happy and also serious moments. In the old days I used to be oftentimes consulted by him on many matters, including the questions of Islamic architecture and art. Also his quest for knowledge, especially in matters Islamic, was unending and this thirst insatiable. It was a really a divine gift which is also a gift for the Ismaili community, leading to his emphasis over all these decades upon education…I feel honored that throughout my life I have had the opportunity provided to me by God to be in a humble way associated with some of the very important efforts that the Aga Khan has carried out in these matters" (Nasr 2014, 13-14).

[508] Seyyed Hossein Nasr (2003, 38) writes, "Islam's vocation has always been to integrate this diversity and multiplicity into unity both within each human and in the society, culture, and civilization in which he or she lives. For nearly a millennium and a half, Islam succeeded in this noble task of bearing witness to divine unity and its manifestations in human life, thought, and art."

[509] "Counterpoint is when there are simultaneous melodic lines in a piece of music. These melodic lines work within a common harmonic structure, but they rise and fall independently—each creating a unique melody." This is turn highlights the interdependence and connectedness of communities within a pluralist society. See Lynn Violet Clark, "Productive Dissonance: A Musical-analytical Exploration of Teacher Educator Perceptions in a Multicultural Education Program," *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 12, no. 1 (2010): 1-15, quote at 8.

Although Aga Khan IV's pluralist sensibility is marked by an esoteric interpretation of Islam,[510] the insight into pluralism offered here is also balanced by a secular conception that values human life. Here, I am reminded of the political theorist Bhikhu Parekh's notion of "pluralist universalism" in which there are shared universal values, such as respect for life, but recognizing that there exists different views about what for example that respect entails, or when life begins and ends. Echoing Aga Khan IV's insight into pluralism, Bhikhu Parekh[511] states:

> My pluralist universalism is an attempt to combine the insights of universalism and pluralism and to create space for a plurality of ethical traditions within the framework of a minimum universal morality. Pluralism regulates the monistic thrust of universalism, and the latter in turn prevents it from falling victim to relativism…Pluralism is thus nor passively built upon an identical universal foundation but rather stands in dialectical relationship with it. Universalism limits pluralism but is also in turn shaped by it. This makes ethical judgements more nuanced, more difficult, a little messy, but that is a necessary feature of

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[510] Such an interpretation suggests a profound theological basis for the development of pluralism that grows from the oneness of esoteric universality and Muslim specificity. Nevertheless we should bear in mind that the Qur'ānic vocabulary that concerns matters of difference, tolerance, unity and other similar values depend on how one chooses to interpret the entirety of the Qur'ānic message; Islam does not speak, rather a multitude of Muslims speak on its behalf such as Aga Khan IV. Indeed there are models that seek to erase specificities in order to emphasize the universal. Regarding the idea of 'Universality,' Faisal Devji has proposed another perspective wherein Islam's universality was understood solely in relation to the human race. He notes that the efforts of South Asian Muslim thinkers, for example, of the 19th and 20th centuries led to "an ambivalent process" of generalizing "doctrinal vocabulary beyond the boundaries of Islam." From this perspective, Devji argues that Islam was characterized through a historical model that emphasized human solidarity and rejecting the continuity of divine grace so that "Muslim universality" was defined in terms of "human solidarity alone." He goes on to write, "this form of Muslim devotion rejects the very idea of culture to focus on abstract and dislocated practices that make religion into something fully portable and universally convertible." Faisal Devji "Muslim Universality," *Postcolonial Studies* 14, no.2 (2011): 231-241, quotes at 232, 237, 236 and 240. My goal here is to make aware the variety of interpretations in engaging with pluralism. Although I do not fully engage with this model, it does raise important questions about engaging the Other when notions on how to achieve pluralism are rooted in different approaches.

[511] Bhikhu Parekh is Professor of political philosophy at the University of Westminster and a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and of the Academy of the Learned Societies for Social Science. His research interests include political philosophy, the history of political thought, social theory, ancient and modern Indian political thought, and the philosophy of ethnic relations. Parekh is also the vice-chairman of the Gandhi Foundation, a trustee of the Anne Frank Educational Trust, and a member of the National Commission on Equal Opportunity. He has has received the Sir Isaiah Berlin Prize for Lifetime Contribution to Political Philosophy by the Political Studies Association in the UK (2002), the Distinguished Global Thinker Award by the India International Centre, New Delhi (2006), the Interdependence Prize from the Campaign for Democracy, New York (2006), and the Padma Bhushan (2007). Parekh is the author of a number of books, such as: *Contemporary Political Thinkers* (1982), *Gandhi's Political Philosophy* (1989), *Colonialism, Tradition and Reform* (1999), and *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (2000).

human life, embedded as it is in different traditions, circumstances, and contexts (Jahanbegloo and Parekh 2011, 74-75).

Indeed, Aga Khan IV's notion of pluralism is rather robust and strongly aligned with his notion of a cosmopolitan ethic. Pluralism, as utilized by the Imām, is indicative of an understanding "that faith and the world are intertwined" and is also characterized "by a pragmatism that appears to be a function of ensuring a good quality of life for his followers" (Karim 2015a, 253). Quality of life here does not simply concern material well-being, but it refers to the entire social, ethical context in which people live. Partaking in pluralism for Aga Khan IV can therefore be understood as a quest driven by the interface of sacred ethical values and the secular public sphere discussed earlier. The greatest challenge ahead, of which Aga Khan IV has repeatedly mentioned, is of course balancing and reconciling the personal and the global. "This interplay between the personal and the communal also means that individuals are not solely held responsible for their own welfare; instead, wider systems and units of belonging are tasked with such responsibility as well" (Khoja-Moolji 2015, 13). In order to engage pluralistically in a world – that is by its very nature diverse in all aspects (i.e., ethnicity, religion, culture, views and values) – societies will have to rise above the limitations of ecumenical and inter-faith dialogue in order for communities to work and live together, and to improve the quality of life of entire societies.

The vision of engendering a vision of productive engagement is connected to knowledge and its application to shape human aspirations. Pluralism as a living practice requires necessary learning tools to flourish as a *modus vivendi*. For this reason Aga Khan IV has proclaimed that,

> The effective world of the future will be one of pluralism, a world that understands, appreciates and builds on diversity. The rejection of pluralism plays a significant role in breeding destructive conflicts, from which no continent has been spared in recent decades. But pluralist societies are not accidents of history. They are a product of enlightened education and continuous investment by governments and all of civil society[512] in recognising and celebrating the diversity of the world's peoples (Aga Khan IV 2005).

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[512] Civil society is formed within a "particular social context" which stems "from the voluntary, private actions of citizens." Ersin Kalaycioğlu, "State and Civil Society in Turkey: Democracy, Development and Protest," in *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Amyn B. Sajoo (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 247-272, quote at 251.

A Commitment to Knowledge

Certainly, communities (religious and cultural) contain within them teachings and experiences to grapple with human diversity and differences. However, the practical potential of pluralism must be harboured through knowledge and learning. Only then will pluralism reflect humanity's readiness to learn across cultural borders and to see others as they see themselves. This aspect of pluralism argues for more collaborative efforts between state and non-state actors to contend with current violations of human rights and freedoms. Aga Khan IV's approach affords a model of co-operation that does not aim for simple agreement, but rather possibilities that are reached by having difficult conversations and reaching negotiations that do not privilege any one conception of pluralism. At the official opening of the new headquarters of the Global Centre for Pluralism,[513] Aga Khan IV reminds his audience,

> Let me emphasize a point about the concept of pluralism that is sometimes misunderstood. Connection does not necessarily mean agreement. It does not mean that we want to eliminate our differences or erase our distinctions. Far from it. What it does mean is that we connect with one another in order to learn from one another, and to build our future together. Pluralism does not mean the elimination of difference, but the embrace of difference. Genuine pluralism understands that diversity does not weaken a society, it strengthens it. In an ever-shrinking, ever more diverse world, a genuine sense of pluralism is the indispensable foundation for human peace and progress (Aga Khan IV 2017).[514]

Nevertheless, ensuring the realization of the potentiality of a pragmatic pluralism is a tall order. Aga Khan IV recognizes that pluralism is not something that occurs naturally in human society. "Experience tells us that people are not born with the innate ability nor the wish to see the Other as an equal individual in society. Pride in one's separate identity can be so strong that it obscures the intrinsic value of other identities. Pluralism

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Through a number of processes, citizens in different contexts collaborate through independent institutions (private and public) to "operate as a bulwark against infringement of individual as well as communal spaces and liberties…In effect, civil society constitutes democracy's lifeline, nourishing free debate, tolerant policies and administrative accountability." Iftikhar H. Malik, "Between Identity-Politics and Authoritarianism in Pakistan," in *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Amyn B. Sajoo (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002), 273-293, quote at 274.

[513] The Global Centre for Pluralism will be discussed at length in Chapter 8.

[514] One cannot help but read into this as an influence of William Connolly who describes "deep pluralism" as mode of interaction and co-operation that stems from recognition of "layered practices of connection across multiple differences" (2005, 66).

is a value that must be taught" (Aga Khan IV 2008c). It is a concept that requires the full engagement and attention of governments, institutions and various other organizations working in public affairs.

Pluralism for Aga Khan IV is not a means to an end, but a continuous process that must be worked at in all areas of personal and public life.[515] This life long labour to exercise pluralism is also shared by Huguette Labelle who cautions, "that it is always easy to regress" in matters of human coexistence. She adds that pluralism should be approached as

> a project that is never finished and therefore you cannot neglect this capacity, to appreciate its importance and the need to find continuous ways to prevent the marginalization of people and specific groups. Learning together, working together, being active communities together is an important feature of the solution that we are seeking.[516]

Building on the acquisition of knowledge[517] Aga Khan IV posits, "a secure pluralistic society requires communities that are educated and confident in the identity and depth of both their own traditions and those of their neighbours" (2008d, 45). Hence, for pluralism to succeed, the general education of communities involved must be thorough and comprehensible in order for all groups to understand the potential consequences of actions that might impinge on others. "Once we have acquired knowledge, it is important that the ethical guidelines of faith be invoked, helping us apply what we have learned to the highest possible ends" (Aga Khan IV 2006a). Aga Khan IV understands that a lack of necessary tools to understand and engage with the diversities that exist in the contemporary world will only continue to perpetuate fears and clashes. General

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[515] The process of pluralism envisioned by Aga Khan IV echoes William Connolly, who writes, "pluralism emerges as a possibility to pursue rather than the certain effect of determinate conditions. To the extent that it is attained, it remains a fragile achievement to be cherished rather than an outcome to take for granted" (2005, 63-64).

[516] Interview with author, via telephone, January 7, 2015.

[517] When discussing the role and purpose of education within the philosophy of Aga Khan IV, Khoja-Moolji (2015) demonstrates how the Imām's framing of knowledge offers an ethically balanced perspective that is deeply entwined with faith. Contrary to the neoliberal and functionalist understanding that presents knowledge simply as a personal pursuit "towards accumulation of wealth," Khoja-Moolji explains that for Aga Khan IV, "partaking in knowledge acquisition/production/transmission" is about reaching beyond materialism. It is "a way to understand Allah's creation and a means of making a positive contribution to one's communities and societies" (12). Of course, we see a resemblance with his grandfather's educational initiatives and a longer Muslim tradition of seeking knowledge.

ignorance and religious illiteracy[518] are identified as the catalysts for ongoing clashes that spawn uninformed speculations about conflict between the Muslim world and the West (Asani 2011a). "There is clearly a need to mitigate what is not a clash of civilizations but a clash of ignorance," argues Aga Khan IV, "in which peoples of different faiths or cultural traditions are so ignorant of each other that they are unable to find a common language with which to communicate" (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 30).[519] Aga Khan IV has broached this void of knowledge, especially when it comes to Islam, in a speech delivered during a gathering of German ambassadors in Berlin at the Tutzing Evangelical Academy in 2006. He notes that in order to begin a dialogue across communities there needs to be a stronger appreciation of culture and civilization. He proposes learning to understand Muslim societies from a broad-based civilizational approach, which takes into account the various human contexts in which Muslims are situated:

> Today, theological interpretation and proselytization continue to divide among Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant interpretations in the Christian world, as they do in the Islamic world between Sunni and Shia and their various subdivisions. I would hope to see the day when the definition of an educated person in Judeo-Christian culture would include an intelligent understanding of the Muslim world. That person would appreciate the eminent position of Islamic civilizations in human thought and knowledge, including an understanding of the tradition in those civilizations of research and achievements, from philosophy and the arts to the sciences, architecture and engineering. The current void of knowledge makes it impossible to establish a dialogue, because you cannot build a dialogue based upon ignorance…Without meaningful dialogue, you cannot construct coherent sustainable foreign policy, because you will not have the ability to predict. You will not understand the forces at play (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 65-66).

Of importance here is the effort towards inter-cultural education and bridge- building between Islam and the West. Such an approach challenges monolithic constructions of

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[518] "Religious illiteracy" according to Asani is "the inability to conceive of religion as a cultural phenomenon intricately embedded in complex cultural matrixes" (2011a, 1).
[519] Although Aga Khan IV has addressed the general concern for diversity since the 1980s, he specifically began to employ the rubric of the clash of ignorance since 2002 (Eid and Karim 2014). Edward Said is credited with first coining the term 'clash of ignorance' in a magazine article shortly after the 9/11 attacks. This article was a critique of the 'clash of civilizations' thesis put forward by Samuel Huntington. For Eid and Karim, "[t]he clash of ignorance thesis foregrounds the ways in which ignorance is formed, perpetuated, and exploited" (Ibid, 214).

religion as evidenced in the clash of civilizations thesis. By adopting an approach that pays close attention to the multiple contexts within which a religion is located, Aga Khan IV has been able to highlight the lived realities of Muslims, which tell a narrative that is shared by all human beings.

Indeed, he offers a prescriptive formula for inculcating pluralism as a means to engage with diversity; nevertheless a top-bottom approach to the promotion of pluralism raises some concern especially when taking into account the role of appointed leaders whose responsibility is to oversee institutional decisions on behalf of the Imām in cities where the community resides.[520] For instance, I hesitate to say the biggest issue affecting a successful pluralist agenda is the issue of women and men – gender equity. This is still an ongoing obstacle that the community has not been able to effectively remove from its psyche due to the different cultural conceptions of women's roles in society that continue to persist. Certainly, this is a challenge for many transnational communities that have pockets of insularity. Much headway has been made amongst the Ismāʿīlīs since the time of Aga Khan III on this topic, as discussed in Chapter 4, however Senator Mobina Jaffer[521] still feels that a committed change of attitude has yet to prevail. "We are a very long way away and we talk a good talk but actually we let Hāżir Imām down because we are not there yet, not meeting his expectations."[522] She tells me in our interview that she has brought this to the attention of the Imām during his meetings in Canada, who she commends for relentlessly making space for women

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[520] Further analysis and critique, based on interviews and site observations, regarding the understanding and practice of cosmopolitanism by current members of some of the institutions in Canada will be taken up in Part III.

[521] Senator Mobina Jaffer represents the province of British Columbia in the Senate of Canada. Appointed to the Senate on June 13, 2001, she is the first Muslim senator, the first African-born senator, and the first senator of South Asian decent. Senator Jaffer is Deputy-Chair of the Standing Senate Committee on National Security and Defence and sits as a member of the Rules, Procedures, and the Rights of Parliament, Legal and Constitutional Affairs, and Internal Economy, Budgets and Administration committees. Senator Jaffer also chaired the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights for 8 years. Senator Jaffer works to engage communities in protecting human rights, celebrating Canada's diversity, and promoting progress. Senator Jaffer served as Canada's Special Envoy for Peace in Sudan from 2002 to 2006. From 2002 to 2005, she chaired the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace, and Security. Senator Jaffer is often invited to speak at international conferences on security issues and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325. She has also practiced law at the firm Dohm, Jaffer and Jeraj since 1978 and was appointed a Queen's Counsel in 1998. In addition, The Women's Executive Network named Senator Jaffer among Canada's Top 100 Most Powerful Women in 2003 and 2004. In 2003, she received an Honorary Doctorate from Open Learning University.

[522] Interview with author, Vancouver, Brisith Columbia, March 2, 2015.

by increasing the number of leadership opportunities within the institutions. But is this enough or does a more aggressive method need to take place to bring more women to the forefront? In a conversation with Diana L. Eck following Aga Khan IV's Jodidi lecture, he said:

> I have spent considerable time trying to make sure that whether it's leadership amongst women... the community could benefit from that. Leadership qualities are not gender driven so actually, if you don't respect the fact that both genders have competencies, outstanding capabilities, you are damaging your community by not appointing those people (Aga Khan IV 2015a).

However, this is not the natural disposition shared by many individuals and so changing the mindset of people takes time. Nevertheless "people tolerate our decisions, the Imām says, "[but] I'm not sure they are always welcome" (Ibid).

Karim H. Karim (2013)[523] has also alluded to the institutional promotion of pluralism that manifests at the cost of stifling the internal (cultural) pluralism of the Ismāʿīlī community. This is a problem not only for the Ismāʿīlīs but one that affects many well-recognized religious institutions. This is because the process of formulating a pluralist discourse presumes that the voices of all individuals are equally represented within the decisions of designated authorities who speak for the lay members. "Thus the model of pluralism can fail to recognize both diversity within religious traditions and forms of religious difference that do not fit this model of organization" bringing into question the "ethical promises" of pluralism (Jakobsen 2010, 32). As such, the voices of the many Ismāʿīlīs, which are a manifestation of a pluralist community, are curtailed to fit the agenda of institutional hegemony that focuses its efforts on public expressions of pluralism. The result is a paradox of both an internal pluralism and external pluralism paired with a central authoritative figure that exemplifies the bedrock

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[523] Karim H. Karim is a Professor at Carleton University's School of Journalism and Communication, of which he was previously the Director (2006-2009). He is currently the Director of the Carleton Centre for the Study of Islam. Karim also served as a Director of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London, UK (2009-2011) and was a Visiting Scholar at Harvard University in 2004. He holds degrees in Islamic Studies and Communication Studies from Columbia and McGill Universities. Karim has previously served as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Aga Khan University's Graduate School of Media and Communications, Nairobi, Kenya. He is an Associate of Migration and Diaspora Studies and the Centre for European Studies at Carleton University. Karim won the inaugural Robinson Book Prize of the Canadian Communication Association in 2001 for his book, *Islamic Peril: Media and Global Violence* (Black Rose, 2000; 2003). Karim's numerous scholarly publications have been cited extensively and have been translated into several languages.

of pluralism.[524] This inevitably leaves the community with the challenge to address with scrutiny the inadequacies of its internal manifestations while giving profundity to the pluralism championed by Aga Khan IV. "The mutually constitutive relations between plurality and unity – between celebrating the plurality of religious diversity and organizing under the unity of the category of religion – produce complicated political effects in a range of arenas" (Klassen and Bender 2010, 5).[525] How Aga Khan IV will address the paradox of pluralism facing the Ismāʿīlī community remains to be seen (Dewji 2017).

An Ethic for the Public Good

At work in Aga Khan IV's speeches is a two-fold discursive approach, wherein he is able to reflect on issues facing humankind and then provide possibilities to face the challenge of living under these conditions (Karim 2015c). He adopts a context-rich form of ethical engagement that addresses modernity by integrating commitments to theology with one's moral position in the world. In this sense, Aga Khan IV focuses on theological ethics, where ethics is not just simple belief but "how to be in the world;" And "theological ethics overlaps with questions about the place of religion in the 'public sphere'" (Emon 2012, 223).[526] It is clear that the two levels of religion and society or sacred and secular are infused in Aga Khan IV's public discourse. He is able to freely employ concepts that have gained cultural currency while paying attention to religious origins. As Karim H. Karim notes,

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[524] This is an adjusted phrase from Faisal Devji's "The Idea of Ismailism," in *Critical Muslim 10: Sects*, ed. Ziauddin Sardar and Robin Yassin-Kassab (London: Hurst Publishers, 2014), 51- 62.

[525] This is most evident in the struggles of the community to best live-out such an ideal within its everyday reality. For some discussion around the struggles of the community's practice of pluralism as a lived reality see for example: Aliaa Remtilla, "Re-producing Social Relations: Political and Economic Change and Islam in Post-Soviet Tajik Ishkashim" (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2012); Aly Kassam-Remtulla, "(Dis)placing Khojas: Forging Identities, Revitalizing Islam and Crafting Global Ismailism" (Thesis, Stanford University, 1998); and Kim C. Mathews, "Ismailis in Canada: Locations of Subjectivity" (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2007). I raise some of these concerns as it pertains to some of the Imāmate institutions in Part III.

[526] Theological ethics in the Islamic context involves questions of God's transcendence and immanence as well as implications around understanding God's attributes (i.e., justice, mercy, forgiveness etc…) in relation to human responsibility. In addition, the theoretical underpinnings are explored through various texts that articulate ethical conduct and virtue in everyday life. In this sense, the category of 'theological ethics' can be understood as the combination of religious tenets and ethico-philosophical works (*akhlāq* and *adab*), which I have introduced in the earlier chapters. This of course is a tradition that was espoused in Shīʿī circles especially in Ismāʿīlī thought.

A significant discursive approach of the Aga Khan is to draw on commonalities between Muslim and Western societies.[527] He builds his arguments around the perceived universality of concepts[528] such as ethics, democracy, human dignity and pluralism…The Aga Khan appears to have found the language of ethics is one in which he can communicate his views to non-Muslim audiences.[529] This is a topic that has a strong relationship with a religious outlook and is at the same time firmly embedded in secular philosophy (2015c, 105).

This is a very crucial and intriguing feature of Aga Khan IV's teaching. Rather than beginning with theological principles and referring to doctrine, he commences with the challenges affecting not only his community but all people. He then offers advise to face these challenges with tools that are disposable amongst all societies. He also traces his proposed approach to universal spiritual concepts that constitute, in his perspective, the core creed of Islam.

So what makes Aga Khan IV's ideas regarding a cosmopolitan ethic different from other theoretical expressions? And what makes it so appealing? Through the speeches of Aga Khan IV, I have disclosed his conscious effort to integrate a religiously inspired ideology with shared ethical ideals that can be actively applied in the modern world. A former federal representative of Canada eloquently captures the two-fold nature of the cosmopolitan ethic:

> I think that the cosmopolitan ethic is a wonderful idea that means that basically we know what the world is all about, that's the cosmos and we have an ethic which relates to the whole world, but we are very site specific in where we live and that I think is very important, that you don't think I just belong the world, you have to belong a country in order to exercise your power in the world and that's why being a citizen of a country like Canada is very important. So having the knowledge of the world, which is the cosmopolitan part and having the behaviour of an individual in an ethical way is what makes the two parts of a

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[527] This is no different from the approach of the previous Imām and of course the majority of Muslim reformers of the 19th and 20th centuries explored earlier in this chapter.

[528] Anver Emon however cautions against mere apologetics concerning the universal value of all humanity. "[A]bstract apologetics of inclusion, regardless of religious tradition, all too often cover deep-seated prejudices and discriminations that only arise when we deliberate about the details of how we are all to get along together…the real question might be whether and to what extent the often abstract postulates of theology can contribute to the otherwise detailed, particular, and often highly fact-specified inquiries into how we are to be in the world" (2012, 224-225).

[529] I would also stress that 'theological ethics' is also the thematic medium by which the Imām addresses Ismā'īlī adherents in his *farmāns* when providing guidance on matters of the faith as well as worldly concerns that affect his *murīds*.

cosmopolitan ethic… His Highness is talking about an attitude that you have towards the world but that you are vey specific to the role you play in the country that you are in. And he encourages Ismailis in every country where they reside, to take their part in the world where they find themselves to be very, to be local citizens, to volunteer locally as a part of what they do for the community and their religion. So I think that's what it means.. to be sophisticated in the sense of what you are doing for yourself and your community and knowing what you can do to spread that ethic abroad to wider community in which you live.[530]

Inherent in Aga Khan IV's messaging is a mixture of prescriptive and applied ethics that carry an overall sensitivity towards the dignity of human beings. The concept of ethics is in everything one does. All of one's attitudes, decisions, and actions are based one's values in beliefs. "An ethic is not derived in the way a conclusion is drawn from a set of premises, nor is it systematic in the way that, say, the Kantian philosophy of morality is said to be. An ethical sensibility becomes infused into the interests, identities, and connections that help to constitute you, stretching them in one way and limiting them in another" (Connolly 2005, 94). In the context of Aga Khan IV's teachings, these values and beliefs stem from both *dīn* and *dunyā,* as I have revealed in this chapter thus far.

While on the topic of Aga Khan IV's unique approach, one of my respondents, Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha[531] coherently captures the unparalleled characteristic in Aga Khan IV's use of the notion of a cosmopolitan ethic. She says:

From everything I've read and thought about in terms of the cosmopolitan ethic, I think that what the Imām is speaking about when it comes to cosmopolitanism does have teeth because he's essentially talking about the difficulties of living with difference… I think what the Imām is speaking to is in fact that, where difference is difficult we should have the ethic (I don't even want to say tolerance, I want to say something more stronger)… that we should have the ethic of openness to see each other as equals and, and an ethic is required especially when we don't do it.[532]

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[530] This individual requested to remain anonymous. Interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, March 30, 2015.

[531] Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha is Associate Professor at the University of Victoria's School of Social Work. She has undertaken extensive community action research on poverty globally. She has published in the area of Citizenship Studies, particularly the citizenship rights of children and Muslim citizens living in the West. She has also undertaken research in social work ethics and published in the area of critical, anti-oppressive theories and social work practice.

[532] Interview with author, via Skype, April 10, 2015.

The cosmopolitan ethic in Aga Khan IV's mindset is not a passive reality, but a continuous project in which all living beings are expected to 'know one another.' This ethical cosmopolitanism requires a vision – a sort of transcendent truth to aspire to – and Aga Khan IV offers just that. His ethical stance rests on the obligation to agree on fundamental principles that demonstrate credibility and integrity. For Amyn Sajoo,[533] the ethical component is particularly important because we are talking about a religious leader and community. "The term ethic tweaks the idea of cosmopolitan in a slightly different direction from the *ism* and the ideological aspects of that."[534] In addition, Sajoo believes the ethical dimension is even more important because it concerns a religious community that takes ethics seriously, in both its religious and secular perspectives.[535] He further explains that,

> when you think about a cosmopolitan ethic, then I think there is an element of saying that there is a virtue not in the shallow sense of its good, but a virtue in the Aristotelian sense that there are very deep solidarities which are human, communal, more than just liberal ideological. And particularly in the religious sense, these are solidarities, which carry an element of obligation as well as the Aristotelian idea of friendship. To that extent, the solidarity of caring about the fate of others and having associative relations with them speaks to the civil society part.[536]

Although the ethical dimension serves as a possible alternative to an otherwise contested theoretical framework, Zulfikar Hirji[537] cautions against a blind acceptance of

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[533] Amyn B. Sajoo lectures in history and global politics at Simon Fraser University. He is a specialist in international human rights, civil society and public ethics as well as Islamic social and intellectual history. He is an International Fellow with the University of Alberta's Ronning Centre for the Study of Religion and Public Life. Dr. Sajoo was the 2010 Canada Department of Foreign Affairs Visiting Academic in the Middle East. Since 2009 he has served as the editor of the Institute of Ismaili Studies' Muslim Heritage Series. Dr. Sajoo has previously served as a Canada-ASEAN Fellow in Southeast Asia and has served as a human rights advisor with the Canadian department of Justice in Ottawa.

[534] Interview with author, Burnaby, British Columbia, March 2, 2015.

[535] Ibid.

[536] Ibid.

[537] Zulfikar Hirji is currently Associate Professor of Anthropology at York University, Toronto and Graduate Program Director. He is also a Volunteer Chair for Thematic Programs for Ismaili Centres. He received his DPhil from the University of Oxford (Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology), MPhil from University of Cambridge (Islamic History), and B.A. (Joint Honours, Religious Studies and Anthropology) from McGill University. Professor Hirji's academic research focuses on the social and cultural expressions of Muslims in historical and contemporary contexts. He is the co-author and co-editor of *The Ismailis: An Illustrated History* (2008), editor of *Diversity and Pluralism in Muslim*

this ideal. A supporter himself of the ethical dimension to cosmopolitanism as pronounced by Aga Khan IV, he raises questions inherently connected to articulating a vision. He says:

> I think what's important here is that the concept of valuing diverse experiences, life choices, religious beliefs – the kind of will to open up the public space to that difference and kind of engaging might be the kind of common denominator that is needed. But the extent to which that is achieved is questionable. Other factors that come to play, where some people get to choose who gets to participate, are quite different…I'd like to ask the question then, who decides what it's [cosmopolitanism] rooted in and what? And for me that always has a problem because it presents itself as somehow the majoritarian position, right? So cosmopolitanism is a majoritarian, kind of, it's someone's cosmopolitan, it's always situated within a political, social, cultural context. And that is always in a sense, defined by someone.
> But that doesn't mean that one shouldn't aspire to this ideal if that's what one holds to… there seems to be an idealized view of it [cosmopolitan ethic] and I think there's nothing wrong with holding an ideal up, but I think reality always tends to fall short of the ideal...And I do think that this is the issue and that for me suggests there is an ideal but one has to work at it. Perhaps it's an ideal that will never be fulfilled but it doesn't mean that you stop trying. But then the question is who decides on whether that ideal is the ideal of the nation, or the ideal of the community or the ideal of the family etc…?[538]

Another issue that emerges when expressing a cosmopolitan ethic is the intersection of individual autonomy and community identity in relation to. Aga Khan IV is the ultimate authority of the Ismāʿīlīs whose concern is the well-being of the entire community and rightly so. As such, "it is the community whose boundaries must be protected" over the individual's (Jakobsen 2010, 42). Some of the observations raised by Jakobsen[539] about religious pluralism in the face of sexual diversity are applicable to

our scenario. In the case of an Ismāʻīlī cosmopolitan ethic – so far as it is inspired by the theological and historical experiences of the Ismāʻīlīs – certain norms of this ideal "become imbricated with the operation of power because of the need to create community self-discipline so as to produce publicly articulable and authentic versions" (Ibid, 42) of the ideal in question.

The question to ask then, is how can the ethical component that is indispensable to the cosmopolitan worldview of Aga Khan IV account for individual (ethical) commitments that may stand outside the bounds of normative community interests? Although I cannot offer a remedy for these problems – this can only be done by the community itself, I anticipate that such internal issues of identity (cultural, political, religious, and sexual) will have to be addressed more explicitly under the banner of cosmopolitan ethics given that the dignity of each individual human being lies at the core of Aga Khan IV's ethical orientation. A form of decentralization is perhaps inevitable and necessary in the interest of keeping internal tensions at bay and encouraging those who may be marginalized by the normative structure to offer an alternative. On the other hand, if we understand that the office of Imāmate places Aga Khan IV above politics - utilizing ethics as the medium by which to offer guidance – then in the case where there is a disconnect between the ethic and action – not so easily translateable – then the community cannot remain apolitical in its cosmopolitan stance.[540] Of concern here, Karim H. Karim adds, is "an over reliance on the Imām initiating projects and doing things."[541] Karim explains that this strong dependency on the 'center' and lack of initiative by the lay community members only keeps them behind. It creates a sort of conformity to normativity without any rigorous engagement. In an interview Karim expressed his disappointment:

> So the *jamāʻat* [Ismāʻīlī community] in this way is a very conservative *jamāʻat*. It is very reluctant. It seems to think that it does not know. I think it is mistaken in that, I think there are very intelligent people in the *jamat* who are highly successful in their various walks of life but there is this aura of mystery around even a simple concept of pluralism or cosmopolitanism and a reluctance to engage with it, with an open mind. So what if we make a mistake? This is how

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[540] Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha, interview with author, via Skype, April 10, 2015.
[541] Interview with author, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, December 3, 2014.

we learn… So that kind of initiative, that kind of inquisitiveness, this intellectual engagement is lacking unfortunately.[542]

Senator Mobina Jaffer also shares this frustration. She conveyed to me that the Imām paves tremendous 'inroads' for the community, but there is not enough ability to effectively sustain those efforts. She pointed to a number of factors including an over-dependency on the Center that may be too extended. She also alluded to a sort of disconnect when it came to the functionality of the institutions in relation to the thinkers and decision makers of the community.[543]

There is still an unanswered question about who should be doing the thinking, but perhaps there is a hint offered in Aga Khan IV's conversation with Diana L. Eck. When discussing some of the elements required for a cosmopolitan ethic, he stated "equal opportunity for the intelligentsia" as an important ingredient. "I have seen situations where there has been an attempt to marginalise the intelligentsia of a given community and that of course is an extremely unwelcome feature of a society" (Aga Khan IV 2015a). Although this is not the place for me to delve into the experiences of marginalization within the Ismāʿīlī community – such a topic may be a more challenging task and would require its own space – I do think the observations presented above offer some profound insight towards a possible area of tension that requires more attention in order to achieve real and practical solutions against the challenges of competing claims of authority and the right connotations of cosmopolitan practices.

Situating the Cosmopolitan Ethic in Contemporary Debates

By now it will be apparent that Aga Khan IV is preoccupied by the demands of religion and ethics on his community. However, it would be erroneous not to speak of his affinity to the socio-political debates regarding human diversity. Though a Muslim leader who makes clear references to the value of faith-based ethics, Aga Khan IV does not shy away from engaging with secular ideas. The Islamic leader presents the

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[542] Ibid.
[543] Interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, March 2, 2015.

concepts of ethics, democracy, development, meritocracy, pluralism and quality of life as some of the 'bridges that unite'[544] ways of understanding that are religious and secular" (Karim 2015c, 107). Looking at the notion of a cosmopolitan ethic, I cannot think of a better example that intertwines, as I have argued, the values and beliefs shaped by both *dīn* and *dunyā*.[545] During my conversation on the nature of this term, Nurdin Dhanani[546] explained to me that the term cosmopolitanism is borrowed by the Imām "from high level thinking amongst people who are policy makers, who are from academia and, and these are people who essentially look at the world and they forecast how the world seems to be changing…"[547] He goes on to explain, like others I spoke with, that when the Imām adds the word 'ethic' to the term cosmopolitanism it changes the whole argument.[548] It becomes a worldview by which to figure out how to exist amongst others and our-selves without sacrificing the particulars that define the diverse communities.[549] Dhanani explains:

> What he [Aga Khan IV] attempts to bring is, he attempts to bring a value system in which people must talk to each other, we must be peaceful and we need to be human and humane. We can't go around killing everybody or anybody. And what the Imam does for the Ismāʿīlī *jamat* is he says look, don't give up on Islam, Islam is a rich tradition, it's a noble tradition, don't let the circumstances of our human life today hijack or, or give you misreading of Islam. So in a way

[544] Quote from Aga Khan IV, *Where Hope Takes Root: Democracy and Pluralism in an Interdependent World* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008), 95.

[545] "The merging of *din* and *duniya* is about how the community perceives itself, how its members look upon each other and the world outside. In other words, it is an ethical concept, not a constitutional or legal tenet" (Sajoo 2004, 77-78).

[546] Nurdin Dhanani currently heads the Training and Learning department in religious education for the Canadian Ismāʿīlī community. His special interest is organizing participative exhibitions for the Ismāʿīlī youth on the theme of contemporary religious and cultural expressions through the arts. Dhanani completed his graduate studies in education at the University of London also undertook courses at McGill in the area of Islamic studies with a focus on legal studies and contemporary Muslim societies. He then joined the Ismāʿīlī community's religious education department and also undertook several global projects that mainly dealt with demographic mapping of the community and the introduction of a new global Ismāʿīlī faith curriculum.

[547] Interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Burnaby, British Columbia, February 26, 2015.

[548] Many of my interviewees emphasized the importance of ethics (of Islam) stressed by the Imām. For example the Academic Director with the Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board (ITREB) for Canada, Tasnim Dharamsi articulated to me how the word 'ethic' immediately suggests a particular value that is tied up with a way of being that demands an open and pluralistic disposition. Interview with author, via telephone, April 30, 2015.

[549] Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic bears similarities with discussions of 'rooted' or 'coloured' and other such cosmopolitanisms explored in Chapter 1. The main characteristic of this cosmopolitan approach is the recognition of peoples rooted in their own realities with an understanding that a universal cosmopolitan spirit is shared through encounter and engagement.

he gives us confidence, he says, you know, Islam is worthwhile, it's worthwhile to be Muslims and this is where you must become ambassadors of the faith.[550]

In this regard, it is not surprising that Aga Khan IV's discourse coincides with the efforts of many Muslim thinkers who employ certain arguments while mapping the contours of Muslim theology, history, and sociology for the contemporary period, most certainly informed from an already existing vocabulary developed in North America and Western Europe that characterize a certain set of ideals.[551]

As for the speeches of Aga Khan IV, his invocation of key terms like pluralism and cosmopolitanism performs a service of connecting his community to important debates that affect the social, cultural and political surroundings in which they reside and participate. Although many community members would want to argue that the use of these terms signifies a peculiar Ismāʿīlī identity, I take such interventions as incitements to intellectual exercise and social participation in transient matters affecting the overall quality of life of all individuals, including of course the Ismāʿīlīs. From this perspective, it makes sense to locate 'cosmopolitanism' and 'pluralism' within their contemporary usage and then examine the Imām's own use of these terms to this background and his own experiences that shape its meaning and performance. I accept that the Imām's interpretation of the faith should be understood as independent and profound, however as I have tried to make clear, the Imām lives in the world and is not an ascetic. Hence he is bound to borrow concepts with a particular perspective that aligns well with his own interpretive tendencies. One could make the case that the speeches of Aga Khan IV and his *farmāns* do not elucidate at length the conceptual meaning and history of the borrowed concepts. In response, I would insist that the Imām, at the very least, is cognizant of the terms he chooses to employ regarding worldly matters. The speeches of this spiritual leader do not require by necessity to

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[550] Interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Burnaby, B.C., February 26 2015.

[551] Refer to Chapters 1 and 2 where I present the thought of Muslim and non-Muslim scholars regarding cosmopolitanism and religious ethics. Let us not forget that Aga Khan IV too was trained in the contemporary humanities and social sciences. For more discussions and debates facing North American Muslims and their responses see for example Omid Safi, ed., *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003); Francesca Forte, "Ethical questions in Western Islamic experience," in *Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West,* ed. Roberto Tottoli (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 378-394 and Juliane Hammer, "Gender, feminism, and critique in American Muslim thought," 395-410 in the same volume.

elaborate upon important worldly affairs or in this context, particular key terms. In this respect, his words are better understood as being in conversation with the issues of the time and utilizing concepts that frame the contemporary debates. Therefore, the onus is placed on those who are listening to engage deeper on the wider context of such terms.[552] Whatever the case may be Aga Khan IV's strategy to align his discourse with convictions shared by influential leaders, academics, and religious actors enables him to breathe new life into the evolving concept of public religion.[553]

Cosmopolitan Reality and Public Ethics

> *Even if we still have a long way to go before fully achieving it, the cosmopolitan condition is no longer merely a mirage. State citizenship and world citizenship form a continuum whose contours, at least, are already becoming visible.*
> -Jürgen Habermas[554]

The argument thus far is that the cosmopolitan ethic embodies a discourse of ethics in which religion extends a considerable influence on almost all socio-cultural and political spaces. The cosmopolitan ethic, for Aga Khan IV, is more than a simple desirable orientation; it is grounded, as I have demonstrated, in theological ethics and secular pragmatism that buttresses a healthy public life. As such, the language of choice employed by Aga Khan IV lends to a reading of the public sphere as a social

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[552] From an Ismāʿīlī perspective, this process of deep engagement is part of the intellectual heritage of the faith that requires rigorous effort on the part of the believer to contemplate on what is being conveyed and create meaning for themselves within the ethical parameters of the faith itself (see Chapters 2 and 3). It is thus incumbent upon those who read his statements to link his use of them to their larger context and recognize their utility both outside and inside the community. Is it not customary to extrapolate information from speeches offered by leaders (religious and secular) within a particular socio-political context? Why would the task be any different in the case of Aga Khan IV?

[553] "A public religion is one that has, assumes, or tries to assume a public character, function, or role". José Casanova, "What is a Public Religion?," in *Religion Returns to the Public Square: Faith and Policy in America,* ed. Hugh Heclo and Wilfred M. McClay (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 111-139, quote at 111. There generally exist three forms of public religions that interact with three levels of the public sphere (state, political society, and civil society). Public religions at the civil society level, as described by Casanova, is precisely the interaction of religion and society that is embodied in the merging of *dīn* and *dunyā* articulated by Aga Khan IV. This is where religious actors and institutions enter the public sphere to partake in debates about public affairs and the common good. In Chapter 9, I will revisit Casanova's definition of a public religion when discussing the role and functionality of some of the institutions of the Imamāte in Canada.

[554] Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 515.

imaginary[555] where diverse forms of sociability, communication, and practices intersect with ethics to deliver a meaningful common good.

> …[T]he notion of the public sphere rests on the idea of acting, arguing and deliberating in common ways that are legitimated through a collective pursuit of the common good, which also implies a fair degree of transparency of communication among the actors involved in the process. If not aimed at radically reconstructing society on abstract rational bases, the public sphere is nonetheless the arena where ideas of society and the social bond of justice and solidarity are discussed with the goal of reforming society (Salvatore 2009, 187-188).

The public sphere thus serves as a complex and significant infrastructure where religious and secular ethics come into dialogue. An obvious implication for approaching the public sphere as a social imaginary is an emphasis on overlapping identities and interests with religion being one such identity that plays a critical role in constructing a way of being that seeps into the various corners of public life.[556] From Aga Khan IV's perspective, this figuration only confirms a continued place for religion in public life as a powerful interlocutor between the secular and the sacred.

More often than not, "religious language is the one in which people find it meaningful to code their strong moral and political experience, either of oppression or of successful state-building around certain moral principles" (Taylor 2002, 79). Contemporary Western theorist Charles Taylor[557] takes issue with the conception of a

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[555] As elucidated by Charles Taylor, the social imaginary is about the way people imagine their social existence. It extends beyond the limited confines of theories and ideologies that are admired and tightly held by a few. "It incorporates a sense of the normal expectations we have of each other, the kind of common understanding that enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life. This incorporates some sense of how we all fit together in carrying out the common practice" (Taylor 2004, 24).

[556] Reza Shah-Kazemi argues that contemporary manifestations of freedom of beliefs and religious practice in the West are "not simply a corollary of secular thought," rather they are in part adopted from tolerant practices employed by earlier Muslim civilizations (2010, 170). Shah-Kazemi offers the example of Muslim Ottoman policy, which expressed tolerance through its various legal attitudes towards other communities and was based on an interpretation of Islam that was inherently pluralistic. It was this Ottoman tolerance that would influence the famous Edict of Torda (1568), a first of its kind in the European world to express an inclusive policy of tolerance (Shah-Kazemi 2010).

[557] Charles Taylor is considered to be one of the most important philosophers known for his contributions to political philosophy, the philosophy of social science, history of philosophy and intellectual history. His writings have been translated into 20 languages, covering a variety of topics that include artificial intelligence, language, social behaviour, morality and multiculturalism. In 2003, Taylor was awarded the first Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Gold Medal. He was also a recipient of the Templeton Prize for Progress Toward Research or Discoveries About Spiritual Realities

public universal language that underscores the need to purge itself of religious values and symbols, as if religiously informed thought is less rational than secular reasoning.[558] There is no need to single out religion against nonreligious viewpoints. In examining the complex relation between religion and public life, Judith Butler[559] offers a different point of inquiry. She views the public sphere as the accomplishment of certain religious traditions that have always been a part of the creation of the public sphere, which then "establish a set of criteria that delimit the public from the private" (Butler 2011, 71). She goes on to write, "If we could not have the distinction between public and private were it not for the Protestant injunction to privatize religion, then religion – or one dominant religious tradition – underwrites the very framework within which we are operating" (Ibid). In this sense, religion is not necessarily unique and antithetical to the 'secular' public sphere. "Secular culture in this respect is an ally rather than an antagonist of religious well-being, with social ethics serving as a bridge between the two in the public sphere" (Sajoo 2004, 37).[560] The secular framework at

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(2007), the Kyoto Prize for significant contributions to the scientific, cultural, or spiritual betterment of humankind (2008), and the John W. Kluge Prize for Achievement in the Study of Humanity (2015). He is also a member of the Order of Canada.

[558] "What underpins this notion is something like an epistemic distinction. There is secular reason, which everyone can use and reach conclusions by, conclusions, that is, with which everyone can agree. Then there are special languages, which introduce extra assumptions that might even contradict those of ordinary secular reason…So religious reason either comes to the same conclusions as secular reason, but then it is superfluous, or it comes to contrary conclusions, and then it is dangerous and disruptive. This is why it needs to be sidelined" (Taylor 2011, 49). Taylor's position is in opposition to Jürgen Habermas who stresses the importance of translating religious language into a public language ('secular') that is supposed to be more accessible to the public. See his *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society,* trans. Thomas Burger, with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989).

[559] Judith Butler received her Ph.D. in Philosophy from Yale University (1984). She is currently the Maxine Eliot Professor at the University of California, Berkeley in the Department of Rhetoric and Comparative Literature. More generally, Butler is considered a foremost philosopher and gender theorist. Her works have influenced the way in which gender is understood. In her most influential work, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), and its sequel, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (1993), Butler argues that gender is socially constructed. An important contribution to this argument is her view that gender is formed by action and speech; it is something that is assumed and performed. Butler is involved in several human rights organizations, currently serving on the board of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York and the advisory board of Jewish Voice for Peace. She is the recipient of many awards and prizes, which include but are not limited to: the Andrew Mellon Award for Distinguished Academic Achievement in the Humanities, the Adorno Prize from the City of Frankfurt, and the Brudner Prize from Yale University for lifetime achievement in gay and lesbian studies.

[560] In fact as early as the mid-19th century, Alexis de Tocqueville observed that religious association was important to democratic politics. This he observed in the case of the United States, where religion, he believed, offered crucial checks individualistic passions and kept individuals away from excess

play here is one that is concerned with the right response of the state to the diversities that exist within it. Although secularism was created by what is called the separation of church and state, it does not mean a vehement opposition to the sacred, although it is seldom expressed in that manner.[561] Secularism in this sense is taken as a doctrine of 'neutrality' that does not favour of disfavor any one position.[562] As such, Aga Khan IV is not opposed to secularism; rather he is "opposed to unilateral secularism where the notions of faith and ethics just disappear from society" (Aga Khan IV, 2006c).[563] This of course does not mean an implementation of theocracy. The fear that Muslim engagement in the public square calls for the establishment of an 'Islamic state' is based on a (mis)reading of a complex historical and theological theme of Muslim civilization.[564]

narcissism and materialism. Refer to Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* edited by Bruce Erohnen (Washington DC: Regnery Publishing, 2003); Cheryl Welch, *The Cambridge Companion to Tocqueville* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Seymour Drescher, *Dilemmas of Democracy: Tocqueville and Modernization* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Pres, 1968).

[561] William Connolly writes, "[i]f the nobility of secularism resides in its quest to enable multiple faiths to exist in the same public space, its shallowness resides in the hubris of its distinction between private faith and public reason" (2005, 59). For more on questions and responses to secularism refer to Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); "Reason, Faith, and Meaning," *Faith and Philosophy* 28, no. 1 (2011): 5-18; and "What does Secularism Mean?" in *Dilemmas and Connections* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011): 303-325; José Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994) and "The Secular, Secularizations, Secularisms," in *Rethinking Secularism* ed. Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer and Jonathan VanAntwerpen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Saba Mahmood, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age: A Minority Report* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

[562] The neutrality offered from a secular framework provides pragmatic benefits for religious minorities in Western countries. In the case of Islam, Andrew F. March concludes that Muslim religious scholars take seriously the language utilized by the sate and the actual policies they enforce. "[I]t is undeniable that some of these scholar perceive in liberal neutrality many of the same virtues that its theorists insist on: its desire to accommodate the consciences of as many citizens as possible, the desire to include minorities, and accountability for the secular welfare of those subject to it." See Andrew F. March, "Are Secularism and Neutrality attractive to Religious Minorities? Islamic Discussions of Western Secularism in the 'Jurisprudence of Muslim Minorities' (*Fiqh al-Aqalliyyat*) Discourse," *Cardozo Law Review* 30, no. 6 (2009): 2821-2854, quote at 2854. See also his *slam and Liberal Citizenship: The Search for an Overlapping Consensus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[563] Similar to Aga Khan IV's lament, Richard Neuhaus "complains that secularism has produced a 'naked public square' in contemporary Western society because religion and religious values have been systematically excluded from consideration in public life" (Karim 2015c, 99). Refer also to Richard Neuhaus, *The Naked Public Square: Religion and Democracy in America.* 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1988).

[564] "The idea that Islam was originally – *and therefore essentially* – a theocratic state is," Talal Asad argues, "a nineteenth-century European one, developed under the influence of evolutionary theories of religion." Refer to his "Europe against Islam: Islam in Europe," *The Muslim World* 87, no. 2 (1997): 183-195, quote at 191.

The sociologist José Casanova (1994, 43)[565] also sees a benefit for religious communities and their beliefs to enter the public arena as equal partners with other units of representation (in accordance with certain conditions of engagement) in order to raise questions about the possible disregard of "moral norms and human considerations" by other actors in the public sphere. The underlying characteristic is the importance of an ethical framework that is at work in the public sphere – a cosmopolitan ethic, as per Aga Khan IV, that adheres to basic universal principles and is coupled with particularities (i.e.: cultural and religious significations) that are translated and creatively put into practice. The great ethical texts produced in the classical age of Islam drew inspiration from religious tenets and Greek philosophy to critique the politics of the time. "Moral traits (*akhlaq*) and habits (*adab*) were individual acquisitions with a social purpose, transcending the public-private divide" giving impetus for "a moral critique of politics [that] was not seen as a profaning of sacred norms" (Sajoo 2004, 35). Indeed, this ethos aimed at balancing the claims to the common good still remains an important aspect the modern social imaginary. This process, contrary to what may be speculated, does not abolish ethical integrity and commitments to faith. There is no doubting that faith commitments are located in the fold of the public sphere, where "the new idea of moral order begins to inflect and reformulate the descriptions of God's providence and the order he has established among humans and in the cosmos" (Taylor 2004, 5). The new moral order, as conceived by Taylor underscores the rights and obligations people have to one another and "mutual respect and service is directed toward serving our ordinary goals: life, liberty, sustenance of self and family" (Ibid, 13).[566] In fact the moral order of the public

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[565] José Casanova is a professor in the Departments of Sociology and Theology at Georgetown University and senior fellow at the Berkley Center, where his work focuses on globalization, religions, and secularization. He has published works on a broad range of subjects, including religion and globalization, migration and religious pluralism, transnational religions, and sociological theory. His best-known work, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (1994), has become a modern classic in the field. In 2012, Casanova was awarded the Theology Prize from the Salzburger Hochschulwochen in recognition of his life-long achievement in the field of theology.

[566] "This ideal order was not thought to be a mere human intervention. Rather, it was designed by God, an order in which everything coheres according to God's purposes. Later in the eighteenth century, the same model is projected on the cosmos, in a vision of the universe as a set of perfectly interlocking parts, in which the purposes of each kind of creatures mesh with those of all the others" (Taylor 2004, 14). Taylor (2004) offers an evolutionary trajectory of the new moral order, wherein human reason is understood as that which enables us (social beings) to preserve all lives. This demands an ethic of

sphere as conceived by Taylor is a modern vision of social order where the purposes of individuals and groups come to terms with one another.[567] The extent of this interchange in this complex space underlines just how much "God's will" remains "in the design of things, in cosmos, state, and personal life" (Taylor 2004, 193) pointing to religion's centrality to "the personal identities of individuals or groups, and hence always a possible defining constituent of political identities" (193-194).

What underpins the discussion on religion and secular public sphere, I believe, is re-thinking the functionality of the aforementioned concepts as well as the tension between sacred and profane in relation to private and public life. At this juncture enters in Aga Khan IV whose cosmopolitan ethic can be understood as a quest driven by the interface of sacred ethical values and the secular public sphere – a point of view that is central to Muslim conceptions of the public sphere but also not alien to Western philosophers such as William Connolly,[568] who writes:

> To participate in the public realm does not now require you to leave your faith at home in the interests of secular reason (or one of its surrogates); it involves mixing into the relational practice of faith itself a preliminary readiness to negotiate with presumptive generosity and forbearance in those numerous situations where recourse to the porous rules of commonality across faiths, public procedure, reason, or deliberation are insufficient to the issue at hand" (2005, 64).

In a similar manner, Aga Khan IV points out in an interview with the Daily Nation in Nairobi, Kenya, that the practice of Islam behooves every individual to "bring to the

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discipline and improvement for the preservation of human life, which Taylor notes is evident in scriptural revelation. It is interesting to point out that this ethic of living, combining reason and revelation, was very much part of the hallmark of Muslim civilization. And indeed, it is this spirit that is captured in Aga Khan IV's thought.

[567] Charles Taylor contends that human identity is dialogically constructed. See his *Multiculturalism and the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 32-33.

[568] William Eugene Connolly is a political theorist known for his work on democracy and pluralism. He is Krieger-Eisenhower Professor in the political science department at Johns Hopkins where he teaches political theory. Among American Political Theorists, he is considered as one of the most influential political theorist over the last twenty years, after Rawls, Habermas and Foucault. He has been a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study and the Stanford Center for Behavioral Studies. His work focuses on the issues of pluralism, capitalism, inequality and imbrications between nonhuman, self-organizing forces and contemporary life. Some of his monographs include *Why I Am Not A Secularist* (1999); *Neuropolitics* (2002); *Pluralism* (2005); *Capitalism and Christianity, American Style* (2008); and *A World of Becoming* (2011).

world the ethics of [his or her] faith" (Aga Khan IV 2011).[569] I think this immediately affirms how this leader's words and perspectives are engaged in a wider field of thought, where ideas of the public space and religion operate in tandem. The relationship forged between state and society, wherein civil society is an amalgamation of communities that interact and overlap is one that closely captures Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ideal. I do however agree with Mayor Naheed Nenshi of Calgary[570] that it is almost impossible to include within the public square all values and right claims. Speaking from the Canadian context, he noted:

> There are areas where in a pluralistic society, that is run on a fundamental charter rights and freedoms that are unacceptable. In our community [Canadian public sphere] we cannot adopt everything from every community because we have certain values that we abide by, but I find that the boundaries are more flexible than people think they are and in fact a lot of them are universal values… We [citizens] agree that everyone in Canada has the respect and the protection of the Charter of Values and yet I find that any debates [affecting citizen rights and practices], when we get into them periodically, typically are not very illuminating because people agree on the vast majority of issues.[571]

Enter again Taylor's vision of a moral order that embodies the very nature of civil order, allowing for a shared consensus among citizens to map the contours of what is right. In this spirit "civic spaces" must continue to offer "a governing ethos large

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[569] Also quoted in Ali M. Lakhani "Living the Ethics of One's Faith: The Aga Khan's Integral Vision," *Sacred Web: A Journal of Tradition and Modernity* 34 (2014): 50.

[570] Naheed Nenshi, *A'paistootsiipsii*, was sworn in as Calgary's 36th mayor on October 25, 2010 and was re-elected in 2013. Prior to being elected, Mayor Nenshi was with McKinsey and Company, later forming his own business to help public, private and non-profit organizations grow. He designed policy for the Government of Alberta, helped create a Canadian strategy for The Gap, Banana Republic and Old Navy, and worked with the United Nations to determine how business can help the poorest people on the planet. He then entered academia, where he was Canada's first tenured professor in the field of nonprofit management, at Mount Royal University's Bissett School of Business. For his work, Mayor Nenshi was named a Young Global Leader of the World Economic Forum, was awarded the President's Award from the Canadian Institute of Planners, and received the Humanitarian Award from the Canadian Psychological Association for his contributions to community mental health. In 2013, after his stewardship of the community during devastating flooding, Maclean's magazine called him the second-most influential person in Canada, after the Prime Minister. He was also awarded the 2014 World Mayor Prize by the UK-based City Mayor's Foundation as the best mayor in the world. In 2014, he was also honoured by Elder Pete Standing Alone with the Blackfoot name *A'paistootsiipsii*, which means "Clan Leader" or "He who moves camp and the others follow". In 2016, Elder Bruce Starlight of the Tsuu T'ina First Nation honoured him with the name *Iitiya*: "Always Ready". Mayor Nenshi holds a Bachelor of Commerce (with distinction) from the University of Calgary, where he was President of the Students' Union, and a Master in Public Policy from the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, where he studied as a Kennedy Fellow.

[571] Interview with author, City Hall, Calgary, Alberta, March 9, 2015.

enough to accommodate affinities beyond individual citizenship" (Sajoo 2004, 92). The public sphere demands a dynamic interchange between different cultures and beliefs, individuals and communities, rights and claims to recognition. Public life is linked to communications and negotiations that underline the centrality of human identity and social imaginary.

Faith and Citizenship

This account of the discourses that shape the public sphere also means that modern citizenship cannot be thought of independently of religious categories. Religious identity and citizenship serve as social expressions that impact the public sphere. A significant feature of the 'publicness' of the cosmopolitan ethic – that is connecting principles with local commitments of belonging – is construed through the interface of faith and citizenship, where religion is considered a co-builder of citizenship, rather than an obstacle.

> 'Citizenship' here refers to one's membership in the political community of a territorial state, with all the rights and responsibilities that go with it. It exists alongside other ties and identities that relate to professional, religious, social and political memberships. Indeed, these will often shape how one treats citizenship. But what is special about being a citizen is that it 'frames' all those other memberships, to which it gives us access in ways that we constantly seek to make meaningful. Today, citizenship is very much about civic equality and access to participation in public life (an-Naʿim 2012, 45-46).[572]

An-Naiʿm's[573] definition of a pluralist citizenship prizes on a cosmopolitan spirit that breaks from traditional confines of culture and territory. It suggests a reformulation of

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[572] During my interview with Mayor Naheed Nenshi of Calgary, similar thoughts were shared on fostering a more wholistic approach to citizenship: "I think that people will define the parameters of their membership in a community in different ways. When I'm speaking to groups of ethnic and religious minorities, I will often say the same thing, which is that we must resist the urge to be insular. We must figure out how to negotiate our way within the broader community. And to me the broader community is sufficiently flexible to be able to manage those things… what I care about is that they are participating in a way that actively builds the community. I think that there are many ways to do that, people can make their own decisions and we should be very wary about restricting that in any way." Interview with author, City Hall, Calgary, Alberta, March 9, 2015.

[573] Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im is a Muslim jurist of Sudanese origin. He is currently the Charles Howard Candler Professor of Law at Emory Law, associated professor in the Emory College of Arts and Sciences, and Senior Fellow of the Center for the Study of Law and Religion of Emory University. His area of research includes the study of Muslims and the secular state and of human rights from state-centric to people-centered. He continues to further develop his theory of Islam and the Secular State. He

the secular public sphere that eschews religion and its ethical claims. It is one thing to not acknowledge the physical presence of religion; it is another to ignore the dynamic discourses that pervade civil society through the ethical lifeworlds which inhabit the day-to-day practices of public individuals. Eva Schubert[574] argues that loyalty amongst religious communities inculcates a sense group solidarity and "a model of moral reasoning that transcends immediate, subjective political issues" (2008, 163). Schubert explains how these aspects contribute to a fully functional democracy – a system that offers the possibility of diverse conceptions of the good. Simply stated, "religious identity is capable of supplying both the motivation and the tools required for a robust, engaged sense of citizenship, with all its attendant rights and responsibilities" (Ibid, 164).

Religious identity and perspectives continue to be integral sources that nourish an ethic of civility and a pluralist understanding of citizenship. Indeed, an understanding of citizenship that contests traditional boundaries is tenable under a cosmopolitan ethic because as Moosa-Mitha explains,

> [C]itizenship is the art of living together. It's about belonging, it's about being members of a society which has very little to do with whether you have the right kind of passport. It really is about the art of how we are members of a particular nation state. This is what citizenship means to me and what I find is that, those of us within our community [Ismāʿīlīs] who are actively contributing and participating within communal structures…so those who are participating with our own community as well as other communities are in fact registering an even greater sense of belonging, that I don't just belong. I'm not only at home because of my own community but because I belong to a diversity of communities.[575]

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is the author of *African Constitutionalism and the Role of Islam* (2006), *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shariʿa* (2008), and *What is an American Muslim? Embracing Faith and Citizenship* (2014). An-Naʾim holds LL.B. degrees from the University of Khartoum and the University of Cambridge and a Ph.D. in law from the University of Edinburgh.

[574] Eva Sajoo (Schubert) is Research Associate at the Institute for Diaspora Research and Engagement, Simon Fraser University. She is a regular contributor to media, notably on Afghanistan. She has published work on gender, development, and education in Muslim societies. She was previously with the Department of Academic Research and Publications at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies. She has also served as a lecturer at Beijing's University of Science and Technology from 2004-2005.

[575] Interview with author, via Skype, April 10, 2015. See also her chapter "Exclusionary and Inclusionary Citizenship Practices Around Faith-Based Communities," in *Reconfiguring Citizenship: Social Exclusion and Diversity within Inclusive Citizenship Practices,* ed. Lena Dominelli and Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 23-32.

Aga Khan IV sees the plurality of identities, faiths, values and experiences as empowering substances, which offer a possibility to pursue a cosmopolitan ethic that challenges conventional notions of religion, secularism and the public sphere. It can be argued therefore that Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic – in its capacity to transgress the public sphere – is a pursuit of the common good. It essentially encapsulates plural and contestable universals derived from diverse ethical sources.

As I demonstrated, the public sphere is an amalgamation of diverse ideals coming together. Any actor who engages in disseminating prescriptive values for members of society is choosing to align himself or herself with a particular ethos and is also competing for a certain position in the public. Talal Asad (2006) reminds us that the public sphere is not neutral and those with a higher social capital will tip the balance of power in their favour.[576] "The public sphere is not simply a pre-established arena; it is constituted and negotiated through performance" (Göle 2008, 129). One cannot deny that Aga Khan IV's pragmatic discourse, which shares certain liberal values with western democratic societies, is a welcomed ally against the threat of militancy and exclusivism expressed by certain Muslims.[577] "Though a Muslim leader who is not a head of state, he [Aga Khan IV] can speak with credibility to high-level government leaders in gatherings where he is frequently invited" (Karim, 2015c, 104). It is important to also be cognizant of Aga Khan IV's relationship with influential government leaders. Building on the relations once forged by his grandfather, this Imām continues to develop working relationships with governments where his community resides. Without question, these 'political' allegiances point to the role of power relations in shaping the interchange of shared values amongst privileged participants, which in turn help to ensure possibilities for a good quality of life and security for the Ismāʿīlī community, especially in Canada.[578] Although these socio-

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[576] "Social capital is the currency of trust generated by social networks, allowing cooperation, collaboration and mobilisational channels without which citizens are unable to effectively influence governments" (Schubert 2008, 166).
[577] Faisal Devji emphasizes how Aga Khan IV has had to "reinvent his role as religious leader by internationalizing it through projects of cultural and economic development in the Muslim world and beyond. This role situates the Imam as a friendly figure in the Asian and African countries where Ismailis may be vulnerable minorities, while at the same time presenting him as the face of liberal Islam in the West" (2009, xv).
[578] I will point to some of these benefits in Chapters 8 and 9, which have allowed the Ismāʿīlīs to gain a positive prominence in the Canadian public sphere as a result of Aga Khan IV's institutional initiatives.

political observations cannot be ignored, they do not detract from the moral dimension of Aga Khan IV cosmopolitan narrative, which serves as a tenable global ethic spanning all social relations – public and private.

Conclusion

What makes Aga Khan IV's contribution both distinct and powerful is that he embodies the power of the religious voice in the public sphere. His advice to cultivate a cosmopolitan ethic contains traces of notable Islamic virtues such as forbearance, tolerance, forgiveness, knowledge and others discussed in Chapter 2. The tradition of Muslim ethics, including responsible action and service, which featured prominently in Aga Khan III's reform objectives shaped the current Imām's cosmopolitan vision. Aga Khan IV's discourse mobilizes secular rhetoric as well as religiously inspired moral discourses, which allow his message to permeate the socio-political concerns of societies. So although the Imām's perspective is firstly rooted within Islamic discourse, its relevance extends to all contexts where moral sensibility and human responsibility are part of the social imaginary of lived realties. As I have sought to show later in this chapter, the age-old question regarding the relation between religion and ethics and their role in the secular world still appears to occupy the current state of affairs. Take for example the 'Golden Rule'. Is this a religious discourse, a secular discourse or both? The ethical dimension that lies at the center of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan discourse is easily accessible and shared by people of different outlooks. In the words of Charles Taylor,

> A Kantian will justify the rights to life and freedom by pointing to the dignity of rational agency; a utilitarian will speak of the necessity to treat beings who can experience joy and suffering in such a way as to maximize the first and minimize the second. A Christian will speak of humans as made in the image of God. They concur on the principles, but differ on the deeper reasons for holding to this ethic (2011, 37).

There is a sort of universal feature to this discourse that is attained through a diverse array of particular experiences. This is precisely what encapsulates the cosmopolitan ethic that I have traced from the early Greek civilization, through the three monotheistic traditions, and reinvigorated in contemporary philosophical thought. And all the

references found in this shared discourse of cosmopolitan ethics may touch on certain peoples spiritual lives – as in the case of Aga Khan IV's guidance – and still others may be captured by particular conceptions of this discourse that are rendered meaningful because of a completely different set of experiences. Taking seriously the above postulates, I ask, what is religion if nothing but ethics? And if not, then what distinction can be made between ethics and religion? I argued in Chapter 2, based on the thought of Emanuelle Levinas, that ethics is not something that is external to the religious. Levinas believed that religion cannot but be ethical because it is where one is able to encounter God, where the meaning of religion takes shape.[579] It is precisely this conviction, as I understand, that Aga Khan IV exhibits in his thought and practice of cosmopolitan ethics.

For the Ismāʿīlī community in particular, the messaging offered through the Imām's speeches and *farmāns* serve as a reminder of the core teachings and unanimously point to the fundamental concern for responsible citizenship and serving the world in accordance to the will of God. His ability to negotiate scripture with reason and human experiences forges an interpretive medium, allowing the community to thrive as a formidable force against global issues affecting the lives of every people. It is safe to conclude that Aga Khan IV is a visionary leader who is aware of the worldy and religious concerns that affect peoples' current situation. "His leadership style brings him in close contact with real issues, and the channels of gathering information are so diverse for him that a single source of information does not suffice for him to form a judgement" (Poor 2014, 167). The alternative cosmopolitan model exemplified by Aga Khan IV, as I denote in my study, is clearly embedded in the psyche of religious communities and offers a medium by which to challenge existing policies that simply exclude or assimilate the Other. How are we to see each other as gifts of the divine? Can we find the sacred in human life? Aga Khan IV offers a nuanced approach that respects the diversity of every being. "[T]here is a prophetic way of being in the world, a call for help, grounded in the cries of an oppressed people that warrants attention, and, in fact, to be human is to love the orphan, the widow, the strange, to treat

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[579] For more on Levinas's perspective on the ethics of religion see Chapter 2.

[the other] with dignity, with loving kindness" (West 2011, 95-96).[580] This ethico-religious view of being provides a step towards moving beyond mere tolerance of 'the Other;' towards an engaged dialogue that seeks to understand difference and to knit together more embracive societies. For what is love other than justice for everyone?

Whilst Aga Khan IV waxes lyrical on the ethical dimension of Islam and emphasizes the dignity of each human being, there are issues of power dynamics that cannot be ignored. As Zulfikar Hirji signaled, there are issues of power and implementation regarding the cosmopolitan ideal, that is, we must understand the social positioning and situations from which so-called 'cosmopolitans' are drawing on that influence and the contours of this ideal. We must be mindful of whether this is an ideal for everyone to subscribe to and we must ask why one would do well by ascribing to such an ideal. Still important reservations in regards to the practice of a cosmopolitan ethic in the everyday reality of the Ismāʿīlī community and societies at large require attention. "The litmus test," Hirji tells me, is about learning to grasp that which you do not necessarily hold true for yourself…understanding without embracing."[581] He also adds,

> That for me represents the kind of space where you do not have to give up who you are in order to understand someone else's position. Essentially recognizing that when you look at the other you are, in a sense, looking at yourself; it's kind of a mirroring process happening. Now that can be an individual kind of disposition. But can it be actually articulated in the context of the nation? I think that becomes the test for me.[582]

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[580] West's words are inspired by verses from the book of Leviticus, which are also captured in the Qur'ān. The ethical dimension imbedded in these verses also impacted the works of Emanuelle Levinas and Jacques Derrida. See Chapters 1 and 2.

[581] Interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, February 3, 2015. Also refer to Clifford Geertz, "The Uses of Diversity and the Future of Ethnocentrism," *Michigan Quarterly Review* 25, no.1 (1985): 105-123.

[582] Ibid. David Harvey also suggests that there is no way around cosmopolitanism, but caution must be exercised when thinking about whose cosmopolitan ideal you are willing to ascribe to. "…[Y]ou cannot think you can just talk about cosmopolitanism in academic or philosophical terms. At some level, you are going to have to engage in the politics, and that means engaging in the cosmopolitics on the ground by working alongside and in relation to actual political movements seeking social justice. Academics and intellectuals have to be engaged with these political movements." See his "What Do We Do with Cosmopolitanism?," in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), 49-56, quote at 56.

It is evident from current global conditions that thinking about how to live with the Other in an ethic of dignity and to move beyond simple dichotomies that divide and demoralize us continues to persist. Given the circumstances and taking into consideration the thick discussion around human dignity and the concern for peaceful coexistence, perhaps there may be interest in thinking more about an agenda of cosmopolitan ethics in our private spaces as well as in the public sphere. It is this endeavour that is the subject of the next section, where I offer an overview of the Imām's institutions and how they exhibit a cosmopolitan ethic that is worth acting upon.

PART III:
Institutions of the Imāmate and Manifesting the Cosmopolitan Ethic

CHAPTER 6
Building a Cosmopolitan Potential:
History, Development, and Governance of the Institutions of the Imāmate

As Imam of the Ismaili Muslims, I am to be concerned with the quality of life of the Community and those amongst whom it lives. Over many centuries and decades, that responsibility of the Imamat has entailed the creation of institutions to address issues of the quality of life of the time, and it today includes a number of non-governmental organisations, foundations and economic development agencies.

- Aga Khan IV[583]

Introduction

Under the changing economic, social and cultural landscape of the twentieth century, Aga Khan IV concentrated on expanding the early infrastructure of the institutions put in place by his grandfather, Aga Khan III. In order to achieve this goal Aga Khan IV "embarked on a course that began a broader engagement with the public sphere even in countries where his community did not have a significant presence" (Karim 2015a, 251). The result of this initiative was the creation of an extensive development network – the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), of which Aga Khan IV is the founder and chairman. This group of international agencies is dedicated to improving the quality of human life and seeks "to achieve this aim through a multi-input area development approach that involves social, economic, and cultural programs" (Karim 2014b, 97). What is distinctive about the AKDN is that it is the only development network that is headed by an Imām, claimed to be the living hereditary successor through a lineage of Shī'ī Nizārī Ismā'īlī Imāms (Poor 2014).[584]

The Ismā'īlī Imām's interest in improving human life appears to be shaped by his own religious worldview, influences of contemporary thinkers (eastern and western), and current concerns of quality of life. His interpretation of Islam and emphasis on the inseparability of *dīn* and *dunyā* serve as the catalyst for engaging in

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[583] Aga Khan IV, "Opening of Alltex EPZ Limited at Athi River." Athi River, Kenya, December 19 (2003), *Aga Khan Development Network* website, http://www.akdn.org/speech/his-highness-aga-khan/opening-alltex-epz-limited-athi-river (accessed August 17, 2017).
[584] See Chapters 3 and 5.

welfare and development projects.[585] This characteristic allows Aga Khan IV to translate his message of a cosmopolitan ethic into a concrete program of action, spearheaded by his transnational development network.[586]

> The Aga Khan has been dealing directly for over five decades with the operations of states and organizations as they strive to maintain ethical ideals in the face of corruption. As imam of a transnational Muslim community seeking to contribute to modernity and simultaneously maintaining its religious traditions, he also has the experience of guiding his followers to face the material conditions of life in Eastern and Western societies (Karim 2015a, 254).

The vision of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic, as I hope to demonstrate in this chapter, manifests itself through the motives and actions of the institutions of the Imāmate. Through this process the struggles of articulating the Imām's ideals will also be made apparent.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the seat of Aga Khan IV resides at Aiglemont where he has established the head offices of the AKDN,[587] including a number of departments that steer the various communal (*jamāʿatī*) institutions of the global Ismāʿīlī community, and a specific division dedicated solely to the Imāmate's diplomatic relations that has established practical relations with governments in various countries (Karim 2014b; Poor 2014; Steinberg 2011). Together the AKDN and *jamāʿatī* institutions fall within the remit of the Imām who personally guides their initiatives (*Institutions of the Imāmate,* Appendix D). In this chapter I explore a few of the agencies of the AKDN and offer some background about their structure and function. I also discuss the development of *jamāʿatī* (communal) institutions that are concerned with the community's socio-religious endeavours. The cornerstone of the Ismāʿīlī communal institutions, I explain, are rooted in the Ismāʿīlī constitution that lay out the purpose and mandate of their *raison d'être.* As such, a brief history of the Ismāʿīlī

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[585] See Chapter 5.

[586] "What is distinctive about his approach, however, is his attention to deal and the meticulousness with which he interrogates the experts, whom he constantly challenges with persistent and detailed probing to come up with new insights and perspectives, to ensure that programmes are suited to the social milieus where the AKDN operates" (Ruthven 2011, 218).

[587] Almost all the agencies that comprise the AKDN are registered in Switzerland as non-profit institutions with three exceptions: The Aga Khan University (AKU), The University of Central Asia (UCA), and The Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED). See AKDN (Aga Khan Development Network), "Frequently Asked Questions," *Aga Khan Development Network* website, accessed October 3, 2017, http://www.akdn.org/about-us/frequently-asked-questions.

constitutions is presented with regards to the evolutionary process of the Ismāʿīlīs' administrative structures. Although a complete history of these institutions is beyond the scope of my research, I attempt to examine certain areas that better illustrate the ethical underpinnings through which to navigate Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic.

Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)[588]

In Chapter 4 I addressed Aga Khan III's long-term concern for the welfare of the Ismāʿīlīs and the Muslim *umma* of the Indian subcontinent. He played an active role in creating and expanding institutional initiatives for the promotion of education, economic development, and health care (Daftary 2007; Karim 2011b). Through the reform initiatives underway during the Imāmate of Aga Khan III, one finds the groundwork of institutional services that "included housing societies, healthcare, schools, social and sporting clubs, hospitals, pharmacies, and libraries; they were provided to his adherents in Africa and the subcontinent as well as their non-Ismaʿili neighbors" (Steinberg 2011, 50). For example, he began setting up schools in India and East Africa as well as health care clinics and hospitals to make health care more accessible. In fact, so persistent was Aga Khan III in such endeavours that in 1897, "he played a major role in stemming the spread of bubonic plague in Bombay by having himself inoculated in public to convince the general populace not to be afraid of vaccinations" (Kassam 2003, 482). By taking advantage, of the British infrastructure in India, Aga Khan III and members of the community were able to mobilize a nascent diasporic network (on both sides of the western Indian ocean) for "institutional

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[588] This chapter is not focussed on describing all areas of the AKDN. However, a detailed overview of the various institutions and programmes refer to Malise Ruthven's "The Aga Khan Development Network and Institutions," in *A Modern History of the Ismailis; Continuity and Change in a Muslim Community,* ed. Farhad Daftary (London: I.B.Tauris, 2011), 189-220 and the AKDN website. Karim H. Karim's "Aga Khan Development Network: Shia Ismaili Islam," in *Global Religious Movements Across Borders: Sacred Service,* ed. Stephen M. Cherry and Helen R. Ebaugh (Burlington, VT: Ashagate, 2014), 143-160 also provides an overview of the AKDN from its early nascent stages under Aga Khan III to what these institutions have "metamorphosed" into during the Imāmate of Aga Khan IV. See also Daryoush Mohammad Poor's *Authority Without Territory: The Aga Khan Development Network and the Ismaili Imamate* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), especially Chapter 4.

proliferation" and the creation of a more "unified diasporic sphere of communication" (Steinberg 2011, 195; Mukherjee 2014).[589]

Succeeding his grandfather, Aga Khan IV set out to broaden the scope of engagement of the established welfare institutions. "The transition from Aga Khan III's Imamate to that of the Aga Khan IV marked a further expansion of the scope of this project of social service, feeding as it did into grander developmental ventures invoking at once the sophisticated rhetoric of corporate management, academics and policy making…" (Mukherjee 2014, 436). In the early stages of Aga Khan IV's Imāmate, the scattered institutions were strengthened and unified into a central reporting structure. Aga Khan IV also added new institutions and linked the various programs and activities into what is now an integrated infrastructure called the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN).[590] The ethos of the institutions carries a concern for the quality of life of Ismāʿīlī communities, which include both economic and social well-being. Generally in Muslim traditions and in the Ismāʿīlī tradition in particular, ethics is essential to the practice of the faith.[591] Values of generosity, compassion, service and sacrifice are acted on in order to contribute to the well-being of individuals and societies at large. Even before the consolidation of the AKDN under Aga Khan IV, I explored how discourses of social responsibility and welfare were the hallmark of Aga Khan III and the larger reformist condition of the Indian subcontinent.[592] These of course underscored the possibility of being true to one's faith while being active citizens of a nation and the world. I also discussed in Chapter 5 the centrality of 'theological ethics' within the message of Aga Khan IV and its potential to promote a

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[589] "These institutional structures [put in place under Aga Khan III] were largely nationally based, but they were part of an intercontinental organizational network, of which the Europe-based Imam was the head. Ismaili Muslims' religious allegiance to the Imam of the time was at the basis of this transnational structure" (Karim 2011b, 214).

[590] "Whereas historical precedents for AKDN's work are traced to the tenth through the twelfth centuries Fatimid Ismaili Empire in the Middle East, its organizational roots are in nineteenth-century India. The Aga Khans established community associations in the sub-continent both to meet their religious followers' needs and to consolidate their authority as hereditary Imams. Parallel sets of institutions were built in Africa. These self-governing bodies sought to serve community members from cradle to grave and also offered services to others" (Karim 2014a, 144).

[591] The ethical theme is explored in Chapters 2 through 5.

[592] See Chapter 4. As Soumen Mukherjee writes, "it was above all the reformist-welfarist projects of Aga Khan III, especially in the spheres of education and health care, starting from about the early twentieth century in South Asia and East Africa, which formed the organisational bases of much of the later development ventures" (Mukherjee 2014, 448).

cosmopolitan ethic and pluralism. This worldview is based on an appreciation of the intimate relation between *dīn* and *dunyā, which* permeates Aga Khan IV's efforts in development and ensuring a good quality for all people. Implicit in Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic is an understanding of shared universal values that are integral to all communities, but there is also an acknowledgment of particularities since "different peoples will have different visions about a desirable quality of life, in urban versus rural areas, for example" (Aga Khan IV, 2011-2012).[593] This perspective is enacted by the endeavors of the AKDN, further concretizing the practical application of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic. Indeed these two aspects underline the Aga Khan IV's entire method of operation, "whose two-fold mission is to guarantee quality of life and to interpret the faith" (Aga Khan IV, 2010b).

In an address at the Annual Meeting of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Tashkent, Uzbekistan in 2003, Aga Khan IV expressed the impetus behind the need for an organization such as the AKDN:

> When I became Imam in 1957, I was faced with developing a system to meet my responsibilities in an organised and sustainable manner that was suited to the circumstances, demands and opportunities of the second half of the twentieth century. In a period of decolonisation in Asia and Africa, the Cold War and its disastrous impact on developing countries, and the painful progress towards a global movement for international development, it became essential that the Imamat's economic and social development efforts be broadened beyond the Ismaili community, to the societies in which they lived. Presently, the Ismaili community of approximately 15 million resides in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Europe and North America. This led me to establish what is now the Aga Khan Development Network (the AKDN), a group of eight agencies with individual mandates, to engage in critical dimensions of development from distinct yet complementary perspectives and the competencies these dimensions require (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 16).[594]

Considered a transnational Muslim civil society institution, the AKDN is involved in a range of activities (Karim 2014b; Karim 2015a). According to Aga Khan IV,

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[593] Refer to Chapter 5.
[594] Also quoted in Karim H. Karim, "A Muslim Modernity: Ismaili Engagements with Western Societies," in *Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West*, ed. Roberto Tottoli (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015), 251.

The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) consists of a series of specialised agencies that have been brought into existence over the years since 1957 in response to needs that have been identified in many of the developing countries of Asia and Africa. It is rooted in the ethics of our faith, and it serves all the populations we seek to support, without regard to gender, race or faith (2011-2012, no pagination).[595]

Situating this umbrella organization is a rather difficult task. Although the AKDN is formed of institutions that are understood as secular in nature, it does not conform to a pure definition of a non-governmental organization (NGO). Considered to be "one of the largest, perhaps the largest, group of private development agencies currently active," the AKDN does more than just development (Aga Khan IV 2011-2012; Karim 2014a; Kassam 2003; Ruthven 2011). The AKDN is indeed "a model in its own right" (Aga Khan IV 2011-2012). As such, it is perhaps best to think of the AKDN as a "transnational Muslim civil society institution" (Karim 2014b, 97) characterised by its adherence to Islamic ethics while working towards engaging all aspects of civil society for the betterment of all humanity.[596]

Institutions independent from the state that offered services to the public is of course not new to Muslim socio-cultural history as Karim (2014b) points out. Many Muslim institutions, such as the charitable institution of *waqf*,[597] serve as examples of how Islamic ethics are translated into practice within civil society (Ibid). Historically, many structures and buildings still visible in the Muslim world benefited from *waqf*.

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[595] "This widening trend indicates certain shifts in the discourse of social service and the organisational restructuring that in part also mirror the gradual evolution of the Aga Khan Development Network, with its wider project of addressing the interests of the non-Isma'ilis. As mentioned, this umbrella organisation with two key expressions, 'development' and 'network', came to be used from the 1980s onwards, reflecting an all-encompassing connotation of development and certain flexibility in organisational structure balanced with a degree of centralisation with the Imam at the apex" (Mukherjee 2014, 449).

[596] "Several Muslim diasporas have developed transnational institutional structures of varying scope that go far beyond the religious character of the respective groups. These include the Ismailis, the Senegalese Murids, and the Ithna Ashari Khojas. Whereas literature on the first two groups has been growing, it is difficult to find material on the latter" (Karim 2011b, 211).

[597] A *waqf* generally refers to an endowment based on property that is to be used for a particular purpose in the interest of public charity. "The three most typical kinds of *waqf* are religious (mosques, as well as real estate that exclusively provides revenues for mosque maintenance and service expenses), philanthropic (support for the poor and the public interest at large by funding such institutions and activities as libraries, scientific research, education, health services, and care of animals and the environment), and posterity or family *awqaf* (whose revenues are first given to the family's descendants; only the surplus, if any, is given to the poor)." "Waqf," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, ed, John L. Esposito. *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e2484 (accessed Sep 16, 2017).

The majority of these sites were established "as social, cultural, and religious centers whose purpose was to contribute to the community and to improve the lives of the people there. As permanent constructions, they played and continue to play a role, often an important one, in shaping the urban fabric of cities, defining trade and pilgrimage routes, and marking key rural locations of settlement or ritual" (Singer 2013, 343). The AKDN agencies, to a certain extent, share this practice of charitable giving that was a hallmark of Islamic tradition. Indeed, the religious prescription to give remains fundamental but the form in which this takes place has diversified with time. On this note, the AKDN embodies the nature and functionality of civil society organizations. "[They serve as] a bulwark against the potential weaknesses of poorly performing, weakly established or young governments. They make a particular contribution when governments are failing, taking responsibility for additional tasks to help sustain improvements in quality of life" (Aga Khan IV 2011-2012). This model of engaging religious ethics for the public good is an extension of a 'this-worldly' approach discussed in Chapter 4. The AKDN hence continues the tradition of contributing to improving the quality of life of every person by offering social services.[598]

Development as an Ethico-Religious Orientation

As chairman of a vast network of international development agencies (AKDN) operating around the globe, Aga Khan IV's goal is to uplift the quality of life of various communities across a variety of different sectors from economy to culture. For Aga Khan IV, development is innate to the Imām's function in worldly matters (Karim 2015a).

> To the Imamat the meaning of "quality of life" extends to the entire ethical and social contexts in which people live, and not only to their material wellbeing measured over generation after generation. Consequently, the Imamat's is a holistic vision of development, as is prescribed by the faith of Islam. It is about investing in people, in their pluralism, in their intellectual pursuit, and search for new and useful knowledge, just as much as in material resources. But it is also about investing with a social conscience inspired by the ethics of Islam. It is

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[598] Aga Khan IV (2011-2012) speaks of 8 areas of concern that guide the work of the AKDN: 1) Predictability: critical for progress, 2) Civil society: the key to development, 3) Towards better governance, 4) The roads to democracy, 5) Reducing poverty, 6) Cultural development, 7) Promoting regional cooperation, and 8) The difficulty of living together.

work that benefits all, regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion, nationality or background. Does the Holy Quran not say in one of the most inspiring references to mankind, that Allah has created all mankind from one soul? (Aga Khan IV, 2003b).

Aga Khan IV relentlessly links contemporary issues of education, poverty, and human development with ethical principles of Islam. In Chapter 5, you will recall that Aga Khan IV's role as the forty-ninth hereditary Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs cannot be divorced from all other areas of human life.[599] If the point of *dīn* and *dunyā* is an acceptance of the merging of sacred and secular values – that is they go hand in hand – then his attention to quality of life makes sense. The ethico-religious link is clearly visible in Aga Khan IV's development outlook and the work of the AKDN.[600] Given the approach outlined by Aga Khan IV, it is possible to identify characteristics of the AKDN that resemble those of charity or faith-inspired organizations.[601]

> The AKDN is only one example of how charity practices in different Muslim communities today share many of the institutional forms and goals popular and prevalent worldwide, while framing them in the context of Qur'anic principles and collecting funds under the headings of zakat and sadaqa. Thus, development and sustainability are increasingly prevalent and important alongside aid distribution and immediate relief in nonemergency situations (Singer 2013, 355).[602]

Most of the AKDN's work reflects a feature common among faith-inspired organizations (FIO) – an approach that centers on humanity. FIOs are inspired by ethical principles of a religious tradition to take action for the wellbeing of humanity, most often in the form of development work (Marshall 2013).[603] It is worth noting that

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[599] See also Chapter 3 on concept of Imām/Imāmate in Shīʿism.

[600] Respected worldwide for excellence of its programs, the network wears its rather obvious faith link warily, preferring to emphasize its technical rigor and commitment to core values" (Marshall 2013, 158).

[601] There exist many Muslim NGOs (i.e.: Islamic Relief Worldwide and Muslim Aid) committed to relief aid and development projects operating "at the scale of village, neighborhood, or community, using zakat and sadaqa donations to provide critical food, clothing, shelter, and medical assistance while fostering agricultural, handicraft, education, industry, and other endeavours to help people take themselves from poverty to a situation in which they are self-sustaining and even flourishing, from being recipients of zakat to donors" (Singer 2013, 355).

[602] For a good overview of Muslim practices of giving, see Rianne C. ten Veen, "Charitable giving in Islam" *Islamic Relief Worldwide* (2009). Available at http://policy.islamic-relief.com/storage/2014/05/Charitable-Giving-in-Islam-Sep-09.pdf (accessed September 21 2017).

[603] As Soumen Mukherjee notes, "the idea of 'development' with which the AKDN functions is one that is not restricted to the rather narrowly confined understanding of the concept that is sometimes argued to

this approach to development has also been expressed by academics like Amartya Sen[604] who writes, "[d]evelopment requires the removal of major sources of unfreedom: poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states" (1999, 3).[605] The concern of global poverty and equity is very much at the heart of faith-inspired organizations, like the AKDN, that ardently link the fight against poverty, development, and religion (Marshal 2008).

Development is encouraged as a process through which human dignity is maintained and knowledge potential is harnessed for further development in all areas of life. In an article for *Politique Internationale*, Aga Khan IV stated,

> Experience has taught us that any notion of alleviation must begin with an in-depth analysis of the multiple causes that require responses. We have also learned that micro responses are often fragile and short-lived; hence responses must achieve a certain scale to achieve longevity. Where possible, these responses should be simultaneous rather than sequential. Hence, much of AKDN's work is built around the concept of MIAD: Multi-Input Area Development.
> Development initiatives cannot be contemplated exclusively in terms of economics, but rather as an integrated programme that encompasses variables such as education and skills training, health and public services, conservation of cultural heritage, infrastructure development, urban planning and rehabilitation, water and energy management, environmental control, and even policy and legislative development (Aga Khan IV 2011-2012).[606]

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have emerged only as late as in 1945 in response to the specific humanitarian needs of the post-World War II era, a somewhat skewed model that predominates contemporary Development Studies" (2017, 152).

[604] Amartya Sen is Professor of Economics and Philosophy at Harvard University. He is also the Thomas W. Lamont University Professor and a Senior Fellow at the Harvard Society of Fellows. In 1998 he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences for his contributions to welfare economics and social choice theory. Some of Sen's well-known works include *Development as Freedom* (1999); *Rationality and Freedom* (2002); *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture, and Identity* (2005).

[605] Also quoted in Kassam (2003, 493). Aga Khan IV has also warned of the causes of poverty, stating that "one of the fundamental causes of this poverty" is without doubt "the marginalisation of communities" (Aga Khan IV 2015a).

[606] Although sincere in his motives, one cannot dismiss the possibility that Aga Khan IV's interventions in the lives of others, whether he intends it or not, may indirectly entail, the use of power and control. I raise this point because one must recognize that Aga Khan IV lives and works in this world. Therefore he is bound to operate politically as much as spiritually, and as a result his authoritative decision-making is formulated through his experience in the world and in response to the transient worldly conditions. It is hoped that the Imām is well informed and well advised by those whose responsibility is to offer recommendations on concerns that he raises.

The experience, addressed by Aga Khan IV offers a distinct lens on faith-inspired development experience. "There is increasing recognition that both the moral voice of compassion and the practical experience of working with poverty programs can combine to serve as a powerful and effective motivator in both global and national efforts to mobilize support for global development" (Marshall 2008, 199). Religious and secular resources in this regard are intertwined in the pursuit of development. As such, attention to one's spiritual elevation is just as important as one's worldly demands. From this perspective, one is reminded of a story written in Saʿdī's *Gulistān*.[607] The context of this story takes place between a Ṣūfī darwish (aspirant) and a rich man who are arguing about riches and spirituality. The moral behind this story as the rich man reveals is that one cannot completely give of themselves in prayer when (s)he is overburdened with the worry of providing for the next day (Saʿdī 2017). Simply stated, one cannot lead a successful spiritual life if one's worldly circumstances are so grave that they demand too much of an individual's physical and mental capabilities.[608] It is interesting to note that Saʿdī, writing in the thirteenth century, grasped a fundamental notion that one's faith is very much impacted by his or her quality of life.[609] This of course seems to have struck a chord with Aga Khan III and Aga Khan IV's understanding of religiosity. The improvement of the quality of life of every human being is the responsibility of those who are endowed with wealth, knowledge, and ability.

The underlying premise behind development work of the AKDN is inspired by a realization to orient oneself towards a cosmopolitan ethic and "[attaching] equity to that notion" (Aga Khan IV, 2015a). How this is acted upon is enabled through the

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[607] For Saʿdī's bio see Introduction, fn. 5.

[608] See also Daryoush M. Poor. "Ismaili Imamat: Institutions and Ethical Underpinnings." YouTube video, 1:19:25, from lecture on March 11, 2016. Posted by SCIM Mahfil Ali, March 13, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0rXDe54j6To.

[609] "[T]he clear message given by the Qur'an and hadith is that extremes of poverty or wealth distract from the moral, God-conscious life…Because poverty and wealth are not entirely the result of human actions – that is they are not always earned – the Qur'an and hadith attach no moral value to either. It is not whether one is rich or poor that is morally significant; it is what one does with one's wealth or poverty" (Hashmi 2010, 185). From Sohail M. Hashmi, "The Problem of Poverty in Islamic Ethics," in *Poverty and Morality: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, ed. William A. Galston and Peter H. Hoffenberg (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 180-203.

medium of pluralism,[610] which offers a means by which the notion of equity begins to take precedence. "Tolerance, openness and understanding towards other peoples' cultures, values and faiths are now essential to the very survival of an interdependent world. Pluralism is no longer simply an asset or a prerequisite for development, it is essential for the functioning of civil society. Indeed, it is vital to our existence" (Aga Khan IV 2011-2012). At its heart, Aga Khan IV's encouragement for development stems from the recognition of convergences of values and common purposes that seek to improve the lives of individuals and communities, which involves remaining open to acknowledging the Other and continuous learning. This conscious awareness is the hallmark of the institutions of Imāmate. Indeed the AKDN is a "model" that provides "concrete manifestation to the social conscience of Islam and to pivotal Islamic concepts, such as responsible stewardship of the planet and all life within in (*khalīfa*) and the striving for a life of balance and integrity between the material (*dunyā*) and the spiritual (*dīn*)" (Kassam 2003, 493). It goes without saying that an ethico-religious orientation steers the AKDN's overall objective in achieving its development goals. An important document known as *The Aga Khan Development Network: An Ethical Framework*, describes "the function of ethics" as the medium through which "to foster self-realisation through giving of one's self, for the common good, in response to God's benevolent majesty" (*Ethical Framework,* Appendix B). This document also describes the importance of the Imām's guidance and the influence of *dīn* and *dunyā* on the institution's approach. In addition, it clearly lays out the ethical considerations based on the vision of Aga Khan IV (Miraly 2012; Poor 2014). The following excerpt captures the essence of the AKDN:

> The institutions of the Network derive their impetus from the ethics of Islam which bridge the two realms of the faith, din and dunya, the spiritual and the material. The central emphasis of Islam's ethical ideal is enablement of each person to live up to his exalted status as vicegerent of God on earth, in whom God has breathed His own spirit and to whom He has made whatever is in the heavens and the earth, an object of trust and quest (*Ethical Framework,* Appendix B).[611]

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[610] See Chapter 5.
[611] See also (Miraly 2012, 117-118).

There are eight fundamental traits of Islamic ethical ideals that contribute to the overall framework of the AKDN: Inclusiveness; Education and Research; Compassion and Sharing; Self-Reliance; Respect for life and Health Care; Sound Mind; Sustainable Environment; and Governance (*Ethical Framework,* Appendix B Miraly 2012; Poor 2014). By no means is this an exhaustive list of Muslim ethical principles. However, these eight ethical categories contain within them traces of shared considerations that together comprise the holistic vision of a cosmopolitan ethic.[612] More specifically, the focus on improving opportunities and living conditions of individuals in society as laid out within the *Ethical Framework* of the AKDN resembles, to some extent, the objectives of Islamic law known as *maqāṣid al-sharī'a.* This is essentially, "a system of values that could contribute to a desired and sound application of the *Shari'ah*" (Auda 2011, 194). The underlying theme of the *maqāṣid al-sharī'a* is simply to achieve the maximum benefit for the public good – *maṣlaḥa*, which "is based on the notion that the ultimate goal of the *sharī'a* necessitates doing justice and preserving people's best interests in this world and the next. It is also premised on the view that the intellect is able to determine what is good and that this leads ultimately to the divine intent" (Takim 2014, 108).[613] It can be argued from an operational perspective, that the *maqāṣid-* oriented ethico-civic reasoning, pervades the AKDN approach that aims to "realise the social conscience of Islam through institutional action" (*Ethical Framework,* Appendix B).

Consider the purposes of *sharī'a* as expounded in the categories of the *maqāṣid.* "The systematic exclusion of harm and inclusion of benefit are the aims (*maqṣūd*) of the law, and it is to these goals that the rational argument of suitability must conform" (Hallaq 2009, 104). The five most prominent goals are the protection of life, religion, lineage, property and intellect. They are considered to be "essential to normal order in society as well as to the survival and spiritual well-being of individuals, so much so that their destruction and collapse will precipitate chaos and collapse of normal order in

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[612] Regarding the cosmopolitan spirit in Islam see Chapter 2. For Aga Khan IV's fluency on this concept refer to Chapter 5.

[613] "This suggests that laws can be legislated based on the principle of the public good without any textual proof to support its validity. Moreover, because the purpose of *maṣlaḥa* (being or doing good) is discernible by reason, it has God's approval too, because in Islamic theology, there is a correlation between reason and revelation in matters concerning the common good" (Takim 2014, 107).

society" (Kamali 1999, 195).[614] It is no mere coincidence, in my opinion, that the eight ethical traits described in the *Ethical Framework* reflect the goals expounded in the *maqāṣid* system. There is no doubt that the AKDN's mandate in consonance with the Qur'ān is intended to promote "[r]espect for the dignity of the human being, called 'the crown of creation' (*al-ashraf ul-makhluqat*)" (Karim 2014a, 145). If one accepts that the premise of the *maqāṣid al-sharī'a* is the enhancement of "social welfare" and "the preservation of mind and soul" (Auda 2007, 1) then it is possible to find parallels within the AKDN's *Ethical Framework* which essentially works to attain those higher objectives encapsulated within Islam, albeit through Aga Khan IV's interpretation of Islam and the work of the institutions of Imāmate. For instance, "the ethic of sound mind" and "the ethic of respect for life and health care" captured in the AKDN's *Ethical Framework* are almost symmetrical to the goals of preserving life and intellect in the *maqāṣid al-sharī'a.* The welfare of the Ismāʿīlī community is a priority of Aga Khan IV and is also inseparable from that of other human beings as is evidenced by the work of the AKDN. "In this context, the AKDN, as an Imamate endeavour, seeks to realize the social vision of Islam through a communitarian strategy of social action" resulting in pragmatic action that is motivated by ethico-religious tenets (*Ethical Framework,* Appendix B; Mirally 2012, 118-119). The intricacy of living an ethical life and safeguarding the dignity of human life on the personal and communal planes is indeed at the heart of Aga Khan IV's concern for quality of life.

At the same time this contemporary transnational network of institutions is actively merging the local and the global in its *modus operandi* further exhibiting an intentional and explicit cosmopolitanism. By entering partnerships with other civil society associations and even governments,[615] the AKDN in many ways acts as a 'second-government' to deprived communities, offering a full provision of services usually associated with the state.[616] As such, the AKDN is a conduit and an

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[614] The 5 salient goals fall under the category of Indispensable Necessities (*ḍarūriyyāt*). The *maqāṣid al-sharī'a* also contains 2 other supporting categories: Needs (*ḥājiyyāt*) and Improvements (*taḥsīniyyāt*) (Auda 2007; Hallaq 2009; Kamali 1999).

[615] A comprehensive list of the AKDN's partners (governments, non-governmental organizations, and other private institutions) is available on the official AKDN website at http://www.akdn.org/partners.asp (accessed September 5 2017).

[616] More generally, the Ismāʿīlī *Khojas* of Tanzania have developed numerous institutions that "replicate the modern welfare state for its members" (Akthar 2014, 39).

embodiment of practices that reflect and perpetuate ideas of cosmopolitanism that seek to transcend the narrow confines of territoriality, nation-state, and citizenship.[617] "In the process, the Imamate strives to forge a cosmopolitan citizenship both beyond and, if necessary in more practical operational realms, in dialogue with the national" (Mukherjee 2017, 157-158). There is an implicit desire to achieve a critical balance between the material (*dunyā*) and the spiritual (*dīn*), and of course between universal values and particular commitments.[618] Aga Khan IV proclaims a certain interconnectedness of this endeavour with what he refers to as a 'cosmopolitan ethic,'[619] which materializes in the development projects of the AKDN:

> A possible common ground could be found if all the political forces accepted over-arching responsibility to nourish a cosmopolitan ethic among their peoples. This would be an ethic for all peoples, one that offers equitable and measureable opportunities for the improvement of their lives, measured in terms of their own criteria for quality living. Clearly different peoples will have different visions about a desirable quality of life, in urban versus rural areas, for example. But a commitment to a universal ethical system that welcomes and respects diversity will be of central importance. AKDN has sought to structure itself through its network of specialised agencies to optimise its contribution to civil society. These agencies are able to design various matrixes for interventions, which can be adapted to as many situations as possible (Aga Khan IV 2011-2012).

An ethical universality together with a particular religious language articulates itself through the Imāmate's institutional mechanism that seeks to engage with the world while forging a dynamic relation between the local and the global. Thus openness and societal transformation constitute the basis by which the humanitarian endeavour of the AKDN is able to cut across vast nations and engage with different peoples.

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[617] "Extraordinary about the project of development among Ismailis," writes Faisal Devji, "is the dominant position it has achieved within the community, transforming or even replacing properly religious ideals and practices with its language of improvement" (2009, xi-xii).

[618] "AKDN and Ismaili *jamati* institutions seek to emulate the progressive values of civil society in providing support for healthy societal development. They have also produced in Ismailis a sense of cosmopolitanism and global citizenship. The imam's leadership is vital in this endeavor. He gives guidance to his adherents on maintaining a balance between the spiritual and the material aspects of contemporary existence" (Karim 2015a, 256).

[619] See Chapter 5.

In his institutional ethnography in Tajikistan concerning the AKDN and other institutions of the Imāmate, Jonah Steinberg[620] confirms that these institutions mobilize and solidify a transnational Ismāʿīlī identity:[621]

> AKDN is one of the key structures that facilitates the formation of a unitary, cohesive, integral global network, and this occurs both through its formal policies and its informal by-products, such as the flow of personnel through its networks. Such integrality and cohesion means that there can be a single channel through which individuals move and in which interactions occur across the planet" (2011, 62).

It goes without saying that this cosmopolitan characteristic is also tied to an on-going process to connect the present Ismāʿīlī identity with a rich cultural heritage of the past, while promoting a larger Muslim universality that invokes notions of social justice, brotherhood, and religious ethics (Boivin 2014; Mukherjee 2017, Steinberg 2011).[622] Many heap praises on the cosmopolitan nature of Ismāʿīlīs and their ability to unite amidst growing diversity made possible by globalization.[623] The global community's cultural diversity is a source of pride for Aga Khan IV who has encouraged a pluralistic

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[620] Jonah Steinberg is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Vermont. He received his BA from Swarthmore College and his MA and PhD from the University of Pennsylvania. His area of expertise includes, but is not limited to, cultural anthropology, transnational and global communities as well as migration and diaspora. Dr. Steinberg's current research focuses on runaway children in North India as well as the intersection of poverty and domestic crisis among children. He is the author of *Isma'ili Modern: Globalization and Identity in a Muslim Community* (2011), based on his doctoral research in Pakistan and Tajikistan.

[621] On the other hand, Brook Bolander suggests that the use of the English language serves as a transnational tool, contributing to the construction of a unified global Ismāʿīlī identity. She explains how English is understood as the language of possibility for the developing world. It serves as a "global language" that provides "access" and "opportunity" in a global age (Bolander 2016, 11). More importantly, English is the official discourse of this transnational community, which happens to be the only language (other than French) that Aga Khan IV expresses himself in his speeches, interviews and writings (Bolander 2016). Aga Khan IV's insistence on learning English in addition to native languages further motivates the global Ismāʿīlī community to learn English. Bolander concludes that English is not just a tool for progress but it is very much interlinked to the Ismāʿīlī transnational identity and institutional infrastructure. The challenge then is how to balance pursuit of English and preserving local expressions. See her "English and the transnational Ismaili Muslim community: Identity, the Aga Khan, and infrastructure," *Language in Society* (2016): 1-22 and more recently "Scaling value: transnationalism and the Aga Khan's English as a 'second language' policy," *Language Policy* (2017): 1-19.

[622] "The fact that Ismailis are scattered around the globe, while keeping a double loyalty to their Imam and their country of residence necessarily puts them in a position of a cosmopolitan community" (Poor 2014, 171).

[623] See Karen Leonard, "Transnational and cosmopolitan forms of Islam in the West," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 8 (2009): 176-199 and Kim C. Mathews, "Ismailis in Canada: Locations of Subjectivity," (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2007).

approach to community building and relations.[624] While it is a fact that Ismāʿīlīs are committed to the ideals expressed by their Imām, loyalty in actuality is most often practiced as a vertical relation (*murshid-murīd*) and is seldom tested among individual relations within the community (Devji 2014; Karim 2015b; Steinberg 2011). This is most evident in the interethnic interactions between *Khoja* elites – who tend to be appointed at the highest levels within the Imāmate institutions – and Ismāʿīlīs of Tajiistan, where the AKDN institutions occupy a prominent space (Devji 2012; Karim 2015a; Keshavjee 2014; Steinberg 2011).[625] This, of course, leaves one with some unresolved questions regarding where the responsibility of failure and improved advice fall upon, which requires further attention. I do not want to paint a malevolent image of the *Khojas* who seem to have shirked away their ethical responsibilities. Indeed, the *Khojas* are in many ways an admirable and successful entity of the global Ismāʿīlī community who unequivocally provide a tremendous amount of assistance (materially and physically) to the institutions of the Imāmate.[626] Despite the troubles the AKDN representatives may add through their visible presence in these regions, one cannot underestimate the considerable efforts to offer assistance in response to socio-political economic challenges affecting the local Ismāʿīlīs.

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[624] Refer to Chapter 5. It should also be noted that from the 20th century onwards, contact among Ismāʿīlīs from different parts of the world like Tajikistan and Iran has pushed *Khoja* Ismāʿīlīs to "become less 'khoja-centric' in their understandings" and to become more receptive of "other Ismaili traditions and devotional literatures" (Asani 2011a, 121).

[625] "The tension that emerges on the surface in the space of 'development' institutions reveals larger rifts and fault lines. They in turn emerge out of the complex histories of Khoja interaction with non Khoja Ismaʿilis rooted in the colonial politics of community" (Steinberg 2011, 84). According to Faisal Devji, his own experience with projects of the institutions in South and Central Asia triggers a "resemblance to colonial forms of philanthropy, whose racial script was especially clear in situations where the darker-skinned Khojas found themselves in charge of people lighter than themselves, thus reversing the role of their former masters in a pleasing irony. Naturally there is no little ethnic tension between these apostles of progress and the needy people among whom they work" (2009, xiii).

[626] On the other hand, Karim H Karim (2013) has discussed how *Khojas* have also become victims of institutional decisions, specifically within the communal (*jamāʿatī*) institutions. Karim explains that under the banner of religious pluralism as well as "pressure from doctrinaire Muslim views," the *Khoja* literary tradition – which includes the *Ginans* (lyrical devotional literature) – "have a diminished status in the transnational community's centralized religious education curricula and in the work of its research institutions" (2013, 158). For more this sideling of *Khoja* Ismāʿīlī heritage see Karim H. Karim, "Pluralism, migration, space and song: Ismaili arrangements of public and private spheres," in *Diverse Spaces: Identity, Heritage and Community in Canadian Public Culture*, ed. Susan Ashley (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 148-169.

Structure and Function

The cluster of agencies that constitute the AKDN include for-profit and not-for-profit agencies, and operates in more than thirty countries employing some 58,000 employees with an additional 20,000 volunteers (Karim 2011b; Ruthven 2011). As noted earlier, the AKDN agencies are expected to offer services and create opportunities for improving the well being of peoples without regard of their religion, race, ethnicity or gender (AKDN 2016c). The different agencies of the ADKN typically fall into three main categories: Social Development, Economic Development, and Culture (*AKDN organizational chart,* Appendix C). In addition, the AKDN is also involved in activities concerning disaster relief and prevention programs (Karim 2014a; Ruthven 2011). The underlying objective of the AKDN is simply to provide a means of helping people to improve their conditions in life, not through a system of dependency, but rather through an approach that helps communities achieve a level of self-reliance in order to promote human aspirations and human dignity (AKDN 2016c; Ruthven 2011).

In an early study of the institutions of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate by Paul J. Kaiser (1994), entitled "Culture and Civil Society in an International Context: the Case of Aga Khan Health-Care and Education Initiatives in Tanzania," the author highlights the AKDN's emphasis on rigorous management. Examining some of the AKDN's entities and services based in Tanzania, Kaiser argues that each agency of this conglomerate network is managed and operated in a similar manner to multinational corporations (MNC) (Kaiser 1994; Keshavjee 2014). Discussing the AKDN's health-care and education services, Kaiser writes,

> [These] institutions in Tanzania are incorporated "subsidiaries" under national umbrella organizations (Aga Khan Health Services [AKHS] and Aga Khan Education Services [AKES]) which have "parent" companies in Aiglemont, France. These subsidiaries earn profits from services rendered but instead of being redistributed to corporate ownership (the common case for MNCs), they remain within the network for reinvestment (1994, 26).

This corporate ethos of the AKDN[627] is such that "self-sufficiency and programmatic independence" is not undercut/forsaken/ diminished due to dependence on partnerships

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[627] According to Poor, "[t]his corporate element is something which again tempts some scholars to see the AKDN in a Weberian framework by drawing a parallel to the bureaucratic leadership that might be

and external donations. "Ismaili institutions addressed this tension by emulating progressive efficient and cost effective management techniques practiced by MNCs while retaining their non-profit commitment to the delivery of basic social services" (Kaiser 1994, 219; Keshavjee 2014).[628] The for-profit arm of the AKDN falls under the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED),[629] which operates in partnership with more than ninety companies responsible in employing over 97,000, the majority of whom are based in developing countries. In the words of Aga Khan IV,

> AKFED…is neither a charitable foundation, nor a vehicle for the personal wealth of the Ismaili Imam of the time. It is a for-profit, international development agency that, because of its institutional background and social conscience, invests in countries, sectors and projects, on criteria far different from those of a straightforward commercial investor. Investment decisions are based more on the prospects for better lives for the constituencies of people that will be impacted by the investments and their results rather than on bottom line profitability. AKFED does seek to generate profits, but they are entirely reinvested in future development initiatives. AKFED's various entities… look to create economic capacity and opportunity in the developing world, particularly in those areas of the national or regional economies where they are lacking in scope, or scale, or both. This means creating new human and material resources for the future. It means adapting new technologies. It means developing new national and international markets.
> The approach of the Imamat has always been to respond to the development challenges and priorities of the countries in which it is engaged. Naturally, these priorities differ significantly from one country to another, and from one region to another. It has often meant taking courageous but calculated steps to create opportunity in environments that are fragile and complex at the same time. For AKFED, this has frequently meant giving a lead where others might have feared to tread (Aga Khan IV 2003b).[630]

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easily ascribed to the AKDN and the Ismaili imamate's institutions" (2014, 38).

[628] Kaiser notes that more research is needed to evaluate the degree to which civil society organizations actually achieve such balance.

[629] AKFED was born out of the earlier financial institutions founded by Aga Khan III between 1930 and 1960. Under the leadership of Aga Khan IV, AKFED was formed in 1984 (AKDN 2007). Although conceived as a profit-making enterprise, AKFED efforts remain true to the Aga Khan's development strategy. The different agencies of AKFED "are not conventional capitalist entities aimed at maximizing profits but rather companies whose primary aim is to foster economic development. Here, as with his other activities, he takes a long-term view, aiming to ensure that the businesses become self-sustaining by achieving 'operational break-even,' within a 'logical time frame'" (Ruthven 2011, 190).

[630] Also quoted in Poor, *Authority Without Territory,* 192-193.

The different sectors of AKFED deal in financial services, industrial promotion, tourism, aviation and media (Aga Khan Development Network 2007; Karim 2015a).[631] This institution describes itself as an international agency that "seeks to create profitable, sustainable enterprises through long-term investments that result in strong equity positions....[It] works in collaboration with local and international development partners to create and operate companies that provide goods and services essential to economic development" (AKDN 2016b, no pagination; Karim 2015a). In 2015, for example, AKFED generated revenues of USD $4.1 billion, the profits of which get reinvested in its development efforts (AKDN 2016b; Keshavjee 2014). The pursuit of development is supported by economic growth through the market. The practicality of the market place also offers the means by which to ensure that rhetoric translates into reality. Aga Khan IV has urged that private enterprise can help to foster success in social and economic development (Kassam 2003; Keshavjee 2014).[632] Even though the AKDN's efforts are concerned with socio- economic development and fostering partnerships to ensure maximum success, however such participation is placed within a particular context.

> Economic development – increasing the production and consumption of goods and services in the economy and expanding and improving the quality of employment opportunities for a country's population and its disposable income – is certainly critical. I take this goal as a given, and that is why the Aga Khan Development Network has several agencies whose primary objective is to expand economic opportunity in selected sectors. However, the quality of life does not clearly have a direct, one-to-one relationship with the level of production or even the breadth of access to what an economy produces. Without doubt, growth plays a central role in increasing human welfare and dignity. But other dimensions and challenges to development play at least an equally important role. Unfortunately, many of them are not easily measured in

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[631] One of the most well-known examples of subsidiary and associated companies of the Aga Khan Fund for Development (AKFED) is the Nation Media Group Ltd in Kenya. The Nation Media Group (NGM) is considered as one of the earliest for-profit ventures of Aga Khan IV. "It was established to give room to indigenous voices as the country entered independence in the early 1960s. The group has expanded to neighboring countries and has become the largest media organization in East Africa" (Karim 2014a, 153). For more on the Nation group see Gerry Loughran's *Birth of a Nation: The Story of a Newspaper in Kenya* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

[632] "The private sector is vital to a nation's economy. It cultivates the mass of small enterprises, skills, and professional services that build a productive society. Apart from providing needed capital, private enterprise also introduces healthy competition, stimulates productivity, and develops key managerial skills and organizational structures necessary for economic growth" (Kassam 2003, 490).

conventional economic terms nor addressed through usual economic programs and policies…The non-economic dimensions of development often escape the attention they deserve, because the degree of risk of *not* doing something is often underestimated (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 17- 18).

It is evident for Aga Khan IV that participation in the free market is an important part of an individual's quality of life. But such participation is not devoid of moral order, thus placing responsibility on the participants to integrate other dimensions (i.e.: ethical) into free market practices (Keshavjee 2014; Remtilla 2012).

The ethical dimension of free market economy raised by Micheal Sandel, Kesahvjee (2014) alludes, bears similarity with the work of Aga Khan IV. He notes the relevance Sandel's (2012) argument of the change from market economy to market society – "a way of life in which social relations are made in the image of the market" (Keshavjee 2014, 142) – in relation to Aga Khan IV's emphasis on accounting for the non-economic dimensions which "actually support and sustain the health of the economy as well as other aspects of society" (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 18). In the same way, Sandel is calling for a moral rethinking of the market because the current market reasoning attempts to banish the public sphere of any moral and spiritual convictions.

> In its own way, market reasoning also empties public life of moral argument. Part of the appeal of markets is that they don't pass judgment on the preferences they satisfy. They don't ask whether some ways of valuing goods are higher, or worthier, than others…They don't discriminate between admirable preferences and base ones…This nonjudgmental stance toward values lies at the heart of market reasoning and explains much of its appeal. But our reluctance to engage in moral and spiritual argument, together with our embrace of markets, has exacted a heavy price: it has drained public discourse of moral and civic energy, and contributed to the technocratic, managerial policies that afflict many societies today" (Sandel 2012, 14).[633]

What is of concern in the current discussion of Aga Khan IV's approach is Sandel's position regarding the effect and reach of markets in social practices and human relationships in everyday lives. Indeed, economic stimulation is vital to overall development, but the necessary tools and concepts must accompany this in order for civil society sectors to prosper and function appropriately – a primary objective of the

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[633] Parts of this quotation also appear in Keshavjee (2014, 142).

AKDN's position in expanding economic opportunity and participating in free market economies.[634]

On the other hand, the not-for-profit agencies of the AKDN are first and foremost about investing in people. In this area the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) is the leading program-implementing agency of the Aga Khan Development Network's social development activities, but does not run its own institutions (Karim 2015a). It also has a second role, in that AKF is the grant-making engine of the entire system. CEO of Aga Khan Foundation Canada, Khalil Shariff further explains,

> Now it's not the exclusive responsibility of AKF because its agencies also do a little bit of this, but in general AKF has a responsibility and this is why AKF is often the institution that has been the longest standing professional presence of the AKDN in the developed world. So in the developed world, historically speaking, AKF has been the window through which developed world institutions and individuals contribute to the entire AKDN.[635]

The Aga Khan Foundation (AKF)[636] was established prior to the AKDN collective in 1967 as the designated institution to take on the Imāmate's development initiatives (AKDN 2007; Mukherjee 2017). Today, the AKF is considered a field-based organization of the AKDN with offices in over sixteen countries around the world.[637] "A strong social ethic, robust management structures, and an emphasis on encouraging private-sector initiatives have helped make AKF and the institutions of the AKDN exemplary in the development world" (Keshavjee 2014, 44). The AKF's mandate is to seek "sustainable solutions to long-term problems of poverty, hunger, illiteracy and ill health, with special emphasis on the needs of rural communities in mountainous, coastal and other resource-poor areas. Over the long term, AKF promotes self-reliance as a way of reducing the dependence on external aid" (AKDN 2007, 23). The oldest

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[634] For more about the implementing capitalist models of free enterprise under AKDN initiatives and the negotiations of morality among Ismāʿīlīs of the Ishkashim district of Tajik Badakhshan see Remtilla (2012). For a general discussion about the clash of moral values and the opportunities and inequalities of the market see Ruth Mandel and Caroline Humphrey, eds, *Markets and Moralities: Ethnographies of Postsocialism* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002).

[635] Interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, February 13 2015. See Chapter 5, fn. 499 for biography.

[636] The United Nations Development Program recognized the AKF in 1980 (Kassam 2003, 483).

[637] The Foundation's affiliates in Canada, Portugal, the USA and the UK have forged partnerships with Western development agencies as well as corporate donors in order to implement innovative solutions to development challenges in the countries in which it operates (AKDN 2016a; Karim 2015a).

running initiative of the AKF is the Aga Khan Rural Support Program (AKRSP), which started in Pakistan and India in the early 1980s (AKDN 2007; Karim 2014a). This rural support program "is regarded by many development agencies, including the World Bank, as one of the world's most effective aid programmes" and has influenced other rural support projects (Ruthven 2011, 201, 205). For example, in the northern areas of Pakistan the AKRSP works with villagers to organize themselves using efficient strategies in order to better sustain activities of irrigation, road construction, agriculture, livestock, forestry, and food supply (Susumu 2006).

A well-known AKDN constituent is the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC).[638] Its activities are primarily concerned with the culture and heritage of Muslim Societies. Established in 1988, this Trust quickly became one of the most renowned institutions of the Aga Khan Development Network dealing with cultural development in the Muslim world with a focus on caring for the built environment and conserving and rehabilitating historical landmarks of Muslim cities across the globe (Bianca 2011; Ruthven 2011). "Step by step, new programmes were established by the Trust, such as the Historic Cities Programme, the Music Initiative, the Humanities Programme and the Museum Division, thus reaching out into other cultural domains. Architecture, however, has remained at the core of the Trust's mandate – the built environment being understood as the most tangible and complete expression of culture and its many social ramifications" (Bianca 2011, 223). Prior to the establishment of the AKTC, Aga Khan IV founded the Aga Khan Award for Architecture (AKAA), which is "considered the world's most important architectural prize" (Bianca 2011, 222). Beginning in 1976, the AKAA is organized tri-annually and is governed by a steering committee chaired by Aga Khan IV, who in turn choose a Master jury to select the Award winners (Jodidio 2007; Ruthven 2011). The AKAA has completed thirteen cycles since its inception.

It was in the 1970s that Aga Khan IV commenced a series of discussions with scholars and architects around the changing physical environment in Muslim countries.

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[638] "It is interesting to note that the institution that deals with culture is a 'trust' and not a fund for development. The very use of the terms 'trust' suggests that culture is not dealt in the same manner as economics. The use of this term is deliberate. The earth and the physical environment has been given to man as a trust, and it is the duty of man to leave this place better than what it was given to him in the first place. This vision is also expressed in the words of the Aga Khan in regard to the AKTC's work" (Poor 2014, 178).

The immediate concern was the destruction of Muslim architectural heritage in these areas. Over the years, the award has evolved to include non-Muslim countries as well, with a continuing emphasis on architecture that addresses the needs and aspirations of communities towards improving their quality of life (Jodido 2007; Bianca 2011; Poor 2014; Ruthven 2011). In an interview with Philip Jodidio,[639] Aga Khan IV explains what really drives his interest in architecture:

> …[M]y interest in architecture was driven at that time by the question of what to do to improve the quality of life of the ultra-poor. That brought into focus a very serious question that impacted my thinking on architecture. It was apparent that the material needs to change this process were so enormous that the idea that these parts of the world could ever enter the domain of the consumer society was simply unrealistic. What you were doing at the time was to look at every possible way to obtain the highest return on any investment, whether it was for a school or a hospital, or housing. It was not possible to think in terms of the useful life of a building. The useful life of a building was quite simply as long as it was going to stand up. That completely changed my attitude to building programmes. Whereas in the consumer societies of the West you can build and then pull things down, in these ultra-poor societies you cannot afford to do that. What you have to do is to modify buildings or adjust them; therefore, the flexibility of the plan that you put in place has to be conceived with a different view of time than it would be in other parts of the world…In architecture there is an inherent and unavoidable demonstration of the quality of life, or its absence (quoted in Jodidio 2007, 36-37).[640]

As such, architecture is a crucial aspect of Aga Khan IV's and the AKDN's rubric of human development. At the core of architecture, is finding solutions to provide for people's physical needs as well as to satisfy their cultural expressions. The AKAA aims "to promote architecture as an engine for development" in order to address issues facing the built environment, paying "as much attention to restoration projects and sanitation schemes that improve the built environment as to the design of buildings and their architectural qualities" (Ruthven 2011, 214). More importantly, architecture for Aga Khan IV is approached in relation to identity. In Chapter 1 and 2, I traced the expression of a cosmopolitan ethic through concepts such as 'encounter' and

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[639] Philip Jodidio (born 1954) studied art history and economics at Harvard and has been the editor-in-chief of the French art magazine *Connaissance des Arts* from 1980 to 2002. He has also worked as an editorial consultant for the Aga Khan Trust for Culture since 2002. Jodidio is considered one of the leading writers on architecture across the globe who has penned more than 100 titles.
[640] Also quoted in Poor (2014, 194-195).

'engagement' and the discursive constructs of 'Self' and 'Other'. From this perspective, it can be argued that the AKAA and the overall AKTC express the cosmopolitan ethic through re-thinking architecture and the built environment envisioned by Aga Khan IV. "While [the AKAA] privileges the needs and aspirations of Muslim communities, it avoids definitive statements of 'self' or 'other' through a multi-voiced forum of representation" (Bartsch 2005, 4). Architecture in this context serves as the concrete medium that renders visible the balance of global and local cultural values, enhanced by the demands of purpose and use.[641]

One of the most profound projects to emerge from the AKTC is the Al-Azhar Park in Cairo, inaugurated in March 2005. This 30-hectare park, which took twenty years to complete, transformed what was initially a rubbish dump into one of the city's only vivid green spaces.[642] This project also included rehabilitation of the adjoining neighbourhood – Al-Darb al-Ahmar, considered to be one of Cairo's poorest districts (Bianca 2011; Karim 2014a; Ruthven 2011). The Al-Azhar Park exemplifies a concrete example of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan vision, as mentioned earlier in Chapter 5. At the heart of this project lies a cosmopolitan ethic that includes: 1) a long term commitment to understanding the context; 2) openness to new ideas and elements; 3) fostering relations with all parties involved; and 4) bringing value to all facets of the project for the betterment of the people (Poor 2014). The AKTC also collaborates with other organizations to run a number of projects, including the joint program for Islamic Architecture at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) as well as the comprehensive digital archive initiative called ArchNet (Bianca 2011; Karim 2015a; Ruthven 2011).[643] Hence, knowledge – an integral component of the cosmopolitan ethic – is an essential value for cultural sensibility and a tool to maximize success in the AKDN's manifold activities.

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[641] More about the particular importance of architecture in the development of the institutions of Imāmate will be addressed in Chapter 8.

[642] The intention to create a public park in Cario was kick-started by a Protocol of Agreement signed by the AKTC and the Governor of Cairo, Mahmoud Sherif, in 1990. The Al-Azhar Park project falls under the AKTC's Historic Cities Programme aimed at improving urban life and revitalizaling historic spaces. See "Mawlana Hazar Imam donates park in historic city of Cairo," *Canadian Ismaili* 5, no. 1 (July 1991): 27. The Park officially opened its doors to the public in 2005.

[643] Starting in1979 Aga Khan IV established an endowment at Harvard and MIT for a joint program, the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture (Bianca 2011; Ruthven 2011).

Another important institution of the Imāmate worth mentioning is the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies (IIS) established in 1977 in London, England. Although this institute is independent of the AKDN family of agencies it remains part of the Imāmate Institutions that aim to implement the vision of the Imām.

> Its stated mission is to promote the investigation of Muslim cultures and societies, both of the past and of the present, to explore the interaction of religious ideas within the broader aspects of modern life, but to do so with special attention to often neglected fields that contain the intellectual and literary expressions of esoteric Islam, including Shiʿism in general and Ismailism in particular, and geographical areas such as Central Asia and Africa (Walker 2004, 164).[644]

The IIS is considered an academic centre for research and teaching "with the key objective of promoting learning and scholarship in Muslim societies and cultures from both an historical and contemporary perspective" (Dharamsi 2014, 11).[645] For instance, the Department of Academic Research and Publications is responsible for a number of publications which include, occasional papers, monographs on the traditions of the Ismāʿīlīs, translations of Arabic and Persian works, Qurʾānic exegeses and more (Ruthven 2011; Walker 2004). In pursuit of academic excellence, the institute houses a generous collection of books, manuscripts and other materials that serve as a major resource for the wider academic community. In addition, the Institute offers scholarships and runs its own academic programs such as the Graduate Programme in Islamic Studies and Humanities (GPISH) and the Secondary Teacher Education Programme (STEP) (Dharmsi 2014; Ruthven 2011; Walker 2004).[646] The Institute is also responsible for producing educational materials in various languages and employing modern pedagogical approaches (Ruthven 2011). These materials are used

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[644] Also quoted in (Dharamsi 2014, 11, fn.12).

[645] The best source of information on the Institute, including the various publications mentioned here, is its website at www.iis.ac.uk.

[646] The Graduate Programme in Islamic Studies and Humanities (GPISH) is a 3-year interdisciplinary program that encourages innovative approaches to the study of Muslim Societies. The program explores the relationship of religious ideas to broader dimensions of society and culture with attention to Islamic history and thought. The Secondary Teacher Education Programme (STEP) is a program designed to produce educators to teach the Institute's Secondary Curriculum using pedagogical methods in the social sciences and best practices. STEP consists of two designations, an MA in Education, Muslim Societies and Civilizations and a Post Graduate Diploma in Teaching and Reflective Practice (PGDip), designed, by the University College London's Institute of Education (UCL IOE) in partnership with the IIS. For more on these programs see the IIS website at http://iis.ac.uk.

for religious instruction among the Ismāʿīlī community around the world. It is worth mentioning that the process by which the IIS's religious educational materials are produced have raised critical questions. According to Faisal Devji,[647] the materials are generally composed by well-intentioned *Khoja* Ismāʿīlīs educated in the West. These "neo-colonial style textbooks" are composed in English and then translated into different languages, which makes little to no sense for Devji, "given the diversity of student backgrounds and national educational policies" (2014, 58).[648] In addition, the IIS's Department of Community Relations offers the Ismāʿīlīs a range of normative programming (Dharamsi 2014; Ruthven 2011; Walker 2004).

Community "*Jamāʿatī*" Institutions

A range of internal institutions of the Ismāʾīlī community also exists across the globe to serve the various needs of Ismāʿīlīs in the areas in which they reside. These matters include, but are not limited to, religion, economics and conflict management (Kaiser 1994). The *jamāʿatī* institutions' functionality "reveals their central role in binding the community together across territory, in creating a pan-Ismaʿili sense of connection" and producing outcomes that are also "social and relational," which gives shape to an "Ismaʿili global ecumene" (Steinberg 2011, 88).

During the Imāmate of Aga Khan III, processes of reform and reorganization of the Ismāʿīlī community began to take place in order to address the changing circumstances of the time.[649] The primary motivation of the earlier institutions was the social well being of the community, which also paved the way for the AKDN organizations. Today, the goal of improving the quality of life of Ismāʿīlīs and providing long-term development and solutions to challenges of the community continue to be the overarching aim of the *jamāʿatī* institutions. An important provision

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[647] See his biography Chapter 4, fn.354.
[648] Rather than using a bottom-up approach, wherein educational materials are created in the socio-linguistic and cultural nuances in which they are disseminated, the institute seems to favour a top-down approach. Does this represent the cosmopolitan ethic envisioned by Aga Khan IV? More research on this centralized production system of educational resources needs to be conducted to provide a fair assessment. This deserves some careful consideration since it points to an inherent hierarchy within the production of religious material that is defined by region, class and ethnicity. Thus the result is a particular 'western' vision of Ismailism that then gets transposed onto different contexts.
[649] See Chapter 4 where I discuss Aga Khan III's emphasis on education and socio-economic advancement as part of his reform activities.

for the structural development and implementation of Ismāʿīlī internal institutional bodies was the promulgation of rule books and constitutions that communicated the Imām's governing authority and stated the nature and functionality of the different governing bodies (Hirji 2011; Karim 2014a; Nanji 1988).[650]

The process of "constitutionalization" among the Ismāʿīlīs "was an element in the socialization of the community to European norms" (Steinberg 2011, 50), but more importantly this was meant to unify an increasingly global community through loyalty and devotion to the Imām. The role of the of rule books and constitutions discussed below served as the catalyst for implementing Aga Khan III's vision for the community and to create an infrastructure that could continue to provide for the wellbeing of the increasing Ismāʿīlī population in different parts of the world. In his memoirs, Aga Khan III writes,

> My normal work as Imam of the Ismailis consists of a constitutional leadership and supervision of the various councils and institutions of all the numerous and far-scattered Ismaili communities, self-administered as they are in each region. In addition, I am in constant communication with thousands of individuals in the community, on all sorts of diverse matters about which they seek guidance, and it is – as I have indicated – a community spread across the globe from the Great Wall of China to South Africa (Aga Khan III 1954, 203).[651]

The evolution of Ismāʿīlī institutional development is rooted in earlier models of administration that took shape among the *Khoja* communities of East Africa (Boivin 2014; Hirji 2011; Steinberg 2011). "East Africa became a major node in the production, refinement, and global dissemination of these institutions" (Steinberg 2011, 195). The institutions' 'cosmopolitan construct' is without doubt, linked to the Ismāʿīlī experience in colonial India and Africa.[652] More specifically, the evolution of the institutions in East Africa is what has contributed to the development of their "contemporary

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[650] "The development of law by constitutions for the Ismaili community represents a distinctive form of law for a Muslim community…Novel and different though the legal form may have been even in the context of the tradition, the constitutional form also rested on, and indeed developed language for, the articulation of ancient principles stemming from Shia doctrine and belief and the Ismaili interpretation of Islam, principal among which the authority of the Imam" (Jamal 2014, 145).

[651] Also quoted in Steinberg (2011, 52).

[652] "The Constitution [Rules and Regulations], incidentally, was welcomed by the British, who preferred, in the context of their colonial administration in India, to reduce their difficulties by dealing with a well-organized framework of leadership" (Nanji 1988, 70).

transnational political networks" (Akthar 2014, 34). Although this is not place for a complete overview of the migration and settlement of Nīzārī Ismāʿīlī *Khojas* in East Africa, it would be beneficial to briefly offer a context that is relevant to the evolution of the institutions that are central to Ismāʿīlī identity.[653]

Origins and Development of the Ismāʿīlī Constitutions

Migration to East Africa undertaken by the Ismāʿīlī *Khojas* of the Indian subcontinent was driven by a number of socio-economic factors. Initial migration of Asians towards Zanzibar may have begun following the establishment of the Sultanate of Oman on the East African coast in 1840. A great number of *Khoja* Ismāʿīlīs arrived after the 1840s bringing with them their different cultural, linguistic and occupational backgrounds (Hirji 2015).[654] More migrations to Zanzibar continued in the mid to late nineteenth century under British administration. In fact, by 1866 the British established formal legal links between East Africa and India by setting up the first British Consular Court in Zanzibar (Hirji 2011).[655]

Between 1895-1914, the British imported around 37,747 South Asians (Dewji 2014; Gregory 1993; Nanji 1974; Walji 1974). Indeed, much of the Ismāʿīlīs' migration to East Africa can be attributed to broader colonial population movements of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Boivin 2014; Steinberg 2011). During these two centuries, deteriorating living conditions in India caused by recurrent famines and endemic epidemics (mainly cholera and dysentery)[656] contributed to increased movement of peoples to the East African coast. On the political front, the *pax Britannica* and *pax Franca* favoured "the emigration of the *Khojas* who could engage

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[653] A comprehensive study of Ismāʿīlī settlement in Africa still needs to be written.

[654] "It seems that even at this very early stage one can discern some sort of a planned awareness on the part of the Imams to encourage immigration and eventually the development of a large community in East Africa" (Nanji 1974, 126-127).

[655] Evidence of a bourgeoning Ismāʿīlī community is mentioned in the Aga Khan Case of 1866 (see Chapter 4 regarding this case). Ten years after, the British recorded more than 700 Ismāʿīlī families in Zanzibar (Nanji 1974, 126). On the other hand Boivin (2014) recounts cases of individuals who established themselves in East Africa well even before the arrival of Aga Khan I in Bombay.
By 1887, a census of the Sultan of Oman's domain revealed that Muslims formed the largest community of around 4,866 (Gregory 1993).

[656] Boivin (2014, 269) dates the various famines in India to 1803-1804, 1813, 1876-1877, 1896-1897, 1900-1904, 1912-1913, 1916-1917, 1919-1920, 1922-1927, and 1937-1938. The breakout of cholera and dysentery hits the subcontinent in 1912, 1918, and 1919.

in their agricultural or commercial activities in peace" (Boivin 2014, 269-270).[657]

However, it seems that the most overwhelming influence was the advice of Aga Khan III who encouraged the Ismāʿīlīs to pursue new opportunities for a better life (Boivin 2014; Nanji 1974; Walji 1974).[658] Aga Khan III even worked out a plan that was submitted to the Viceroy's Council, for the settlement of Indians in East Africa (Frischauer 1970). Migration to East Africa was initially overseen by Aga Khan I and II followed by further encouragment by Aga Khan III, who formally visited his adherents in Zanzibar in 1899 and 1905 (Hirji 2015; Nanji 1974).[659]

It is in East Africa where the Ismāʿīlīs occupied a 'middle-man' positionality "between colonial and local customs and traditions whilst retaining cultural norms in a religious context and succeeding economically through improvements in education and social welfare" (Mitha et al. 2017, 43). There is no doubt that the status of Aga Khan III under the British Empire made all this possible.[660] It is therefore very likely that the Ismāʿīlī community's interaction with the British in East Africa served as a catalyst for transformation, which "at the very least took into consideration the British colonial socio-legal systems which were in force on both sides of the western Indian Ocean – systems that were subsequently used by many modern nation-states as the basis of their own post-colonial formation" (Hirji 2011, 153). The gradual formation of a growing global religious community with a definitive institutional body and constitutional framework was well underway. Aga Khan III established the first formal rules and regulations for the Ismāʿīlī community in 1905, which was issued in Zanzibar on September 9, 1905 (Boivin 2014; Frischauer 1970; Hirji 2011; Karim 2014a).[661] "What his followers [in Africa] needed was a set of firm rules to embrace their whole life, an administrative and religious framework. [Aga Khan III] decided to give the Ismaili

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[657] My translation.

[658] "L'Aga Khan établit explicitement un parallèle entre la situation de l'Amérique du nord au XIXème siècle – avec le mythe de la conquête de l'Ouest et les richesses naturelles bien réelles que détient le continent – et l'Afrique" (Boivin 2014, 270-271).

[659] During his lifetime, Aga Khan III made a total of 9 visits to the Ismāʿīlīs in Africa: 1899, 1905, 1914, 1925, 1926, 1937, 1945, 1946 and 1948 (Hirji 2011, 157, n. 56).

[660] Refer to Chapter 4.

[661] It is important to note that this 1905 manual (written in Gujarati) is erroneously referred to as the first of its kind. Gleaning from Amrita Shodhan, Hirji informs his readers of a Gujarati manual entitled *Khoja Shia Imami Counsilna Kayadani Book* (1901) published in Bombay (Hirji 2011, 147).

community a written constitution" (Frischauer 1970, 66).[662] Another appeal for the
promulgation of a possible constitution for the Ismāʿīlī community may have been
directly influenced by the development of constitutions, inspired by European models
in Muslim majority countries (Boivin 2014, 272-273).[663] On the other hand, this
statutory document was also a means by which to reinforce the position of the Imām in
relation to his followers, articulate a specific Ismāʿīlī identity, and serve as a safeguard
against possible "dissenters or dissatisfied seceders" (Nanji 1974, 128).[664] The 1905
'constitution' marked the initiation of a period of institutionalization that "formally and
legally defined in modern terms" (Asani 2011b, 110) the values, customs and traditions
of the Ismāʿīlī religious community (Walji 1974).[665] This authoritative and binding
document implemented a framework – which continues in the Ismāʿīlī community to
this day – for the overall governance of the community through the structure of
councils and administrative groups (Asani 2011b; Hirji 2011; Jamal 2002; Nanji 1974;
Walji 1974). Under the Imāmate of Aga Khan III, the *Khoja* Ismāʿīlīs of East Africa
published five manuals, from 1905 to 1954, referred to as 'rules and regulations' of the
Ismāʿīlī community (Hirji 2011).[666] These prescriptive manuals of governance provided

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[662] "It is worth noting that the promulgation of the Rules was not a sole act of the Imam but the outcome
of 'Constitutional Committees,' formed under the Imam's initiative, which toured Africa, invited
proposals, and worked to formulate a code that related the legal validity of the Constitution to the
juridical framework of the various African states where the Ismailis were living" (Nanji 1974, 131). A
similar process was utilized under the Imāmate of Aga Khan IV called the Constitutional Review
Committee (CRC). This committee collected information from all *jamāʿātī* institutions around the world
that would be used towards the creation of a universal Constitution for the community. The formation of
the CRC under Aga Khan IV was confirmed in my interviews with previous leaders of the *jamāʿatī*
institutions in Canada who were involved in the process during the mid 80s.
[663] Aga Khan III notes in his *Memoirs* that he had "read Lord Bryce's classic work on the American
Constitution" (Aga Khan III 1954, 100).
[664] "The Constitution of 1905 was therefore meant to provide a framework that would apply to the
community and act as safety valve against seceders who might lay claim to communal property. A case
dealing with such a claim was fought in 1905 in Bombay" (Nanji 1974, 128).
[665] At this time Aga Khan III also established the Supreme Council for Africa at opened the first principal
jamāʿatkhānās in Zanzibar (Hirji and Ruffle 2015, 339).
[666] Hirji (2011) reveals an important observation regarding the development and promulgation of the
various 'constitutional' type books. He notes that the overwhelming majority of secondary literature
(Jamal 2002, 121; Nanji 1974, 128; Walji 1974, 76) on the topic of Ismāʿīlī constitutions inaccurately
refers to all the publications of this nature as 'constitutions.' In his findings, he uncovers that the term
'constitution' is first utilized in the fourth edition (1946) of these legal documents. Until this point, the
title given to these series of documents were 'rules and regulations.' It is only in 1962, under Aga Khan
IV, that 'constitution' is employed as the defining term of this legal document – *The Constitution of the
Shia Imami Ismailis in Africa.* "[D]espite the books' changing titles (i.e. from 'rules and regulations' to
'constitution'), the community was asked by the Imam to regard these publications as 'constitutional' and
'authoritative'" (Hirji 2011, 147).

the language and necessary tools to implement council organizations to address "the economic, educational, and social development of the community" in the areas where Ismāʿīlīs lived and earned a living (Nanji 1988). In a short period of time, Ismāʿīlī *Khojas* in India received similar books based on the 1905 version in Zanzibar – making it the model constitutional corpus for the Ismāʿīlīs on both sides of the Indian Ocean. Each of the 'constitutions,' the 1905 rule book and its successors, were territorially defined and "were designed to be for the community's *internal* organization and administration rather than in opposition or as an alternative to the 'laws of the land of abode' in which Ismailis lived" (Jamal 2014, 144).[667] What is remarkable about this development is the "speed and distribution" at which these books were being circulated. It points to the "programmatic attempt on the part of the Ismaili Imam to develop structures and systems that would be recognizable to members of the community wherever they found themselves in the western Indian Ocean region and to the British colonial authorities that governed most of the region" (Hirji 2011, 149).

With a rise in economic growth in towns and cities other than Zanzibar, Ismāʿīlīs were making their way into the interior of East Africa. This called for a reassessment of the contemporary institutional structure in Zanzibar, resulting in the addition of more institutional bodies in the new centres of Ismāʿīlī presence (Nanji 1974). In order to meet the demands of the growing Ismāʿīlī population and to effectively administer the needed processes of organizational implementation an updated version of the 1905 rule book was issued in 1925 (Hirji 2011; Nanji 1974; Walji 1974).[668] "Under its provisions, provincial councils were set up in what had now

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[667] As previously mentioned, the 1905 constitutional manual was revised and edited in 1925, 1937, 1946 and 1954 under the Imāmate of Aga Khan III. These would be updated in 1962 under the Imāmate of Aga Khan IV wherein the term 'Constitution' is officially employed in the book's title (Jamal 2014; Hirji 2011).

[668] I follow Hirji's dating of the second edition: "A second edition of the rule book was published in Zanzibar in 1925 by Varas Mahomedbhai Remtulla Hemani, President of the Shia Imami Ismailia Supreme Council of Zanzibar, now under the English title *Rules of the Shia Imami Ismailia of the Continent of Africa*" (Hirji 2011, 146). Nanji (1974) places the issue year at 1926. On the other hand, Walji (1974) notes a second revision occurring in 1925 but also references a book with the issue year 1926, entitled *By-Laws of the Shia Imami Ismailia Councils of the Continent of Africa* (77, 87 and 117, n. 2). It is unclear if Nanji (1974) is referring to the same second edition as Hirji (2011) or whether he has the 1926 set of by-laws in mind. Nanji (1974) cites the work of H.S. Morris, *Indians in Uganda* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1968), 79 when discussing the 1926 'Constitution' leading me to presume that perhaps Morris may have erroneously taken the 1926 set of by-laws of the Ismāʿīlīs of Zanzibar to be the 'Constitution' of the community.

become the three East African territories of Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya. The members were selected by the Imam, who also supervised much of their work. These new organizations were welcomed by the various colonial administrations, since they facilitated their dealings with the community" (Nanji 1974, 128-129). Over the next twenty to thirty years, further developments to the institutional organization ensued with the addition of "educational institutions (the community tried to build and staff its own schools) and by the establishment of economic institutions such as an investment trust company, an insurance company, and various cooperative ventures to unify trading interests. In addition, medical institutions were built in major centers" (Nanji 1988, 70). Finally in 1954, still under the aegis of Aga Khan III, a fifth edition in the series of constitutional books was published. This new edition was prompted by an important conference in Europe – called by Aga Khan III – for all the Ismāʿīlī leaders in Africa two years earlier (Daftary 2007; Hirji 2011). At the Evian Conference (1952), the various leaders and Aga Khan III agreed upon new resolutions for higher education, social welfare, economic growth that would directly affect the growing community during the changing political landscape in East Africa. "The outcome of this conference was far-reaching. The institutions were restructured, a greater degree of interrelation among the institutions was developed, and in fact the new pattern went so far as to accommodate every aspect of the community's development to a changing situation" (Nanji 1974, 129). It goes without saying that the evolution of these constitutional texts reflects the changing social-political landscape in East Africa. Hirji observes that these changes are substantial and not merely one of semantics:

> The changes…reflect the manner in which the Ismaili community in Africa was itself developing and the changing context of the colonial state. On the other hand, the changes may reflect the attitude of a community that was going through the settlement process…as opposed to the term 'constitution' which implies a fully settled, coherent and self-confident group. On the other hand, it may have only been possible for the term 'constitution' to be used as British colonial rule began to give way to the independent nation-state (Hirji 2011, 147).

The constitutional framework also brought with it a system of councils under which the affairs of the community were carried out. Aga Khan III would appoint leaders and

representatives from the community to serve in the various councils. Under Aga Khan III, the community was structured into hierarchical levels: the local *jamāʿats* (congregations), Local Councils, Provincial Councils, Council and the Imām at the top of this management structure (Boivin 2014; Steinberg 2011). For example, Provincial Councils were created under the 1925 rule book, which coincided with the three colonial territories of East Africa: Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya (Boivin 2014, 275). Twelve years after, the Supreme Council was formed in order to oversee and coordinate the affairs of the Provincial Councils. The formation of the Supreme Council served as a building block towards a more centralized governing system within the Ismāʿīlī institutional assembly (Boivin 2014, 276; Steinberg 2011, 50).[669] The specifications outlined in these administrative manuals offered guidelines for a clear understanding of religious status and administrative authority amongst the different members of the council in relation to those who oversaw day-to-day religious duties within the *jamāʿat-khāna* space. In regards to the latter, the daily religious affairs of *jamāʿāt* are administered by a group of two men and two women *Mukhi* (male)/*Mukhiani* female) and a *Kamadia* (male) /*Kamadiani* (female), appointed for every *jamāʿatkhānā.* The individuals, usually married couples, officiate the religious and social ceremonies (i.e.: daily prayers; birth, marriage and death rites etc…) on a two to three year-term basis at the end of which new representatives are appointed (Boivin 2014; Hussain and Scott 2012; Nanji 1974).

With time, each new edition of the 'constitutions' offered a reorganization of the administrative structure and function.[670] Reflecting on the processes of change and the different editions of the community's governing books, it is fair to assume that the revisions did not take away from the overall spirit of Aga Khan III's guidance and the original intention of institutional governance:

> [T]he majority of constitutional changes reflected not so much different values as renewed efforts at better organization through the reworking of committee structure. Of course, since the constitution provided a common framework for the entire Ismaili population, any changes in it were bound to create changes in

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[669] For an early example of the early institutional structure of the Ismāʿīlī community (circa 1962) in East Africa, see *Administrative Structure of the Ismāʿīlī Community,* Appendix E.

[670] For a thorough discussion on the evolution of the council system and the change in mechanisms around duties and responsibilities among the different 'constitutions,' see Walji (1974).

the society itself, if only in emphasizing aspects more or less heretofore ignored. Nevertheless, constitutional revision was, practically speaking, more than anything else an attempt to coordinate local interests as the Ismaili society became more complex (Walji 1974, 77).[671]

Indeed, the numerous committees within the council system were entrusted with looking after a wide range of issues affecting the wellbeing (spiritual and material) of the Ismāʿīlīs. The underlying objective of this earlier model of infrastructure was no doubt to offer a support system of community members seeking advice and assistance in business, housing, health and education. In essence, the councils and organizations are understood as instruments of the Imām's authority and effective implementation of his vision for community's quality of life and progress:

> The various councils and organizations, seen against the background of the whole system, emerge as extensions of the Imam's authority and guidance, both of which, in a sense, mirror the community's vision of life. These extensions are coordinated to involve as many Ismailis as possible at varying levels of organization. Hence, though the main thrust comes from the Imam, it is, in actuality, the community by its involvement in the day-to-day workings of the system that keeps it functioning (Nanji 1974, 131).

The Contemporary Ismāʿīlī Constitution and Institutional Structure

By the time Aga Khan IV succeeded his grandfather as Imām, the increasing global nature of the Ismāʿīlī community became apparent, re-enforcing the need for a more comprehensive and unifying framework for the Imāmate and its institutions. "The increasingly international and cosmopolitan nature of the Ismaili community was given legal recognition in the form of a new constitution which Aga Khan IV ordained on 13 December 1986, his 50th birthday. This constitution was to be in effect for all Ismaili communities worldwide, superseding numerous local or regional ones. It expresses Ismaili identity in pan-Islamic and pan-Ismaili terms" (Asani 2011b, 121).[672] The Constitution offered a prescriptive vehicle by which to ascribe a unified common

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[671] Also quoted in Arif A. Jamal, "The Ismaili Conciliation and Arbitration Boards in India: A Model of Community Justice?" in *Being Muslim in South Asia: Diversity and Daily Life,* ed. Robin Jeffrey and Sen Ronojoy (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141-160.

[672] I was reminded that Aga Khan IV struck a Constitutional Review Committee (CRC) in the early 1980s that went around the world (including Canada) talking to the leaders of the countries. Mohamed Manji, interview with author, via telephone, February 20 and March 19, 2015. Other *Jamāʿatī* institutional representatives also iterated the importance of the CRC in the development of a universal constitution.

identity of the global Ismāʿīlī community and also allowed the diverse Ismāʿīlīs, in different part of the world, to contribute to their own development (spiritual and material) within the institutional paradigm. It is clear that such the Constitution serves as the (legal) cornerstone of contemporary Ismāʿīlī identity, which is itself configured through the intersection of *ṭarīqa* practices and Imāmate institutions together with a framework of community organization.[673]

This contemporary binding document entitled *The Constitution of the Shia Imami Muslims* (amended in 1998) replaces its predecessors while still invoking the authority of the Imām and the oath of allegiance to him – encapsulated in the book's Preamble (Jamal 2014; Leonard 2009).[674] In other words, the current constitution clearly reinforces the Ismāʿīlī community's allegiance to the Imām and the *ṭarīqa* while also providing an enabling framework by which to carry out duties and responsibilities in consonance with the vision of the Imām.

> The document [Constitution] outlines, under the authority of the Imam, the institutional structure of the communal institutions, which operate as translocal self-governing structures, and the AKDN organizations, which are non-denominational and operate transnationally in the public sphere (Karim 2016, 110).

This universal constitution is effective where Ismāʿīlīs reside across the globe. However, each country has their own Rules and Regulations book that offers detailed provisions for the governance of the institutions in the respected countries.[675] In addition to these two sources, which are meant for wider consultation within the

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[673] "The jamaʿati institutions are central in the creation, negotiation, and refinement of Ismaʿili images and imaginings of self. They are interested in and focused on the Ismaʿili past, particularly as it relates to themes of ʿAlid descent and the Fatimid Empire. As is the case with many communities, for Ismaʿilis history has become a central motif or emblem of contemporary identity" (Steinberg 2011, 88).

[674] Regarding the authority of the Imām, section D of the Constitution's Preamble states: "The authority of the Imam in the Ismaili Tariqah is testified by *Bayʿah* by the murid to the Imam which is the act of acceptance by the murid of the permanent spiritual bond between the Imam and the murid. This allegiance unites all Ismaili Muslims worldwide in their loyalty, devotion and obedience to the Imam within the Islamic concept of universal brotherhood. It is distinct form the allegiance of the individual murid to his land of abode" (Aga Khan IV 1998, 6). The authority of the Imām is further confirmed in Article 1 of the Constitution (Aga Khan IV 1998, 9; replicated in Jamal 2014, 146).

[675] Each country has its own Rules and Regulations. It is unclear whether these are also for public viewing. For prescriptive measures in relation to Rules and Regulations see Article 5.11 of the Constitution (Aga Khan IV 1998, 15).

community (not just the leaders),[676] there exists a set of Guidelines that are private. "It was not a published document, it was really contents for the leaders of the different Councils to better interpret, if you will, the rules and regulations in the constitution."[677] The appointed members of the various Councils utilize the Guidelines document when further consultation is required on various topics.[678] According to this Constitution, there are 15 National Councils across the world, 56 countries without a National Council and 1 Territorial Council for the European Union (Aga Khan IV 1998, 30; Karim 2014a; Kaiser 1994).[679] In accordance with Article 5 of the Ismāʿīlī Constitution, some of the responsibilities of the Councils include:

> (1) maintaining and fostering unity of Ismāʿīlīs while protecting and strengthening the Islamic social and cultural heritage; (2) maintaining and fostering unity with other tariqahs within the Muslim Ummah, and seeking friendly relation with all other peoples; (3) endeavouring to improve the quality of life of the Jamat, through appropriate policies and programmes in the areas of education, health, social welfare, housing, economic welfare, cultural and women's activities, youth and sports development; analyzing critical issues confronting the Jamat and their relationship to underlying trends in the national and international development process, and setting attainable goals for the Jamat; (4) preserving and fostering the tradition of voluntary service and identifying, motivating and developing leadership talent; (5) serving the needs of the Jamat to enable it to make and effective contribution to the development of the societies in which it lives; (6) providing humanitarian emergency assistance in the event of natural or man made disasters causing sickness, injury, starvation, homelessness, dislocation or other suffering and to take appropriate anticipatory and mitigating measures in respect of such disasters;[680] (7) making

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[676] In Hirji's (2011) analysis of the constitutions he also noted that the books were published and accessible by all individuals. Interestingly, the current Constitution is no longer readily available for public circulation. I have been told that no more copies are available because the publishers have not produced any more. But this reasoning, in my experience, has been used for at least a decade and raised more speculations about why nothing has been done to make the constitution available for consultation. However, copies are easily available on unofficial websites, which are frowned upon by the institutions.

[677] Mohamed Manji, interview with author, Toronto, February 20 and March 19, 2015.

[678] National Councils consist of a president and vice-president in addition to *ex officio* members: the chairmen of the Central Institutions and presidents of the Regional Councils or presidents of the Local Councils in that country (Aga Khan IV 1998, 15).

[679] Both Karim (2014a) and Kaiser (1994) report 14 countries with National Councils and 44 countries that do not have National Councils. Kaiser (1994) uses a 1987 reprint of the 1986 Constitution and Karim (2014a) and I consult the same 1998 reprint of the 1986 Constitution containing ordained changes. Nevertheless the numbers I consult in the text report 15 and 56 respectively.

[680] The primary agency for humanitarian emergency assistance formed by Councils and affiliated with the AKDN is known as Focus Humanitarian Assistance (FOCUS). This is an incorporated agency with four constituents: Focus Canada, Focus Europe, Focus Pakistan and Focus USA (Aga Khan IV 1998, 38).

available to the Jamat and the public at large information relating to the role and contribution of the institutions of the Imamat and the Jamat towards development in various regions of the world; (8) strengthening the Jamat and its institutions; and (9) work in close collaboration with other Councils in different regions in different regions of the world and with the Aga Khan Development Network (Aga Khan IV 1998, 14).[681]

As mentioned earlier, the nascent organizations envisioned by Aga Khan III would evolve and expand during the Imāmate of Aga Khan IV. These changes in the organizational structures and functions are reflected in the current Constitution, which aims to articulate a more universal and close-knit system of the institutions of the Imāmate. The contemporary Constitution also incorporates what are identified as 'Apex' and 'Central'.[682] The Apex institutions form part of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) and have been included within the Constitutional organization for the co-ordination of activities and for further "achieving specific objectives or addressing specific development problems or issues in any area of human endeavour" (Aga Khan IV 1998, 16). The Central institutions (incorporated or unincorporated) have been constituted to offer a range of services (i.e.: education, youth development, sports, economic and social welfare, health etc.) for the *jamā'at*, to assist the aims and objectives of the Councils and to contribute to the programmatic endeavours of the Apex institutions (Aga Khan IV 1998). Other community institutions that form part of the *jamā'atī* system include three Boards that work concomitantly with the Council, but report directly to the Imāmate:

1) The Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board – ITREB whose mandate is to organize religious education classes, guide the *Mukhi* and *Kamadia* in matters of faith and religious practices, and organize relevant programs for the general education of the *jamā'at.* In addition, ITREBs receive guidance from an ITREB coordinator based at the

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[681] This list is also replicated in Karim (2014a, 151).
[682] Apex institutions include: 1) Aga Khan Foundation – AKF; 2) The Aga Khan University – AKU; 3) Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development – AKFED; 4) Aga Khan Trust for Culture – AKTC. The Central (incorporated) institutions comprise of: Aga Khan Education Services – AKES; 2) Aga Khan Health Services – AKHS; 3) Aga Khan Planning and Building Services – AKPBS. In addition there are (unincorporated) Central Institutions: Aga Khan Economic Planning Board; Aga Khan Education Board; Aga Khan Health Board; Aga Khan Housing Board; Aga Khan Social Welfare Board; and Aga Khan Youth and Sports Board (Aga Khan IV 1998, 31-33).

Imām's Secretariat at Aiglemont with regards to the safekeeping and appropriate distribution of *farmāns* and other religious messages of the Imām. Each country specified in the Constitution has a National Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board that is also supported by regional and local boards in the areas of its jurisdiction. ITREBs also work closely with the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies (IIS) to ensure best practice of the dissemination of religious curricula (Aga Khan IV 1998; Dharamsi 2014).

2) The Grants and Review Boards – GRB have been established to ensure the proper use of resources and funds within the *jamāʿats*. The GRB objectives as outlined in Article 9 of the Constitution include: evaluating budgeting expenditure, ensuring cost and management effectiveness of the various Councils, Central Institutions and the affiliated institutions that receive financial support form the Imām and the *jamāʿat* (Aga Khan IV 1998, 19-20).[683] They have a similar organizational and reporting structure as the ITREBs.

3) The Constitution also identifies Conciliation and Arbitration Boards (CAB) where National Councils have been established for the purpose of conflict resolution among the community. National CABs along with their regional and local counterparts report to an International Conciliation and Arbitration Board, which reports directly to the Imām. This body helps to resolve disputes within the *jamāʿat* concerning civil, family and business matters at no cost to the parties involved. "The primary objective of the CAB System is to assist Ismailis to resolve disputes in an equitable, speedy, confidential, cost effective, amicable and constructive manner *and in an environment that is culturally sensitive*" (Jamal 2014, 149).[684]

        Another element of the 1986 Constitution was the formal establishment of a "Leaders International Forum (LIF)" (Aga Khan IV 1998). Although the LIF is officially identified in the newly implemented Constitution, my research indicates that

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[683] The Constitution identifies 13 National Grants and Review Boards that may also have Regional and/or Local GRBs as deemed necessary within the jurisdiction territory.

[684] It should be noted that in the arbitration process, Boards apply laws of the country applicable to any dispute put forward. For more on the function of CABs see Arif A. Jamal's, "The Ismaili Conciliation and Arbitration Boards in India: A Model of Community Justice?" in *Being Muslim in South Asia: Diversity and Daily Life,* ed. Robin Jeffrey and Sen Ronojoy (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141-160.

it had already been active nine years earlier with its first meeting taking place in 1977. The LIF is a constitutional body established to look into specific matters brought forward by the Imām concerning the global Ismāʿīlī community. Although it reports directly to the Imāmate, it is not a council with executive functions but rather an advising committee that makes recommendations at the request of the Imām. As such, the LIF does not get involved in issues related to the practice of the faith; rather it deals primarily with the overall social governance of the *jamāʿat* while working in close collaboration with the Apex institutions identified in the Constitution (*The Ismaili Canada* Dec. 1994). "[The LIF] is one of the several means through which sections of the global Ismaili community interact laterally across borders", giving way to increased interaction among the international Ismāʿīlī leaders (Karim 2014a, 150). The LIF's membership is composed of national presidents, a chair and two other members appointed by the Imām based on a particular set of expertise on an issue that the Imām is interested in bringing forward to the international community.[685]

The above-mentioned institutions are accountable to the Imāmate's secretariat. As noted in Chapter 3 the secretariat of Imām resides at Aiglemont where Aga Khan IV "oversees both the transnational *Jamat's* institutions and AKDN agencies" (Karim 2014a, 150). The secretariat thus serves as a hub (secular, religious and economic) that interconnects all the institutions of the Imāmate. In addition, "[t]he imamate and secretariat at Aiglemont also help to coordinate and prescribe the rules and processes that govern Ismaʿili communities around the world" (Steinberg 2011, 58). At this site, Aga Khan IV works with an inner circle of advisers within the various departments, which includes the Department of Jamati Institutions (DJI) that oversees and coordinates the global activities and programs of the *jamāʿatī* institutions,[686] as well as a department concerned with the Imāmate's diplomatic relations (Karim 2014a; Poor

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[685] Mehmoona Moosa-Mitha, interview with author, via Skype, April 10, 2015. From 1987 to 1993, the LIF consisted of 9 members. In December 1993, the size was increased to 16 members (*The Ismaili Canada* Dec. 1994).

[686] "The imamate and secretariat at Aiglemont also help to coordinate and prescribe the rules and processes that govern Ismaʿili communities around the world. These bestow a certain amount of sociopolitical and legal homogeneity, unity, and shared process upon disparate Ismaʿili societies" (Steinberg 2011, 58).

2014; Steinberg 2011).[687] Together, the institutions of the Imāmate (AKDN and *jamā'atī*) under the governance of the Secretariat play an important socio-religious role for the Ismāʿīlī community, which are incorporated into the present Ismāʿīlī Constitution within an ethical framework that is implicit in the nature and function of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate.

The transformation of Ismāʿīlī religious organization towards an institutionalized form of governance brings with it standardization processes and unavoidable bureaucratization practices that often come into conflict with grand ideals and moral values. Walji (1974) raised important concerns that continue to be raised by the community as a whole. For instance, she notes that economic status of individuals played a role in administrative positions within the Councils. Although today, this is not as prominent, it cannot be denied that wealthier individuals often do hold higher posts (see also Nanji 1974). Nevertheless, there is an acknowledgement that the nature of some of the higher positions (president or vice president of the Council), continue to be voluntary and require a great amount of time. As such, the positions necessitate persons who can afford to let go some of the pressures and commitments of their daily jobs. "Issues of democracy raise some important questions in Ismaili contexts. Dominant Western views of democracy seem to be at odds with the arrangements of Ismaili institutional governance. A hereditary leadership and hierarchical organization of the *jamati* councils do not appear to manifest a democratic structure" (Karim 2015a, 256). In this regard, questions have also been raised about the use of nepotism in the appointment cycles of the community's leadership positions. "Despite the Aga Khan's promotion of meritocracy, vocal members of the community who are increasingly active on the Internet frequently complain about the amassing and misuse of power by those who hold multiple appointments in the bureaucratic structures" (Karim 2016,

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[687] "The very existence of a diplomatic wing at Aiglemont is fascinating in the context of this discussion. It points to the status of the Isma'ili imamate on the global stage as a nonstate player, which nonetheless is recognized by and has the ability to interact with states. The diplomatic wing at Aigelmont is responsible for the facilitation of extensive treaties, accords, agreements, and negotiations in which the signatories are usually the Aga Khan and a nation-state" (Steinberg 2011, 57). Some other departments at Aga Khan IV's secretariat include a Department of International Financial Affairs, Department for International Legal Affairs, Department of Communications.

109-110).[688] Although efforts have been made to ensure the possibility of more diversified and merit based nominations, kinship ties continue to play a significant role in attaining prestige and leadership positions in the community.[689]

In Chapter 5, I raised concerns about the continuing centralization of Ismāʿīlī institutions and the bureaucratization of religion. This institutional hegemony appears to run counter to the cosmopolitan narrative pronounced by Aga Khan IV and diminishes the rich ethico-religious heritage of Ismāʿīlī engagements and the Ismāʿīlī emphasis on the *bāṭin*.[690] In Devji's words,

> The continuing standardization and institutionalization of Ismailism has as its corollary the destruction of local forms of authority and practice, and yet as the only noteworthy religious leader left in place the Imam cannot in his very singularity function as a theological authority to whom all individuals might turn for decisions. Moreover his ministers are all laymen and bureaucrats who are unable to speak religiously and possess only clients of their own, rather than constituencies that might be locally instructed (2009, xiv).

The issue of centralization is indeed concerning. However, disposing of a centralized system of governance may actually never be of possibility because of the nature of the institutions and the socio-religious implications tied to the concept of Imāmate. The bureaucratization of the Imāmate is not simply a contemporary phenomenon. Historically, it was always part of Ismāʿīlī governance as expressed through the Fāṭimid Empire (Karim 2016). The course of Ismāʿīlī history has demonstrated that a gradient of temporal arrangements existed to express authority and fluidity in the respective ages. For Devji, "it is not clear that the highly centralised and bureaucratized forms of governance favoured by the community and its development projects will retain their productivity in future, despite the truly remarkable work they have accomplished in the past" (Devji 2009, xv). Despite what observers may point out as deficiencies, it is

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[688] "The system of nomination has reinforced these determinants of administrative position. In giving the power of nomination to retiring council members, the Ismaili Constitution has encouraged the selection of wealthy office holders, linked to the retiree through marriage, kinship, and/or migrant group. As a result, the administration of the Ismaili community has tended to remain in the hands of an elite, wealthy, and self-perpetuating group" (Walji 1974, 89).

[689] To be fair, one cannot ubiquitously validate that merit plays no part in nominations. I am told, for instance, that there is a rigorous attempt to include younger accomplished individuals in the list of nominations. As great an attempt this may be, the new younger position holders (especially at the upper echelon) tend to be linked to the retiree through kinship and/or marriage.

[690] See Chapter 3.

important to recognize that autonomy amongst the different institutional tiers is not entirely suppressed. A lot of independent thinking does take place in different areas, reflecting some of the more decentralized activities. Although a review of the decentralized policies and activities are not part of this dissertation, some remarks are worth noting.[691] My own experience with programmatic initiatives with the *jamā'at* points to yet another challenge whereby the leadership, more often than not, choose to hide behind hyperboles or excuses of 'sectarian fear' in order to mask its discomfort with innovative ideas. "It appears as if the fear of Sunni discrimination is being used by the bureaucracy, though no doubt inadvertently, to mask its own fear of losing and indeed lacking any real control over the community and its circumstances" (Devji 2014, 60). Perhaps it is also the fear of making mistakes and the worry of accountability. Similar to other institutions, individuals at the bottom of the hierarchical structure are reluctant to make independent decision without getting prior approval. Many times it is easier to say no in order to avoid any possible repercussions leading to an over tendency to depend on other representatives of higher rankings who are not as readily accessible to lay members of the community.[692] Whatever the case, this bureaucratic script is clearly articulated in various scenarios, which leads to the demise of independent thought or opinion and only serves to augment any mistrust the lay community holds against its leaders. I am aware that this fear is immanent in certain Muslim majority countries where Ismā'īlīs reside such as in Pakistan and Syria, where "Ismailis are at some risk of sectarian discrimination and violence" (Devji 2014, 60). However in the Canadian context where I have offered my services, the Ismā'īlīs, in my opinion, are not subject to the same level of risk. While the threat of targeted violence against Ismā'īlīs in those Muslim majority countries is a real concern, "there is little if anything that the community's bureaucracy can do about this, apart from trying to buy protection in the traditional way" (Devji 2014, 60).

Nevertheless, a centralized model of governance still remains a point of contention for the community. I do not suggest that an ultimatum be put forward; it is not an 'either-or' decision. The challenge is rather how to best balance the center with

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[691] More research is needed regarding on the lived realties and how these are negotiated with the center.
[692] Interview with author, via telephone, May 9, 2015. The interviewee wished to remain anonymous.

diverse semi-autonomous constituencies. Is it possible to overcome this strain that is slowly ebbing away from local expressions and creativity? It seems to me that part of the answer lies in Aga Khan IV's concept of a cosmopolitan ethic. Attached to this concept is a worldview aimed at finding a 'nuanced' balance between the universal and the particular. The logic of expressing a cosmopolitan ethic is to acknowledge local expressions with a sense of dignity and pride. But this comes with the responsibility to ensure that the overarching goals do not deviate from those of the transnational leadership. Constant understanding and negotiation must take place through a discourse that prioritizes the good of the community. This is why it is crucial for community leaders to engage in an ethical discourse that is not reduced to dialectics of rules and codes, but rather reflects Aga Khan IV's own discourse of theological ethics discussed in Chapter 5. Such an approach will contribute to dealing sensibly with tensions of culture and religious affairs, which get in the way of recognizing the shared interests and concerns at hand.

Institutional Service and Religious Symbolism

I have raised some criticism about the leadership and work of the Ismāʿīlī institutions, which hold validity from a lens of institutional practice. At this time, I want to draw attention to the spirit of service rendered by the very individuals. It is sometimes difficult to fully comprehend the motivation behind Ismāʿīlī commitments to voluntarism. The numerous volunteers, in all institutional positions, are willing to devote time and energy while making personal sacrifices on their own lives. A mobilizing characteristic that undergirds all the institutions of the Imāmate is an overwhelming trust and belief in Aga Khan IV's vision. Ismāʿīlīs are invited to translate ethical principles into action through offering service in the form of voluntarism within the different institutions of the Imāmate – the AKDN and *jamāʿatī* (communal) institutions. "Affection, loyalty, and dedication to the Imamat are reflected in the distinctive Ismaili bearing towards the communal and AKDN organization.

Service (*khidmat*) and giving (*sadaqa*), as acts of faith,[693] underlie the voluntary contributions of time, effort, and material support that they offer the Imamat's institutions" (Karim 2014a, 155). Recall that the well-being of humanity was a fundamental concern for Aga Khan III and for him this could only be attained through service; a form of service that encapsulated not only the spiritual realm but also the profane, wherein legitimate labours were encouraged for the well-being of all. This interpretive tendency helped, in my understanding, to cultivate – within the endeavours of Aga Khan IV as well as within the spirit of the community – what is now defined as the 'cosmopolitan ethic.'

The current Imām makes clear through his *farmāns* and public speeches the ethical obligations entrusted upon his adherents to act in accordance with the ethical guidelines of Islam. Voluntarism in the Ismāʿīlī community is thus understood "in terms of balancing the spiritual (*din*) and material (*duniya*) world. Voluntarism is a 'means of keeping ethics in dynamic motion' in the secular, material world. Through voluntarism…one hopes to receive blessings from God and thus develop one's spiritual life" (Jamal 2003). The concept of cosmopolitan ethics utilized by Aga Khan IV builds on the idea of service - expounded by his grandfather – that is regarded as a deeply held Ismāʿīlī value.[694] Reference to believers who served the Prophet and the past Imāms are frequently invoked through institutional messaging. "The pledging of oneself for a number of years or the dedication of one's entire life is symbolically expressed through membership in respective devotional associations," leading one to conclude that " this religious attitude influences an adherent's personal approach when serving in the Imamat's secular institutions" (Karim 2014a, 155). The ease with which the community mobilizes itself through its love and loyalty towards the Imām is nothing short of an inspirational source. Granted that the institutions of the Imāmate run on a highly centralized scheme, there is no real coercion to remain loyal. There is something to be

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[693] Refer to Azim Nanji, "Charitable Giving in Islamic Contexts," in *Philanthropy in Pakistan: A Report of The Initiative on Indigenous Philanthropy,* ed. Dabid Bonbright (London: Aga Khan Development Network, 2000).

[694] See Chapter 4 for a general understanding of service in the thought of Aga Khan III. For the formalization of the Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps see Rizwan Mawani and Nashila Velji "Towards a tradition of service: The first decade of the Ismaili Volunteer Corps," *The Ismaili Canada*, December 2012, no. 2: 39-43. In addition, voluntarism is a principal objective to "preserve and foster" of the Councils as stated in the Ismāʿīlī Constitution (Aga Khan IV 1998, 17).

said about the way in which the community is able to achieve a degree of communal unity (local and global) that – in a tacit sense – is connected to the ways in which people serve.[695] Although service is taken to be an exemplary virtue of the Ismāʿīlī community, Karim (2014a) raises a point of contention that arises from the blurred lines of obligation and loyalty in respect to the moral incentive to serve:

> Individuals may feel the obligation to contribute to the betterment of humanity because this is an expectation in their religious community; there will also be benefits of a social nature to be derived, including the respect of fellow believers and rewards such as symbolic honors and promotion in the hierarchies of associations. Such benefits bring to attention the grey areas between ethical obligation and personal motivation. An individual may contribute to an endeavour out of a sense of duty, but his conduct in performing the obligation may not correspond ethically to the underlying principles of the cause if he does not subscribe to or fully understand them. The likelihood of the latter would increase if the motivation is self-interest (Karim 2014a, 154-155).

While it may be the case that the AKDN and its institutions view themselves as a secular entity, they nonetheless evoke religious associations for the Ismāʿīlīs across the globe who view all institutions of the Imāmate as intricately tied to devotion and loyalty to the Imām (Remtilla 2012; Steinberg 2011).[696] "AKDN symbols conjure the image of the imam to local Ismaʿilis. The imam's institutions are, for Ismaʿilis inextricably tied to the leader himself, and despite the formally secular nature of the institutions, they associate them with him, his religious significance, and the resources

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[695] In the U.S. for example, the Ismāʿīlīs lead an initiative called I-CERV (Ismaili Community Engaged in Responsible Volunteering) in order "to address issues of the environment, including projects intended to address poverty and hunger, renovate schools, clean parks and plant tress, visit the elderly, tutor children, provide disaster relief, and many other causes." See Yvonne Y. Haddad and Jane I. Smith "Muslim Minority Groups in American Islam," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Islam,* eds. Yvonne Y. Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 140.
For a general understanding of voluntarism amongst American Muslims see Altaf Husain, "Volunteerism among American Immigrant Muslims" in *The Oxford Handbook of American Islam* eds., Yvonne Y. Haddad and Jane I. Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 304- 321.
[696] For Faisal Devji – University Reader in Modern South Asian History at Oxford University and former head of the Graduate Studies at the Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS) – it is unclear as to what religious articulation, if any, permeates the AKDN structure. He writes, "And while it is meant to be the secular expression of a religious commitment by Nizari donors, volunteers and employees, it is not clear what kind of religion lies behind the AKDN, which instead appears to have defined Ismaili devotions more than the reverse. For the Ismaili community has itself taken on the character of an NGO, whose religious bureaucracy in many places seems to function as a 'make work' programme" (Devji 2014, 55).

he is thought to bring" (Steinberg 2011, 74).[697] The AKDN institutions inadvertently inculcate the awareness of a global Ismāʿīlī community that is interconnected through its ethico-civil service inspired by Aga Khan IV. On the other hand, one cannot forget the AKDN practical strategy of bringing voluntary associations together to work on community projects.[698] "Without the involvement of grassroots-level volunteers, few of the sophisticated strategies that managers and planners like to devise would have any momentum or impact. Thus, a key lesson learned by the AKDN is that true performance and changes of any lasting value cannot be achieved without locating hardy and dedicated community volunteers who can provide leadership, management skills, and public-spirited service" (Kassam 2003, 491). During Aga Khan IV's 'Golden Jubilee'[699] a practice of the gift of time and knowledge, known as *Time and Knowledge Nazrana* or TKN was launched. This practice puts together two cherished traditions of the Ismāʿīlī community: service and knowledge. Through TKN individuals are able to contribute service in *jamāʿatī* (communal) and AKDN institutions worldwide for an allocated period of time. This endeavour aims to harness the expertise and skills of Ismāʿīlīs by contributing various skill sets, locally and globally, and applying them in the service of humanity (*The.Ismaili* 2017b).[700]

Indeed, the AKDN's activities are imbued with religious understandings of service and giving, which is overseen by the Imām himself (Karim 2014a; 2014b). "Under the Aga Khan's supervision, trusteeship and leadership of his institutions is not an abstract ideal but is measured through established protocols of accountability, probity, and independent external evaluations of AKDN personnel and projects"

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[697] See also Nejima Susumu, "From Social Development to Religious Knowledge," in *Intellectuals in the Modern Islamic World: Transmission, Transformation, Communication,* ed., Stephanie A. Dudoignon, Komatsu Hisao, and Kosugi Yasushi (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 226-240.

[698] Effectively harnessing the energies of voluntary associations to work toward a common goal is a key strategy of the Aga Khan Development Network. The sheer size of the voluntary sector gives it immense potential to empower people and create lasting social change. Volunteers display virtues of dedication, self-reliance, and personal initiative – key ingredients of strong and imaginative social institutions. In fact, the lifeblood of the AKDN agencies and institutions is its legion of volunteers" (Kassam 2003, 491).

[699] For an explanation of Jubilees see Chapter 5, fn. 448 and 449.

[700] As of 2016, the Time and Knowledge Nazrana initiative placed over 22,000 volunteers serving globally in various capacities. Zahir Janmohamed, "Time and Knowledge Nazrana," *The Ismaili Canada,* (Summer 2016): 47. See also Farah Lalani, "US TKN Volunteers and International Assignments," *The Ismaili: United States of America,* (December 2011): 14-16, and Karim H. Karim's "Aga Khan Development Network: Shia Ismaili Islam," in *Global Religious Movements Across Borders: Sacred Service,* ed. Stephen M. Cherry and Helen R. Ebaugh (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014a), 143-160.

(Kassam 2003, 493). As discussed earlier, an *Ethical Framework* composed under the guidance of Aga Khan IV guides the institutions' overall governance and functionality of the institutions.[701] This level of personal involvement leaves one in a predicament: when ideals construed by Aga Khan IV are invested into the institutional infrastructure, there is an expectation of perfectibility because the institutional bodies are seen as a direct extension of the Imām. One way to overcome this tension is by distancing the Imām (the perfected human) from those who work for him. In Tajikistan for example, the Imām's institutions are critiqued for not having fully lived up to the expectations of the Ismāʿīlīs in that region. "They distinguish figures of authority from those who represent them on the ground" (Remtilla 2012, 101). Ultimately, the Ismāʿīlīs view the Imām as the ultimate moral guide who cannot be held responsible for the selfish interests of the few who corrupt the system.[702] Appropriate management and conduct rests on the shoulders of appointed administrators. As Karim reminds us,

> Aga Khan IV has put a high premium on the proper conduct of leaders, staff, and volunteers engaged in the operations of the organizations. The ethically charged obligation to improve the human condition requires that the work towards fulfillment of this obligation be carried out in an ethical manner… This behoves [*sic*] those charged with their governance, administration, and service delivery in the Imam's institutions to maintain high ethical standards" (2014a, 156, 145).

As in any organization run by human beings, it is inevitable that disagreements and concerns of integrity and morality will take place among administrators within their

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[701] "Even though there are historical Ismaili precedents for codes of conduct to guide the work of administrators, neither a formal code nor regimes for corrective measures for serious ethical lapses exist at the present. One would expect that integrity and ethical conduct would be prioritized over expediency, given that social conscience is named as the foundational basis of Ismaili Institutions. The greater goal would necessarily be to remain ethical at all times, regardless of the situation. Naysaburi warns that, if administrators lose integrity, then 'chaos will reign' in the Imam's community" (Karim 2014, 157; see also al-Naysābūrī 2011, 75).

[702] Interestingly, Keshavjee (2014) and Steinberg (2011) present the case where Tajik Ismāʿīlīs view the Imām and his institutions as synonymous. As such, they suggest that any critique of the Imām's institutions is taken as an attack on the Imām himself. The result is thus silence on the part of the community. My own experience with Canadian Ismāʿīlīs aligns with Remtilla's (2012) observations of Ismāʿīlīs in the Ishkashim district of Tajik Badakhshan. Remtilla demonstrates how the Ismāʿīlīs of Ishkashim view the Imām as "a paternalist chief and redistributing centre" (2012, 18). She presents the ways in which the Ismāʿīlīs in this region continue to legitimize the Imām and his institutions despite the moments in which the system fails to meet their needs.

day-to-day activities.[703] Those contributing to the institutions are nevertheless, expected to be personally moral and actively contribute to the improvement of the communities in which they serve. It is incumbent that they strive to pursue the highest ethical ideals as envisioned by Aga Khan IV for his institution. In the end, it is hoped that the ethico-religious foundation and the guidance entrusted by Aga Khan IV will continue to facilitate ways in which to exhibit a 'cosmopolitan ethic' in order to ensure the proper functionality of the Imāmate's institutions.

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the function and structure of the highly dynamic and integrated institutions of the Imāmate. The Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) embodies keywords such as development and quality of life, inspired by Aga Khan IV, in their range of activities. Even the *jamāʿatī* (communal) institutions are concerned with the spiritual and material well-being and progress of the Ismāʿīlī community. I argued that these institutions express an integrated type of human development that is inspired by an overall cosmopolitan ethic. This guiding orientation is manifested within the ethical principles that frame the institutions' mandates. The programs and activities of the institutions are underpinned by the ethics of Islam that emphasize service to humanity.

With the elaboration of the Imāmate's activities and the growth of the community in different parts of the world it became evident that some system of institutionalization would be necessary to systemically manage and offer appropriate services in the areas of development and religious affairs. The establishment of the Ismāʿīlī Constitution offered a framework for institutionalization in hopes for a more integrated network of organizations to better facilitate the execution of the institutions' responsibilities and coordinate outreach efforts for realizing the social conscious of

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[703] Michael Lambeck's definition of morality is appropriate here: "…morality is not a coherent, imposed system, a specific disciplinary order to which people are obliged to submit unqualifiedly – as, in effect, simply another form of power – but the forms and acts by which commitments are engaged and virtue accomplished – the practical judgments people make about how to live their lives wisely and well and, in the course of making them, do live their lives, albeit in the face of numerous constraints" (quoted in Remtilla 2012, 159). Refer to Michael Lambeck, "The anthropology of religion and the quarrel between poetry and philosophy," *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 3 (2000): 309–320, quote at 315.

Islam through institutional action. Nevertheless, institutionalization brings its share of concerns. I offered general critiques that arise from an institutionalized system that is meant to embody the very ideals of the Ismāʿīlī Imām. Remember that the Imām for the Ismāʿīlīs "facilitates the imperative of social action by providing appropriate institutions" to translate ethical principles into action – "a duty the present Imam takes very seriously" (Ruthven 2011, 191). Although the focus on ethics and values (religious and secular) are espoused by the institutions and the key actors within them, there are always challenges for imperfect beings to live up to the ideals put forward by the leader (Imām) of these institutions. Nevertheless, it is their ongoing attempt to continue to grasp the message of the Imām and to inculcate a deep sense of dignity and belonging that captures the cosmopolitan spirit and legitimizes the endeavours of the Imāmate's institutions.

In the next chapter, I continue my exploration of the institutions of Imāmate by chronicling the roots of the Ismāʿīlī community in Canada and the development of the Imāmate institutions in the region.

CHAPTER 7[704]
Ismāʿīlī Settlement and Institutional Development in Canada

Make Canada Your Home.

-Aga Khan IV[705]

As true Ismāʿīlīs you must remember that you will always have two principal obligations. The first and paramount of these is your religious obligation to Islam, to your Imām. Your second obligation is a secular one. You must always be loyal to your country of adoption and to whatever government is responsible for your security and well being.

-Aga Khan IV[706]

Introduction

Chapter 6 presented the overall development of the institutions of the Imāmate and how the vision of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic flows through the motives and actions of the institutions of the Imāmate. Continuing on this topic, the current chapter aims to recount (some of) the near fifty-year history of the Ismāʿīlīs in Canada, with attention to initiatives in Ontario. Here I offer a narrative of the Ismāʿīlī community's early settlement within Canada's own immigration story, where an important aspect of this story is the development and evolution of the community's institutions. As such, I attempt to trace moments of the community's endeavors to create a new home, particularly their drive to continue building upon an institutional framework dating back to the late 1800s. The early institutional endeavours and its evolution in Canada is a vivid example of acting on the idea of 'cosmopolitan rootedness' discussed in Chapters 1 and 5. More importantly, Aga Khan IV's message to his community quoted at the outset of this chapter calls for a concrete commitment to a cosmopolitan ethos. It reflects the cosmopolitan spirit that emerges from a rich trove of religio-cultural

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[704] Some information on Ismāʿīlī settlement in Canada is drawn from Sahir Dewji, "The Aga Khan's Discourse of Applied Pluralism: Converging the 'religious' and the 'secular'," *Studies in Religion* Online First (2017): https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429817713738. For a bried timeline of milestone events of the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs see *Condensed Timeline of Ismāʿīlī Canadians,* Appendix F.

[705] *Farmān* of the Imām to his followers made in Burnaby, Canada 1978. Quoted in Mohammad N. Miraly, "Faith and World: Contemporary Ismaili Social and Political Thought," (PhD diss., McGill University, 2012), 202.

[706] Aga Khan IV, *Thakht Nashini*, Nairobi, Kenya. Quoted in "Editorial," *Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* 3, no.2-3 (September-October 1978): 2.

experiences and writings (narratives and injunctions)[707] and the attempt to unfold abstract ideas into practical expressions of everyday human experience. In this way, the cosmopolitan ethos and its many layered meanings are implanted and activated through the grass-roots initiatives of the Ismāʿīlī community's history in Canada. Overall, my aim is to convey (with the sources collected) a brief account of the Ismāʿīlī experience in Canada as the community formed communal relations and developed lasting institutions.

This chapter, therefore, strives to convey a community's orientation and events with a focus on some individual profiles that have made significant contributions to Ismāʿīlī settlement and development in Canada. To chronicle the stories of Ismāʿīlī immigration to Canada and settlement efforts I have employed an ethno-historical approach to document, describe, and interpret the community's history. The community's print (newsletters and magazines) is my primary route of study including interviews and some unpublished documents. The print culture of the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs is an invaluable entry into a history of community building in a new abode. Some of the earlier community publications offer an unadulterated glimpse into the experience of an immigrant community, internal communications to members, as well as the community's public persona. Relying on a number of the community's own print materials and accounts of some of the pioneering individuals whose efforts were significant to the success of the community's institutionalization offers a snapshot of the Canadian narrative of Ismāʿīī historiography.

A Story of Immigration

Canada has a peculiar history of welcoming immigrants that stands in sharp contrast to other countries. The fact that the Canadian government was the first to make 'multiculturalism'[708] a national policy is not a chance occurrence. The value of pluralism and its somewhat 'organic' quality – ingrained in the spirit of Canadian nation building – is rooted within the history of Canada's leaders. When tracing the roots of Canada's pluralistic character, there exist many examples in Canadian history

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[707] Refer to Chapters 1, 2 and 5.
[708] Canada is the only country to date that has well-developed legislation on multiculturalism see *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* (1988).

that exemplify an appreciation of diversity. The first Canadian Prime Minister of the United Province of Canada, Sir Louis-Hippolyte LaFontaine, was the earliest leader who captured this attitude towards diversity. In his address to his electors at Terrebonne on August 25, 1840, he said:

> Le Canada est la terre de nos ancêtres; il est notre patrie, de même qu'il doit être la patrie adoptive des différentes populations qui viennent, des diverses parties du globe, exploiter ses vastes forêts dans la vue de s'y établir et d'y fixer permanemment leurs demeures et leurs intérêts. Comme nous, elles doivent désirer, avant toute chose, le bonheur et la prospérité du Canada. C'est l'héritage qu'elles doivent s'efforcer de transmettre à leurs descendants sur cette terre jeune et hospitalière. Leurs enfants devront être, comme nous, et avant tout, CANADIENS (LaFontaine 1840, 1).[709]

One could argue that almost two decades before Canada's Confederation the earliest Canadian leader envisioned a Canada that was open to all peoples from around the world. Certainly, the actions of some leaders throughout the history of Canada have resulted in developing ways to accommodate rather than impede difference. "Canada's history" Karim writes, "has produced a public ethos that is generally favourable to pluralism" (2012a, 2). One such event in Canada's early history is the *British North America Act* of 1867,[710] which initiated a policy of bilingualism and can be interpreted as the stepping stone towards accommodating the other[711] (Karim 2012a, 4).[712]

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[709] "Canada is the land of our ancestors; our homeland, just as it must be the adoptive motherland for people, from all around the globe, who come to convert its vast forests into a permanent home and a source of living. Like all of us, they are driven by a desire for happiness and prosperity for this country. This is the heritage that they must strive to pass on to their descendants on this young and hospitable land. Their children will have to be, like us, and above all, Canadians." My translation.

[710] Canada adopted distinctive institutional and constitutional practices in this year, as well as in the 1960s. This is something that is "not necessarily shared by all liberal democracies". It is these practices that helped to ensure a "specifically Canadian pluralism". See Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Pluralism as a process: The role of Liberal Democratic institutions," *Pluralism Papers,* http://www.pluralism.ca/images/PDF_docs/pluralism_papers/abu_laban_paper_pp6.pdf (accessed August 10, 2014), quote at p.5.

[711] The role of prime minister, Sir John A. MacDonald was crucial in ensuring the recognition of French linguistic rights. In the *Toronto Star*, on the 200th anniversary of Sir John A. MacDonald, Richard Gywn wrote that no other English Canadian politician, for at least a century, better argued for how English Canadians had to accept the distinctiveness of the French Canadians despite their minority status. It was the powerful phrase, "treat them as a nation and they will respond as a free people usually do, generously. Treat them as a faction and they will be factious" that pushed Canadians to make it work. See Richard Gwyn, *John A: The Man Who Made Us* (Toronto: Random House, 2007) and his, "Sir John A. Macdonald, the greatest PM of all," *The Toronto Star,* January 9, 2015, http://www.thestar.com/news/insight/2015/01/09/sir_john_a_macdonald_the_greatest_pm_of_all.html

Well into the post World War II period, the majority of the Canadian populace considered Canada a 'Christian country' wherein Christianity had a privileged status in Canadian culture and politics. This was a reflection of the fact that the vast majority of Canadians described themselves as Christian in that period. Even federal regulations on immigration helped to keep Canada both white and Christian (Miedema 2005, 7 and 16). Christianity therefore held a monopoly among Canadians and its influence in Canadian culture was held firmly by the upper and middle classes of Canadian society well after the 1850s (Clarke 1996; van Die 1998). Moreover, the elites of Canada's society, for the most part remained homogenous into the 1950s. Porter notes that Canada was overrepresented by Canadians of British descent consisting of diverse groups belonging to the United, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Baptist Churches (Porter 1965, 289-90, 389-90, 501). Although there were attempts to explicate Canada in terms of a 'mosaic' as early as the 1920s, with rising popularity of such rhetoric in the 1930s and 1940s,[713] the reality was that of a 'Christian mosaic' wherein the expression of Canadian public life was confined to Christian attitudes and British culture (Miedema 2005, 18 and 27). Even until the 1960s there was an expectation that others outside the main culture, English-speaking Christians, would have to maintain their own cultural identity in private.

A Changing Landscape

Although the exclusivity of Christianity remained a reality of the 1950s,[714] there would be a weakening of racial and religious discrimination, minimal at the least, as a result of World War II and its aftermath. By 1952 Canada saw the abolishment of the immigrant

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[712] Despite such moments, Canada's pluralist outlook has not always been perfect. Until recently there has been a strong link between ethnicity and religion. In other words, the tie between the Catholic Church and French-Canadian culture as well as the close tie between Protestantism and English-speaking Canadians was forged well before Confederation (Miedema 2005). See also Mark A. Noll MA (1992) *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1992).

[713] See Daniel Francis *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 80-83.

[714] As Lester B. Pearson noted, Canada's immigration policies were designed to prevent "major change in the racial, religious, or social constitution of the country." As quoted in Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukranian Displaced Persons, Canada and the Migration of Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 209.

'quota' system and the arrival of a new Immigration Act[715] that brought with it some alterations to its predecessor. However, the policies put in place continued to be somewhat discriminatory in regards to race and nationality of prospective immigrants to Canada (Miedema 2005, 17). In the same year Canada witnessed the arrival of the first recorded Ismāʿīlī, Safar Aly Ismaily from Pakistan, who chose to further his education at the behest of Aga Khan III.[716] Ismaily accepted the position of Project Engineer with the B.C. Forest Service in Prince George. He then went on to continue his postgraduate studies at the University of Manitoba in Winnipeg. He finally settled in Ottawa in 1956 where he was actively involved with the Ottawa Muslim Association and even served as its President. Ismaily also offered his expertise in the design aspect of Ottawa's first purpose-built Mosques. The first Ismāʿīlīs he recalls ever seeing in Ottawa was in the mid 1960s (Kurji 1988, 47).[717] His younger brother, Guljee Ismaily, joined him four years later (circa 1956) to pursue post-secondary education, and a third brother would join them in 1966. Until the early 1970s, the Ismailys and other Ismāʿīlīs in the Ottawa area would congregate informally, rotating homes, to practice their faith. The extended Ismaily family currently lives in Ottawa (Meghji 2014; Rajan & Merchant-Vellani 2014).[718]

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[715] In many respects, the 1952 Act was similar to its predecessor. Nevertheless, in its major provisions it simplified the administration of immigration and defined the wide–ranging powers of the minister and his officials. Valerie Knowles V (2000) "Forging Our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900–1977," *Public Works and Government Services Canada* 2000 [modified July 1, 2006]: Chapter 5. Online at: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/legacy/index.asp (accessed March 20, 2015).

[716] It is worth noting that the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate has had a good relation with the Government of Canada dating back to the 1930s. Aga Khan III, although he never visited Canada, had worked together on a number of platforms with Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King as members of the League of Nations. They also exchanged correspondence beginning in 1936 (See Library and Archives Canada, William Lyon Mackenzie fonds, MG26-J1, 'Primary correspondence' series, vol.219, pp. 188374-75, letter from Aga Khan III to PM William L Mackenzie, 26th September 1936 and vol. 231, pp. 198287-198290, letter from Aga Khan III to PM William L Mackenzie and letter from PM WL Mackenzie to Aga Khan III, June 03, 1937 - June 16, 1937). Thanks to Rizwan Mawani for sharing this.

[717] See also Karim H. Karim "At the Interstices of Tradition, Modernity and Postmodernity: Ismaili Engagements with Contemporary Canadian Society," in *A Modern History of the Ismailis,* ed. Farhad Daftary (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 279.

[718] I was recently made aware of the passing of Mr. Safar Aly Ismaily in October 2017.

Figure 7.1: Safar Aly Ismaily (left) with one of his brothers in 1966
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Following the arrival of early pioneers like the Ismaily family, more Ismāʿīlīs began making their way to Canada. This marked the start of the first wave of Ismāʿīlī migration to Canada, spanning the majority of the 1960s. This wave was comprised of immigrants from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and various African countries who were mostly college students and professionals such as lawyers, engineers and doctors. One such individual from this initial wave of settlers was Zinat Virani (d. 1997) who arrived from Mbale, Uganda in 1964, and became the first Ismāʿīlī to settle in Western Canada (Nathu 2014). Virani came to Canada with a legal background, however when his qualifications were not recognized, he began working as a law clerk. Four years later, he was called to the Bar in British Columbia and went on to build a successful legal practice in Surrey, B.C. As an early pioneer Virani provided guidance and moral support to other Ismāʿīlī families making their journey to western Canada (Lakhani et al. 1997). A year after Virani settled in Canada, questions about Canadian identity started to take shape against the changing socio-cultural landscape. For instance, a Ukrainian in the Canadian senate, Paul Yuzyk raised concerns about Canadian national identity. He demanded that non-French and non-British ethnic groups be recognized as co-founders of Canada. He argued for their guaranteed right to perpetuate their cultures and languages in Canada (Porter 1987, 117).[719] By the late sixties and early seventies, some Ismāʿīlīs made their way to the province of Alberta.

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[719] See address of Yuzyk to the Canadian Association of Slavists in 1965. His paper was appropriately and prophetically called "Canada: A Multi-Cultural Nation." As quoted in Porter (1987, 117); see also

Figure 7.2: Zinat Virani
Early Ismāʿīlī settler in Canada and Council for Canada President, 1973-1979
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Meanwhile in Toronto, Nyaz Jethwani[720] – a chartered accountant from Bombay –
became one of the first Ismāʿīlīs to settle in eastern Canada in 1966. After settling in
Toronto, Jethwani and his wife practiced their faith at home but also felt it important to
be part of a community in this new city. As such, the Jethwanis made it a point to
connect with other Muslim communities in Toronto. "My wife used to say that if
something happens to us then who will bury us? So by attending the masjid we were
able to be part of a community. This is how we came to know the early Muslim
community in Toronto."[721] It was not until September of 1967 that the Jethwanis would
run into another Ismāʿīlī family in a neighbourhood grocery store. From 1967 onwards

Miedema (2005, 32). The idea of 'multiculturalism' was initially designed to relieve the anxieties of
white ethnic groups, such as the Ukrainians, Poles, and Finns, in regard to the federal government's
efforts to re-affirm 'bilingualism and biculturalism' in reaction to the rise of Québécois nationalism. The
groups "insisted that the accommodation of Quebec not be done at their expense, and that any
strengthening of linguistic duality therefore be accompanied by recognition of ethnic diversity." Will
Kymlicka, "Marketing Canadian Pluralism in the International Arena," *International Journal*. 59 no. 4
(Autumn): 829-852, quote at 841.

[720] Nyaz Jethwani worked for Ontario Hydro for 27 years. He retired 22 years ago. Mr. Jethwani obtained
4 degrees from the UK in accounting and finance. Within the Ismāʿīlī community, Mr. Jethwani was
appointed as the first *Mukhi* in Toronto in April 1970 and served in this position for 3 years. In 1973, he
was appointed as the first president of the Council for eastern Canada in 1973. After 2 years he was
appointed as the President of the Grants Council for 6 years.

[721] Nyaz Jethwani, interview with author, Toronto, April 21 2015. Mr. Jethwani further expressed that his
early efforts to connect with the Muslim community in Toronto proved very helpful with the arrival of
Ugandan Ismāʿīlīs in 1972. He remembers that one of the newly arrived refugees, a woman of 98 years
passed away soon after she landed at Pearson International Airport. The small and unprepared Ismāʿīlī
community had to look for a burial ground. Because some Ismāʿīlīs, like the Jethwanis, had established
close links with other well-settled Muslims they were able to receive assistance from their friends.
Jethwani remembers how helpful the Muslim community was in procuring a plot of land in order to offer
the deceased woman a proper Muslim burial.

more families began migrating to Toronto. Mr. Jethwani tells me that the families took steps to setup an informal space of worship:

> We agreed that we would meet every week and we would alternate houses. My house was always a backup for anyone who may have alternate plans on their week of hosting. This way my number was also circulated to everyone in the community. In those days they were mostly students from Toronto and outside who were studying in the Universities.[722]

One year after Jethwani's arrival, a race-neutral admissions criterion better known as the 'points system', took effect in Canada. The 'points system' brought with it the adoption of a more 'multicultural' conception of integration, "one which expects that many immigrants will visibly and proudly express their ethnic identity, and which accepts an obligation on the part of public institutions…to accommodate these ethnic identities" (Kymlicka 2003, 1-2).

On December 20, 1968 Virani wrote to Sir Eboo Pirbhai (d. 1990)[723] who was the head of the Supreme Council of East Africa.[724] In this letter he expresses his transition in Canada and how and his family were able to overcome the initial challenges of immigrant life. He offers advise for other Ismāʿīlīs wishing to pursue better opportunities in Canada and encourages them to pursue further education:

> I feel that the Education Administrators [of the Ismāʿīlī institutions in East Africa] should try to send at least a few students every year to Canada, rather than sending all of them to the United Kingdom. I hope and pray that more and more of our people will migrate to Canada because I am firmly convinced that this is a wonderful country to live in and to raise the children (Virani 1968, 3).

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[722] Nyaz Jethwani, interview with author, Toronto, April 21, 2015.

[723] Sir Eboo Pirbhai (d. 1990) was a member of the Nairobi City Council (1938-1943), the Kenya Legislative Council (1952-1960) and a number of government boards. Sir Eboo Pirbhai was a remarkable leader of the Ismāʿīlī community. He was appointed by the Imām as a member of the Nairobi Provincial Council in 1937 and served as its President from 1945-1954. He also served as the President of the Supreme Council for Europe, Canada and USA since 1973. He also convened the first meeting of the Ismaili Leaders' International Forum in 1977 and acted as its Chairman since then. He was also a member of the Board of Governors of the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London. In July 1983, the Imām conferred upon Sir Eboo the title of '*Diwan*' (chief minister) for his 50 years of remarkable service to the *jamāʿat* and the Imāmate. See "Diwan Sir Eboo Pirbhai, 1905-1990: Service *par excellence,*" *Canadian Ismaili,* 4, no. 1, (March 1990): 32.

[724] See Chapter 6.

Virani also urges Sir Eboo to encourage the Ismāʻīlīs to take advantage of "the recent offer of the Government of Canada to take immigrants from East Africa." He adds,

> I'm very much aware of the fact that this immigration to Canada should be based simply on reasons of higher education, diversification of family business, looking for new opportunities and the like and under no circumstances should this be treated as trying to run away from East Africa. If this policy is adopted, I'm sure that we could maintain a steady flow of people immigrating into Canada… (Virani 1968, 2).[725]

Virani's correspondence with the Supreme Council in East Africa points to a cosmopolitan spirit, albeit predicated on a particular colonial experience, but also inspired by the pursuit of better education and better quality of life.[726] By the 1960s the number of permanent residents and students increased giving rise to nascent Ismāʻīlī communities in major Canadian cities such as Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal, constituting a significant international Ismāʻīlī presence in the North American terrain (Nanji 1983).[727] In the year 1967 Sadroudine Pirbay – an electrical engineer from Madagascar – became one of the first Ismāʻīlīs to settle in Quebec, and in 1968 Lalji Wadiwalla was the earliest known student at Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia (Jessa 2014; Pabani 2014). Indeed the professional backgrounds and education of these early Ismāʻīlī settlers prepared them well for the challenges of Canada, and brought opportunities of success that would have been beyond reach. This new group of immigrants constituted a significant international Ismāʻīlī presence in the North American terrain. Virani's letter also discloses the number of Ismāʻīlīs living in Vancouver, approximately 25 and around 60 throughout western Canada. From 1968 onwards a handful of Ismāʻīlīs in Toronto and Vancouver organized themselves into a *jamāʻat* (religious congregation) and met once a week in either a rented hall or a residence for prayers and communal activities. In 1969 Zinat Virani was appointed as western Canada's first *Mukhi* who oversaw the rituals and ceremonies in these

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[725] It is very likely that Virani has the new 'point system' in mind when referring to Canada's policy to take in more immigrants.

[726] See Chapters 4 and 5.

[727] For example, Azim Nanji arrived in 1967 to study at McGill University followed by Salim Kanji in 1968. Sultan Jessa, "Early Ismaili settlement: Bienvenue-Welcome Quebec," *The Ismaili Canada,* (Summer 2014): 64-65.

makeshift *jamāʻatkhānās*. In Toronto, Nyaz Jethwani was appointed the first *Mukhi* in April of 1970 serving in this role for three years.[728] Other than these informal gatherings, there was no real structural space or organization for these early Ismāʻīlīs (Mawani 2014a; Nanji 1983; Nathu 2014). Until 1970 the Ismāʻīlī population of Western Canada numbered about 100 (Fernando, 1979) and in North America about 600 (Nanji, 1983).[729] Meanwhile the Ismāʻīlī population in Toronto grew to around 50 to 75 individuals, between 1967 and 1970 (Lalani 2014, 57). Personal accounts place around 12 Ismāʻīlī families in Calgary, Alberta in 1971. Similar numbers are also reported for Edmonton, Alberta (R. Gilani, Ladha and K. Gilani 2014, 61).[730] In the early months of 1971, Ismāʻīlīs from Tanzania started to arrive in Canada. The immigration of the Tanzanian Ismaīʻīlīs was precipitated by Tanzania's aggressive implementation of nationalization policies espoused in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 (Meghji 2014). These Ismāʻīlīs would bring their institutional experiences and contribute to the nascent Canadian Ismāʻīlī community.

In autumn of the following year, Canada welcomed a second influx of Ismāʻīlīs that consisted of refugees from Uganda and entrepreneurs from newly formed independent African countries. The 1972 Ugandan exodus brought a group of around 1,100 Ismāʻīlīs to the Greater Vancouver area (Nathu 2014a). According to Michael Molloy, Canada offered resettlement to about 5,000 indo-Asians who were expelled by President Idi Amin and over the next three years Canada accepted another 2,500 Ugandan Asians (Molloy, 2012: 6).[731] Michael Valpy (2002) of *The Globe and Mail*

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[728] Nyaz Jethwani, interview with author, Toronto, April 21, 2015.

[729] Two other important families settled in Vancouver circa 1969, which included the parents of the current President of the Ismāʻīlī Council for Canada, Malik Z. Talib (Nathu 2014a).

[730] Karim-Aly S. Kassam (2005) noted that the Ismāʻīlī community made up a quarter of the Muslim population in Alberta and a third of the population in city of Calgary. See his "Muslim Presence in Alberta: Contribution and Challenges," in *Remembering Chinook Country*, (ed.) Chinook Country Historical Society (Calgary: University of Calgary), 183-194.

[731] Mansoor Ladha provides an amusing anecdote about how the target of 6,000 Ugandan refugees was set. In September 1972, while the Aga Khan was delivering a talk to immigration officials about the settlement of Asians in Canada, Team Canada was simultaneously facing off against Russia in the ice hockey Summit Series. One of the officials had conspired with the headwaiter to signal to him the score at regular intervals with his fingers – left hand for Russia, right hand for Canada. "As dessert drew to a close the Aga Khan popped the question to the distracted Canadians: how many would Canada accept? The officials were authorized to agree to 3,000. At that very moment the waiter appeared and held up three fingers on each hand. The lead official relayed the signal to the others and the Aga Khan said, 'Six thousand would be splendid.' The officials were faced with a choice: explain the mistake, prolong the lunch and miss the rest of the game, or, let it pass. Happily, their patriotism overwhelmed their sense of

writes about this decision noting, "Canada decided to admit the Ismailis after a telephone call from the Aga Khan to then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau, a personal friend of 30 years" (quoted in Mirally 2012, 30). However the decision unfolded, the 1972 expulsion of Ugandan Asians proved to be critical to the growing Ismāʿīlī presence in North America, which spawned further opportunities for Ismāʿīlīs to immigrate to Canada (Nanji 1983).[732] Also in 1972, many Ismāʿīlīs left Madagascar (formerly Malagasy Republic)[733] due to the rise in national protests and the eventual fall of the Tsiranana government (Campbell 2005; Nanji 1983). By the end of 1973 it was estimated that there were around 4,000 Ismāʿīlīs in Western Canada (Fernando 1979). One of my interviewees recounted how in the Greater Vancouver area, people wanted to find out more about the Ugandan refugees and provide assistance:

> We were asked by Zinat Virani (then president of Council for Canada) to accept CBC's request to interview some Ismāʿīlī representatives in the Vancouver area. Soon after the interview was over my telephone number was flashed on the screen that if any Canadian wants to provide help to any of the new immigrants, here is the telephone number of the person to contact. My phone started ringing, people saying how can I help? Or somebody saying I've got clothes, or somebody saying I have extra room in my house, I can accommodate them. That was the kind of reception the early Ismāʿīlīs got. My brother from Kenya was here and I was out with him one evening. We were in a shopping Centre climbing the escalators, and down there was a group of Canadians, they saw me, recognized me from the CBC interview, they came to me and said, 'welcome to Canada.' Now that was the environment under which we came to Canada.[734]

Canada also accepted thousands of Indo-Asians from Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia who were affected by African socialist movements (Molloy 2012). The settlement of these Ismāʿīlīs was subsequently followed, in later years, by relatives and dependents of previous migrants (Ross-Sheriff and Nanji 1991). By 1975, the influx of Ismāʿīlīs, refugees and others, had expanded the Canadian community to about 10,000 (Nanji

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duty and we gained 6,000 splendid new citizens." See his, *A Portrait in Pluralism: Aga Khan's Shia Ismaili Muslims* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 2008), 72–73.

[732] Fernando (1979, 361) asserts that ninety percent of the East African Asians in Western Canada in the early 1970s were Ismāʿīlīs.

[733] Nanji (1983) also places Ismāʿīlī migration from Zaire as occuring at the same time. However, according to Molloy (2012), significant numbers began leaving Zaire in 1973.

[734] Interview with author, Vancouver, February 27, 2015. This interviewee opted to remain anonymous.

1983).[735] Between 1973 and 1976, immigration statistics indicate a flow of immigration from Zaire to Canada. Although the numbers do not speak to the exact identity of these immigrants, one can infer that these groups of migrants would have included Lebanese, Europeans as well as Ismāʿīlīs (Molloy 2012).[736] Well into the later part of the 1970s, the Ismāʿīlīs in western Canada accounted for more than 6,000 (Fernando 1979).[737] As of 1977 a Statistics Report put together by the Ismāʿīlī Business Information Centres (IBIC),[738] Vancouver counted 12,500 Ismāʿīlīs in western Canada and 10,000 in eastern Canada. The report also indicates Provincial numbers of Ismāʿīlī residents from 1977-1980.[739] By 1980, it was estimated the Ismāʿīlī population in British Columbia decreased to 6,500, the Prairies (Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan) increased to 7,500, Ontario remained relatively stagnant at 8,500 and Quebec and Maritime Provinces counted 1,000 Ismāʿīlīs. The total number of Ismāʿīlīs reported in Canada in 1980 was 23,500 (IBIC Vancouver 1978, n.p.).

Although the Ismāʿīlīs were able to establish themselves fairly quickly as an integral part of the wider Canadian community during this early settlement, the community fell victim to racial tensions caused by economic instability and the rise in unemployment in the late 70s. Such challenges, like others, were overcome with continued community support systems geared at settlement and employment. Perseverance and optimism were rewarded to this first Canadian Ismāʿīlī community when Aga Khan IV accepted to visit the nascent community in 1978. Aga Khan IV

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[735] Esmail Rupani reported around 14,000 Ismāʿīlīs in Canada, with majority concentrations is Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, Calgary and Vancouver. See "A Bird's-Eye View of Ismaili World," *Africa Ismaili* August 1 (1969); Reprinted and updated circa mid 1970s in *Ismaili World,* with a foreward by Count Gulamali Rajan Lalji.

[736] Robert Shalka mentions that, when a young officer, he was given files to review that contained correspondence between Prime Minister Trudeau and Aga Khan IV: the correspondence indicated that the President of Zaire, influenced by Idi Amin, was putting pressure on "non-indigenous business people" and that the Aga Khan requested Prime Minister Trudeau to grant permission for these Ismāʿīlīs to immigrate to Quebec (Molloy 2012, 6–7). An informal meeting took place between Aga Khan IV and Prime Minister Trudeau in Switzerland in early 1974. The Prime Minister assured Aga Khan IV that any Ismāʿīlī residing in Kenya after being expelled from Zaire would be given processing priority. See Library and Archives Canada, Records of the Immigration Branch, RG 76, volume 1214, file "Ismailis" no. 5750-11, Background notes for the Visit of Count Sir Eboo Pirbhai, September 15, 1975: 2.

[737] As of July 1978, the Ismāʿīlī population in Western Canada had reached over 6,000. She postulates that the increase was due to more immigration as well as new settlement in the west from eastern Canada (Fernando 1979, 362).

[738] More about the Ismāʿīlī Business Information Centres (IBIC) is discussed later in this chapter.

[739] In 1977, it was reported that 50% of Ismāʿīlīs in Ontario took up Canadian citizenship. See Zahir Janmohamed, "O Canada – Editorial," *Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* 1, no.7, (April, 1977): n.p.

arrived in Ottawa on November 12, 1978 and visited Vancouver, Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Montreal and Toronto over a ten-day period. This visit helped to put to rest any qualms regarding the community's future in Canada and set long-term goals for the community's progress in their new home.[740] More importantly Aga Khan IV eloquently expressed that the Canadian *jamāʿat* represents the foundation for the future of the *jamāʿats* around the world.[741] During his visit, Aga Khan IV was also the guest of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and was a guest of honour at a number of banquets attended by leading dignitaries held in Vancouver at the Hyatt Regency hotel and in Toronto at the Harbour Castle Hilton (Tejpar-Dang 2014, 46).[742]

Figure 7.3: Aga Khan IV with Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in Ottawa
The Prime Minister hosted a dinner in honour of Aga Khan IV at 24 Sussex Drive.
Credit: Christoper Little

One year later, world events such as the Iranian revolution, Saddam Hussein's ascension to power in Iraq, and the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan brought an increased influx of Muslim migration to Canada (Hussain and Scott 2012). The years following 1979 marked a third major wave of Ismāʿīlī migration that lasted roughly until the early 1990s, with Ismāʿīlīs arriving from India and Pakistan and a small group from Iran (Mawani 2007). One of the earliest Iranian Ismāʿīlīs in Canada, Amir Reza

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[740] Mohamed Manji, interview with author, Toronto, February 20 and March 19, 2015.
[741] Nizar Kanji, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, February 5, 2015.
[742] See (*Letter of Thanks*, Appendix G) from the Honourable Pauline M. Gibbon (d. 2001) – 22nd Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario (1974-1980)

Mirshahi,[743] settled in Toronto in 1987. He recounts fleeing Iran in 1985 after being inspired by his cousin who underwent great risk to reach Quebec four years earlier (Ladha 2015). By this time there were already an estimated 20,000 Ismāʿīlīs across Canada (Dossa 1985, 25).[744] More Iranian Ismāʿīlīs arrived post-Iranian revolution as part of a second wave of migration in 1990, with the majority settling in Toronto (Ladha 2015). During the early 90s many Ismāʿīlīs also transitioned from other countries in search of more permanent homes in Canada (Mawani 2007). More importantly this period saw Canada accepting large groups of Afghan refugees wherein a significant number consisted of Ismāʿīlīs. They arrived in Canada with hopes to escape the political turmoil in their own country. The Ismāʿīlī groups from Afghanistan settled primarily in Quebec, greatly expanding the Ismāʿīlī community of that region. Still others took up residence in Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto and Ottawa. The first group of Ismāʿīlī Afghans, around 400, started arriving in the spring of 1992. By 1997 the number of Afghan Ismāʿīlīs in Canada reached well over 2,000. As of 1999 it had been recorded that 3,200 Afghan Ismāʿīlīs arrived in Canada via India, Pakistan, and Germany as well as from Russia and Tajikistan. And between 2001 and 2004 around 3,000 Afghan Ismāʿīlīs arrived via Pakistan (Alimohamed 1999, 9; Haji 1997, 42; Rawji 2015, 41). More recently, these settlements increased significantly with the arrival of a number of Ismāʿīlīs from other countries such as Tajikistan and Syria. This makes the present day Ismāʿīlī community in Canada a diverse body of adherents composed of many races, ethnicities and nationalities who speak a number of different languages (Karim 2014a).

To date, Canada has the largest Ismāʿīlī settlement in the Western hemisphere with a population of around 70,000–80,000.[745] Over the years, many members of the Ismāʿīlī community have made great contributions to the personal and civic life of Canada. "Some have distinguished themselves with notable achievements in various fields such as politics, public service, journalism, literature, academia, corporate

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[743] Amir R. Mirshahi currently serves as the Honorary Secretary of ITREB Ontario. For more information on ITREB, see Chapter 6.

[744] Nanji (1983, 157) accounts for the estimate of 20,000 Ismāʿīlīs in 1983.

[745] Paul R. Magocsi gives an estimate of 65,000–75,000. See his "Ismailis," in *Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 785. However, Philip Jodidio gives a figure of 75,000. See *The Aga Khan Museum* (Toronto. Munich and New York: Prestel Verlag, 2008), 18.

business, and banking" (Karim 2015a, 250). A few notable Canadian Ismāʾīlīs include a Mayor of Calgary, a Member of Parliament for the riding of Don Valley East, a Parliamentary Secretary for Multiculturalism, a Canadian Senator representing British Columbia and a Justice of the Peace of the Court for the Toronto region.[746] Furthermore, in June 2015 an Ismāʿīlī from Alberta made history by becoming the first individual of the community to receive the prestigious title of 'honorary chief' by the Treaty 7 Tribal Council for his work with the Tsuu T'ina First Nations tribe (Premji 2016). There are also a few Ismāʿīlīs who have been honoured with the Order of Canada, the first being Nurjehan Mawani who received the award on April 22, 1993 for her work towards fostering multiculturalism and advocating on behalf of female refugees (Rajan 2015).[747]

Community Building and Institutional Roots

The Ismāʿīlī community, as discussed in Chapter 6, has set up a well-developed institutional framework. Under the leadership of Aga Khan IV the Ismāʿīlīs have evolved their institutional structures, facilitating the implementation of religious, social and economic reforms (Takim 2015). Since the community's arrival in Canada, priority was given to establishing a permanent presence and building an institutional infrastructure to support the development and evolution of the community (Dewji 2017). From the early 1970s Vancouver, British Columbia served as the headquarters of the first Ismāʿīlī Council in Canada (Nathu 2014a). Aga Khan IV approved the establishment of a Council in Canada as early as December 13, 1972 – the Council for Greater Vancouver with Zinat Virani as the appointed President. Three months later these Councils were dissolved and a (National) Council for Canada was established in

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[746] In the past, other Ismāʿīlīs have served as a Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario and a Progressive Conservative Member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta among others. For instance, John Nuraney served as a Liberal Member of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia from 2001-2009. He passed away on November 21, 2016. I had the pleasure of speaking with Mr. Nuraney, at his residence in Surrey, B.C. during my fieldwork in Vancouver in 2015. In addition, Rahim Jaffer became the first Canadian Ismāʿīlī Federal Member of Parliament in 1997.

[747] Other Members of the Order of Canada include Bahadur Madhani (2000) for his service to the non-profit sector; Sultan Jessa (2005) for his exceptional fundraising abilities with organization such as the Children's Treatment Centre and the Cornwall Multicultural Council; Moyez G Vassanji (2005) for his contribution to Canadian literature; Nazmudin Rayani (2005) for fostering multiculturalism, inter-faith dialogue and for his efforts behind the Aga Khan Partnership Walk in Victoria; Zaheer M. Lahkani (2006) for his exceptional volunteerism (Rajan 2015).

Vancouver along with two regional Councils (eastern and western with Manitoba as their dividing line). President Zinat Virani led the National Council in 1973, while Nyaz Jethwani was appointed as the first President of the eastern Council and Amir Haji as the President of the western Council.[748] The eastern regional Council was based in Toronto and located in the Don Mills area at 747 Don Mills Road, Flemingdon Park Plaza Lower Mall, Don Mills, Ontario, M3C 1B5.[749] In Vancouver, the Council office was first setup at East Hastings Street, Burnaby, British Columbia. The Council then relocated to West Pender Street, Vancouver, British Columbia. From 1985 onwards the Council for Canada was situated at 4010 Canada Way, Burnaby, British Columbia until 1987.[750]

Vancouver was seen as the ideal fit for the home base of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada because since the very early settlement of Ismāʿīlīs in Canada, Vancouver attracted the most settled or anchored members from East Africa. In addition, the pull of certain members in Vancouver who were becoming well established drew others from a familiar circle. As one interviewee put it,

> We were inheriting a tradition, where well established families in East Africa were perceived to be leaders, almost as a matter of right, so if you wanted to make somebody the president of the Council you will look at which family is he coming from, if you are looking for members of the Council you will make sure that these families are represented and those families are represented, so there was an elitism in action. The major focus of Canadian settlement was Vancouver. It provided resources, it provided established families, and Vancouver became what I often call anchored *jamāʿat*-meaning there was a tradition of generational families with a long history of service in the institutions in Africa.[751]

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[748] Nizar Alibhai, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, February 4, 2015; See also Rizwan Mawani "Social Governance," *The Ismaili Canada,* (Summer, 2014): 40.

[749] "That office was established by me and it was established in 73 when I became the president. And in 3 months time it was established. By June of 1973, I …you'll be surprised in those days; I just took the lease in my name, my personal name. I had good volunteers to design the interior setup of the office-painting, wallpaper, furniture etc…. Later on, perhaps around the later 1970s the offices moved to 1987 Leslie Street, Don Mills, Ontario M3B 2M3. Then the offices moved with the opening of the first Headquaters Jamatkhana on Bartley Drive in North York." Nyaz Jethwani, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, April 21, 2015.

[750] Anonymous, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 27, 2015.

[751] Anonymous, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 25, 2015.

By 1974, the Council system in Canada also setup administrative committees in Calgary, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Montreal, Ottawa which fell under the jurisdiction of the two regional Councils.[752] In addition, several other committees were established including the Ismailia Association, which was the precursor to the Ismāʿīlī Tariqa and Religious Education Board or ITREB.[753] The year 1973 also saw the formation of a Grants Council for Canada along with administrative committees in cities with a sizeable Ismāʿīlī presence. These included Calgary, Edmonton, Montreal, Winnipeg and Ottawa.[754] The Ismailia Association began operation in 1973. It did not have an actual office; rather the then-President of the Association used his own business space to conduct any formal meetings. He also took responsibility for administrative costs, which were quite minimal at the time. According to a 1975 Directory of Ismaili Institutions in Western Canada, the Ismailia Association for Canada was situated in Vancouver at 845 Burrard Street, with Mr. Amirali P. Haji as its President until 1984.[755] By 1976 The Ismailia Association for Canada setup regional committees (western and eastern)[756] to coordinate between the regional, district committees and the headquarters in Vancouver.[757]. Once the Council started to take on more responsibilities and the Ismailia Association slowly gained more relevance in regards to religious education for Canadian Ismāʿīlīs, full time office space was procured somewhere in downtown Vancouver with appropriate staffing.[758]

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[752] Farouk Verjee, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 25, 2015.

[753] See Chapter 6.

[754] Nizar Alibhai, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, February 4, 2015; See also Rizwan Mawani "Social Governance," *The Ismaili Canada*, (Summer, 2014): 40. Once the Council for Canada was moved to the Ismāʿīlī Centre Burnaby in 1985, it seems that the Ismāʿīlī Association for Canada took over the West Pender Street site.

[755] I met with Mr. Haji during my field research in Vancouver. Unfortunately a formal interview was unable to take place. He arrived in Vancouver at the age of 33 on July 21, 1971. Amirali Haji came with leadership experience, as he was previously President of the provincial Ismāʿīlī Council in Dar es Salam.

[756] District committees fall under the jurisdiction of regional councils and are found in cities with a much smaller population of Ismāʿīlīs. Some of the district committees include Guelph, Kitchener-Waterloo, Niagara Falls, Hamilton, London, Windsor, Barrie and Bobcaygeon.

[757] Some of this information is mentioned in *Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* 1, no.3 (November 1976).

[758] Anonymous, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 25, 2015. This interviewee also noted that The Ismailia association, when it existed, effectively looked after religious education and *ṭarīqa* matters within the *jamāʿat*. "Under the new Constitution (1986) the Association became ITREB, transforming it into a more sophisticated religious body that reported to the Imām. The Ismailia Association President sat on the National Council and the current ITREB chairman now also sits on the National Council as an ex-officio member, but it has direct responsibility to the Imām, the association perhaps also had that but it was always looked down upon as the 'poor cousin' of the

Together the newly formed Council for Canada and its constituents reported to the Supreme Council for Europe, Canada and the U.S.A. under the leadership of Sir Eboo Pirbhai (d. 1991) who was also the President of the Supreme Council for Africa.[759] The Supreme Council for Europe, Canada and the U.S.A. would hold its first meeting in 1973 to formulate a plan for the Ismāʿīlī community in the western hemisphere moving forward and to discuss the best strategies for settlement of the newly arrived Ismāʿīlīs, including the refugees who arrived in 1972. As the Ismāʿīlī community continued to grow with time so did the organizational structure of the Council offices. As of 1977, Aga Khan IV approved two additional regional Councils. One of the new regional Councils was created to serve the Atlantic Provinces covering Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island with headquarters in Montreal. The other regional Council was established to serve the Prairie Provinces covering Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan with headquarters in Calgary. The Regional Council for eastern Canada was renamed 'Regional Council for Ontario' (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* June 1977, n.p.). Much of the energy of the early Ismāʿīlī leaders was devoted to setting up spaces of worship for the community and providing assistance to newly arrived Ismāʿīlīs. For instance, the Council for Canada's full-session meeting in September 1976 – attended by Sir Eboo Pirbhai (President of the Supreme Council for Europe, Canada and the U.S.A.) as well as leaders of the *jamāʿatī* institutions from eastern and western Canada – addressed possibilities around putting an end to 'store front' or 'apartment' *jamāʿatkhānās*. The Council also initiated a procedure to produce a report for acquiring long term leases suited for operating *jamāʿatkhānā* ceremonies on a daily basis (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* October 1976, n.p.).

Council. So the Association naturally suffered because its importance was always looked down upon. I mean it wasn't as exciting to be a member of the association as it was to be a member of the Council. So it was like a poor cousin in terms of profile and so on, it was never considered equal."
[759] The Supreme Council was an active body that lasted until the inception of the new unified Ismāʿīlī constitution of 1986. Refer to Chapter 6.

Figure 7.4: Leaders of the *Jamāʿat*
From Left: Zinat Virani, President of Council for Canada, Sir Eboo Pirbhai, President of Supreme
Council and Nizar Alibhai, President of Council for Western Canada, 1978
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

An important development took place following the creation and
implementation of the 1986 Ismāʿīlī Constitution[760] – the Council for Canada moved
from Vancouver to Toronto in 1987. As discussed in Chapter 6, a Constitutional
Review Committee (CRC) was put in place to help develop a universal Constitution in
consultation with the Imām and representatives across the globe. This was made up of
individuals appointed by the Imām who travelled to different parts of the world seeking
input and further researching the settlements of the Ismāʿīlī communities.

> When they came to Toronto, the CRC met with Council members, including
> myself. And it seemed to me that the *Jamāʿat* in Toronto was probably three to
> four times larger than in Vancouver. And it seemed to me that it would be most
> appropriate if the National Council were situated in Toronto. It would be more
> in touch with the people; the larger portion of the *Jamāʿāt* was residing here in
> Toronto. So, we made the point and the CRC took this feedback to the Imām
> and who made the final decision to move the National Council to Toronto.[761]

The Council for Canada offices were setup in the Foresters Financial Building located
at 789 Don Mills Rd, Toronto, ON M3C 1T9 until it moved to Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto
in 2014. With this change there also came a reorganization and restructuring of the
regional Councils so that the Ismāʿīlī community in Canada would have five regional
Councils: Council for British Columbia, Council for the Prairies, Council for

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[760] For more information regarding the Ismāʿīlī Constitution see Chapter 6.
[761] Nizar Kanji, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, February 5, 2015.

Edmonton, Council for Ontario, and Council for Quebec and the Maritimes Provinces.[762] Although the National Council (Council for Canada) moved to Toronto in 1987, National ITREB (ITREB Canada) remained in Vancouver. ITREB was well established in Vancouver since its evolution from the Ismailia Association and the appointed Chair of ITREB Canada was based in Vancouver.[763] In addition, the National CAB chair happened to be in Vancouver, so it got centered in Vancouver and the National GRB chair happened to be in Toronto. Therefore, the National Council and National GRB went to Toronto while National ITREB and National CAB remained in Vancouver. To some extent this decision was about convenience and practicality of the individuals involved.[764] One cannot ignore that *jamāʿatī* institutions can be 'personality' centered; certain personalities can bring about a change that may have long-term consequences.[765] At present, Canada has 1 National Council (Council for Canada) which consists of boards and portfolios, along with Central Institutions[766] (*Council for Canada,* Appendix H).

Economic and Development Initiatives

Much of the efforts to build a successful and self-sustainable community began with grassroots initiatives that would later be incorporated at the national level. One such example is the Ismāʿīlī Burial Expense Program. Beginning in the early seventies and well into 1977, Ismāʿīlīs living in Toronto held all death rites at Cardinal Funeral Homes at 366 Bathurst Street. The cost for burial expenses in 1977 ranged from $370 for an adult to $70 for a stillborn child. At this time, a plot of 500 graves was reserved for the community's use at 101 Senlac Avenue (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* April 1977). Meanwhile in Ottawa, a grassroots scheme to provide assistance for funeral

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[762] An additional Council for Ottawa was put in place sometime in the early nineties (circa 1996-1999) bringing a total of 6 regional Councils in Canada and 1 National Council.

[763] National ITREB office in Vancouver remained at West Pender Street even after the opening of the Ismāʿīlī Centre Burnaby where the Ismāʿīlī Council for British Columbia was situated. It was not until 1990 that ITREB Canada was permanently moved into the Ismāʿīlī Centre Burnaby together with offices for ITREB British Columbia. Anonymous, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 27, 2015.

[764] Anonymous, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 25, 2015.

[765] This feature of institutional development is captured in the longer history of the Ismāʿīlī institutions. See Chapter 6.

[766] See Chapter 6 for information regarding central institutions based in accordance with the Ismāʿīlī Constitution.

expenses was underway. The success of the program in Ottawa caught the attention of the Council for Canada and at a full session meeting in 1977, the Council concluded that Ottawa's scheme should be studied in greater detail to ascertain implementation of a similar scheme in other *jamāʿats* in eastern Canada (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* June 1977, n.p.). That same year the Council for the Atlantic Provinces, based in Montreal was also considering the establishment of a similar Burial Fund to assist bereaved families of the deceased in meeting funeral costs (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* October 1977, n.p.). One year later, the Toronto Ismāʿīlī community was urged to participate in a burial scheme that was already underway. The scheme mimicked what was already in motion in Ottawa and Montreal. The program required that each family make an annual contribution of $20 a year. "This and subsequent contributions would accumulate and would eventually provide relief for funeral and burial expenses in the event of a death" in the community (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* January 1978, n.p.). Following the implementation of the program in eastern Canada, the regional Council for western Canada was asked to study this in order to introduce a similar scheme in the west. By 1980 the Council for Canada decided that a formal Burial Expenses Relief Fund across Canada should be established based on the scheme operating in Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal (*Canadian Ismaili* December 1980, 16).[767]

Community institutions were also actively implementing effective mediums to offer economic aid and opportunity to the nascent Ismāʿīlī community in Canada. In the early 1970s when large numbers of Ismāʿīlīs left East Africa and were beginning to settle in North America and Europe, an Aid Fund was established in Canada, USA, and the UK with the assistance of Aga Khan IV. Its purpose was to provide financial support to newly settled Ismāʿīlīs in order to maintain a basic standard of living. As Mohamed Manji[768] explains,

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[767] The Burial program still runs successfully and is referred to as 'Burial Expense Relief Plan.' Each Province where there is Council leadership runs their independent program. As of fall 2017, the contribution cost per adult in Ontario was $60. For Ismāʿīlīs residing in Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area burial plots are reserved for the community at Elgin Mills Cemetery in Richmond Hill.

[768] Mohamed Manji is President at BlueStone Printing and Finishing Solutions Inc. Mr. Manji's involvement with the Ismāʿīlī institutions dates back to the silver jubilee. In 1983, Mr. Manji was appointed as Chairman of the Education Board for Ontario. Subsequently he served as the member for Youth for the Council for Ontario. After that he was appointed President for the Council for Ontario from 1987 to 1990. Mr. Manji has also served as the President of the Council for Canada from 2005-2012. In addition, Mr. Manji's formal institutional positions include being the Vice Chair of the National

Aid Fund was created to assist *jamāʿatī* members in need. So if you could not pay the rent for example, or lost a job, or if somebody fell sick and therefore needed extra resources for day to day living, a certain amount of funds were available to alleviate these sorts of hardships. In addition, the Aid Fund was also created to provide students with extra funding for college or University. For example, if students still fell short after applying for Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP loan), the Aid Fund could provide funds to help with paying fees, purchasing books and other student necessities.[769]
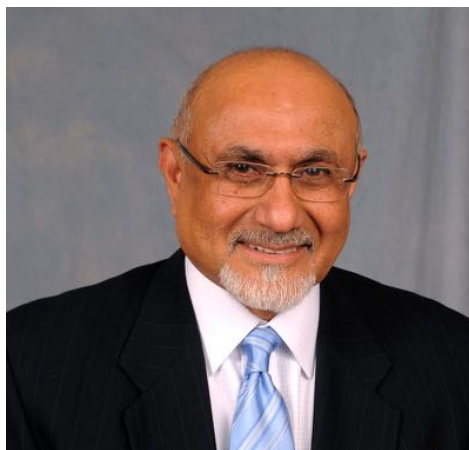
Figure 7.5: President Mohamed Manji, 2005-2012
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

The Aid Fund continued as an integral funding body for the community until 1983.[770]

By the early 1980s the period of major settlement was over and the aim shifted from aid to development. On March 21, 1985 the Aid Fund was officially dissolved and restructured under a new initiative called the Jubilee Development Program Canada (JDPC). Established as a charitable organization in 1985, the JDPC was part of Aga Khan IV's Silver Jubilee Projects.[771] The JDPC thus took over the functions of the Aid Fund with a much broader mandate. Canada was the only country at the time where the Aid Fund was transformed into a Jubilee Development Program (*Ontario Ismaili* July 1987, n.p.). The JDPC's primary objective was to provide assistance to Ismāʿīlīs in Canada as a 'lender of last resort' in a number of areas such as education, personal

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Committee of Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC), Chair of IMARA (the *jamāʿatkhānā* development arm of the Ismāʿīlī Council) and Chair of the National Conciliation and Arbitration Board.

[769] Mohamed Manji, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, February 20 and March 19, 2015.

[770] From 1981 onwards, the Aid Fund for eastern Canada was located at 1987 Leslie Street, Don Mills, Ontario M3B 2M3. See "News," *Canadian Ismaili* 1, no. 4 Ontario Edition Newsletter, (February, 1981): n.p.

[771] Refer to Chapter 5 on background of Jubilee years in the context of the Imāmate.

hardship, small business development and vocational training. For instance, loans for education were provided up to a maximum of $6,000 a year and in Ontario, all applicants were expected to apply to OSAP first. On the other hand, small business loans were given to those who did not qualify under the IPS Loans Guarantee Program (*Ontario Ismaili* July 1985, n.p.).[772] This registered non-profit organization had its head office in Vancouver, British Columbia, and administered in Canada by a Board of Directors appointed by the Imām. The Chairman of the JDPC was the President of the Council for Canada. The other directors included the President of the Grants Council for Canada, the Presidents of the four regional councils as well as the two Business Information Officers. In addition, two regional committees, one in the east and one in the west were assigned to carry out the proposed activities (*Newsletter* May 1985, 5).

The Ismāʿīlī institutions actively continued to provide adequate economic aid and opportunity for the community in Canada. As discussed above, funds were setup almost immediately to help with the settlement of the nascent Ismāʾīlī community. This was followed by other initiatives aimed at helping Ismāʿīlī entrepreneurs. For example, in the second half of 1974, approximately two years after Ismāʿīlīs arrived in Canada from East Africa in large numbers, a study was implemented to gauge the effectiveness of settlement of the community in Canada. The results of the study showed the necessity for Ismāʿīlī Business Information Centres (IBIC), one in Toronto and another in Vancouver to serve Eastern and Western Canada, respectively, staffed with individuals qualified to provide business-counseling services to the community. The IBICs were established in Vancouver and Toronto on January 1, 1975. Each office was staffed with a Business Information Officer and an Executive Secretary.[773]

An integral component of the IBIC mandate was the IPS Loan Guarantee Program (LGP) for North America. The LGP was born out of the recognition that newly arrived Ismāʿīlīs in Canada would require assistance in order to qualify for bank financing. This Loan Program essentially offered assistance to small businesses whose total project cost did not exceed a quarter of a million dollars. IPS (Switzerland) entered into loan guarantee agreements with the Bank of Nova Scotia and Canadian Imperial

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[772] More about the IPS Loan Guarantee Program is discussed below.
[773] Anonymous, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, May 5, 2015.

Bank of Commerce in July 1975. Under the agreements, IPS provided guarantees of up to 33% of the loan amounts (Sovani 1992, 11). The success of the LGP is due to Prince Amyn Aga Khan[774] who arrived in Canada in 1974 to enter into a loan agreement on behalf of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate with the two Canadian Banks. More than 800 Ismāʿīlī families started up businesses thanks to the IPS Loan Guarantee Program, which was setup in 1975 (Mawani 2014b, 44).[775] Immediately following the signing of the loan guarantee agreements with the banks, Aga Khan IV appointed Approval Committees for eastern and western Canada, chaired by the respective Regional Council Presidents. As of 1977, a letter addressed to the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada from Aga Khan IV's Secretariat in Aiglemont provided further revisions for terms of operation (*IBIC Cover Letter,* Appendix I). Fifteen years later a third IBIC office was established in Calgary in 1979 and in the mid 1980s, the program was extended to the USA.[776] The Industrial Promotion Services (IPS) Canada Ltd. – the industrial development arm of the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED) was established in Canada in 1979.[777] "Its goal is to assist members of the Jamat in establishing new businesses, or in expanding existing businesses which, because of their value, fall outside the scope of our loan guarantee programs"(*Canadian Ismaili* March 1990, 22). Moreover, the IPS headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland appointed Mr. Herbert Holley as the Senior Executive for IPS Canada in 1977. Mr. Holley had already begun a feasibility study for the establishment of an IPS company in Canada prior to this appointment. In fact, since 1973 Mr. Holley visited Canada frequently with the establishment of the Ismailia Business Information Centres (Vancouver and Toronto) discussed above and on the

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[774] Prince Amyn Aga Khan is a Director of the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) and of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC). As a connoisseur of heritage, music, and fine art, Prince Amyn is also involved in the Aga Khan Music initiative and with the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto. See Rizwan Mawani "Prince Amyn Aga Khan's contribution to economic and cultural development," The Ismaili Canada, (Summer 2014): 44.

[775] Mr. Nyaz Jethwani who played an instrumental role in arranging the meetings with the banks also affirmed this. Interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, April 21, 2015. Another interviewee (anonymous) also confirmed that Aga Khan IV guaranteed 1/3 of loans for all Canadian Ismāʿīlīs and over 500 busnisses benefited from the program over a 15-year period. The Program ran until 1995 and was slowly phased out. Interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, May 5, 2015.

[776] Anonymous, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, May 5, 2015.

[777] A copy of the Canada Business Corporation Act – Certificate of Incorporation, which was shared with me, places the incorporation of IPS Canada to August 13, 1977. IPS Canada was also one of the first in the family of IPS in the industrial world. The main Headquarters of the IPS department is based in Geneva, Switzerland. See Chapter 6 for more about IPS and AKFED.

establishment of the Business Lending Program for Ismāʿīlīs which kick-started in Canada in 1975 (*Canadian Ismaili* March 1977, 6). IPS Canada still remains and is overseen by Nizar Alibhai, President and CEO of IPS Canada.[778]

Figure 7.6: Prince Amyn (centre) with leaders of the *jamāʿat* in Vancouver
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Another important institution of the Imāmate that has had a long presence in Canada is the Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC). Around 1979, Aga Khan IV asked the leaders in Canada to look into the possibility of incorporating a Canadian arm of the Aga Khan Foundation. Recommendations regarding operations in accordance to Canadian regulations were presented to AKFC headquarters and to Aga Khan IV and by July 1980 the Foundation was established in Canada with the primary objective of promoting social development.[779] Initially based in Vancouver, British Columbia at 701 W. Georgia Street, it was registered as a Canadian charitable organization and in the same year was recognized as an NGO by the then Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Being an Imāmate institution, AKFC also plays an important role among Ismāʿīlī communal institutions and more often than not, provides the financial and legal structure for *jamāʿatkhānā* development (*Ontario Ismaili* July 1984, n.p.). Around 1990, AKFC moved to Toronto and three years it was moved to Ottawa. Currently AKFC is based at the Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate Building in Ottawa.

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[778] Nizar Alibhai was appointed as Honourary Secretary on the Council for Canada in 1973. He was then appointed President of the regional Council for western Canada in 1975. Mr. Alibhai was later appointed Director of IPS, Industrial Promotion Services Ltd. and in 1988 he was appointed as its President and CEO. He currently is the Chairman of IPS Canada.
[779] Nizar Kanji, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, February 5, 2015.

Prior to its current location, AKFC was based at 360 Albert Street in Ottawa, Ontario. When asked about the movement of AKFC, Khalil Shariff[780] noted:

> AKFC moved because the trends and the mandate around its fundraising had grown and it became clear that the action, especially in corporate fundraising was out in Toronto and not in Vancouver. Thus, the leadership of AKFC at the time said look we should move and establish a presence in Toronto. At the same time AKFC was growing in its relationship with the then CIDA [Canadian International Development Agency], now amalgamated as part of DFATD [Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development].[781] And the relationship with the government was increasing as a result. This is why after three or four years it was decided that AKFC should move to Ottawa because there were major opportunities to continue to engage with the government to secure support but also to be in a position of ongoing dialogue and learning with the interlocutors. It was also the case that the international development community more generally was moving to Ottawa and that's why we wanted to say let's move to Ottawa. Many of the major players are here in Ottawa and it is the home of a lot of the policy dialogue on the issue. That I think is the reason why we moved here [to Ottawa].[782]

Yet another key development of the Council for Canada was the formation of the Fostrian Children Universal Society (FOCUS) – a not-for profit organization established under the Canada Corporations Act on July 20, 1981. FOCUS began with its headquarters in Vancouver, British Columbia at 2154 West Broadway (*The Canadian Ismaili* March 1982, 27). FOCUS Canada's major responsibility was to coordinate and consolidate the collection and disbursement of donations for sponsorship, adoption, and education among other concerns of children in developing countries. The organizational structure of FOCUS consisted of a Board of Directors, with Regional Committees across Canada. FOCUS was registered under the Income Tax ACT of Canada as a charity under registration No. 0620344-01-27 and was approved in June 1982 (*Ontario Ismaili Newsletter* Oct/Nov 1983, 14). In the early nineties FOCUS was completely restructured and its mandate was changed in accordance with Aga Khan IV's wishes to create a permanent institutional capacity to address crisis situations. Thus in order to respond to disruptions affecting the lives and

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[780] For Khalil Shariff's bio see Chapter 5, fn. 499.
[781] At present the nomenclature has been changed to Global Affairs Canada.
[782] Khalil Shariff, interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, February 13, 2015.

safety of Ismāʿīlīs and other communities around the world, FOCUS amended its mandate in order to provide emergency humanitarian relief and assistance in the settlement of refugees in Canada and elsewhere.

FOCUS evolved from its inception in 1981 to Focus Humanitarian Assistance Canada and updated its charter in 1994 to serve as a *jamāʿatī* agency directly concerned with humanitarian assistance and resettlement of displaced persons and refugees. Focus Canada offices were also moved from Vancouver to Toronto (Samji 1995, 21).[783] As Nizar Kanji[784] recounts,

> The Imām asked that FOCUS be relooked at and its role be changed from what it was doing before into becoming an international relief agency. Now just to step back, around 1989-1990 we were asked to start preparing arrangements for the settlement of Afghan refugees into Canada. We needed an agency to serve as an official sponsor and be the cooperating agency with the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada.[785] So Focus Canada served as the conduit for arranging that.[786]

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[783] The restructured mandate and function of FOCUS into Focus Humanitarian Assistance is reflected in the 1998 Amended version of the Ismāʿīlī Constitution. Refer also to Chapter 6, footnote 97.

[784] Nizar 'Nick' Kanji is the President of Sutter Hill Development Corporation. Prior to this, he served as Vice President of Genstar Commercial Developments and Alexis Nihon Developments. He previously volunteered as Chairman of Seneca College Foundation and served as Focus Humanitarian Assistance Canada's first chair from 1993 to 1995. In addition, Mr. Kanji has held leadership positions in a number of other charitable organizations. From 1981 to 1985 he was the Director of the Aga Khan Foundation and later served as its Vice chairman until 1989. Within the Ismāʿīlī institutions, Mr. Kanji served as a member for the National Council Economic portfolio (1979-1984). From 1984 to 1987 he was appointed President of the Council for Ontario. This was followed by an appointment as President of the Council for Canada (1987-1993). Mr. Kanji was also appointed as member of the Leaders International Forum from 1987 to 1993 and again from 1996 to 1999.

[785] This department was established in 1994 following reorganization within the federal government and was renamed to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) in 2015.

[786] Nick Kanji, interview with author, Toronto, Onatario, February 5, 2015.

Figure 7.7: President Nizar Kanji, 1987-1993
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

The long-term vision of the newly structured Focus Canada institution was to provide assistance during natural disasters, political chaos, civil unrest amongst other humanitarian concerns, and to collaborate relief efforts with government and other agencies. "It hopes to bring to the task an international network of Focus agencies, a management structure and a combination of volunteer and core resources that can respond rapidly and effectively to alleviate the suffering of those in need" (*The Ismaili Canada* July 1994, 4).[787] Thus in 1994, Focus Canada started to put into place certain protocols and processes regarding the management structure, operational strategies, as well as financial and administrative systems to facilitate the settlement of refugees in Canada. As the then-President, Aziz Bhaloo,[788] of the Council for Canada explains,

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[787] FOCUS Humanitarian Assistance continues to offer humanitarian assistance to communities around the world. "Over nearly two decades, FOCUS has grown on a global level into a multifaceted organization, providing relief and assistance following avalanches, landslides, mudflows, earthquakes, cyclones, hurricanes, floods and wild fires. FOCUS has also undertaken successful resettlement programmes for displaced families and extended relief and recovery support for communities living in vulnerable environments" See Focus Humanitarian Assistance, "Who We Are," *Focus Humanitarian Assistance Canada* website, http://focus-canada.org/about-us/who-we-are/#.Wi7IwrYZP-Y (accessed December 9, 2017).

[788] Aziz M. Bhaloo is a Co-Founder and Chairman of The Foray Group. Prior to founding The Foray Group, Aziz held various management positions at Esso Kenya and at Esso Chemicals Canada. Aziz has been involved in community service throughout his career. From 2007 to 2016, he was the Diplomatic Representative of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) in Kenya, a position His Highness the Aga Khan appointed him to. His long-standing volunteer activities include Chair of Focus Humanitarian International Coordinating Committee, as well as previous positions as President of Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada (1993-1999); National Committee member of the Aga Khan Foundation Canada; member of the Sunnybrook Hospital Foundation Board and member of the George Brown College Foundation Board. These activities have earned him various awards including the Queen's Golden Jubilee Medal of Honour.

We revisited the original charter of FOCUS in Canada in 1994 and we became one of the first community based organizations that signed an agreement with the government of Canada to sponsor 1600 Afghans who were refugees in either India or Germany or elsewhere. That's how the program started; that's how Focus Humanitarian Assistance Canada came to be. The settlement of Afghan refugees in Canada was the first project of Focus Humanitarian Assistance Canada.[789]
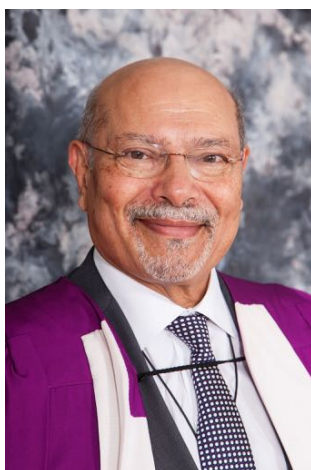
Figure 7.8: President Aziz Bhaloo, 1993-1999
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

A joint resettlement agreement was signed in Ottawa by the Honourable Sergio Marchi, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Aziz Bhaloo, then-President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada and FOCUS Humanitarian Assistance Canada to resettle a small number of refugees in Canada. This project was designed to help resettle Afghan Refugees in Canada with a parallel agreement signed with the Quebec government. The agreement took effect on April 29, 1994 and ran until April 1997. Mr. John Ciaccia, Minister of International Affairs, Immigration and Cultural Communities and Mr. Jaynul Shariff, then-President of the Ismāʾīlī Council for Quebec and the Maritimes, signed the parallel Agreement on the same day (*The Canadian Ismaili* July 1994, 5-6).[790]

Aziz holds an external degree in Mechanical Engineering from the University of London and has been awarded an Honorary Doctor of Letters by Wilfrid Laurier University.
[789] Aziz Bhaloo, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, May 26, 2015.
[790] Focus Canada also provided humanitarian assistance during the Kosovo War (1998-1999). In May 1999, as the war in Kosovo escalated, the government of Canada established the Emergency Humanitarian Evacuation program to prepare for the settlement of 5,000 refugees in Canada. Given the large amount of refugees, the government appealed to all Canadians to assist. In response, the Ismāʿīlī

Jamāʿatkhānās

The term *jamāʿatkhānā* is derived from the Arabic word *jamāʿa* (gathering) and the
Persian word *khānā* (house, place), which together can be translated as 'a place of
congregation' or 'assembly house.' All religious activities, specific to the Ismāʿīlī
community takes place in the *jamāʿatkhānā*. In terms of functionality, it serves the
same purpose as a mosque among other Muslim communities. The *jamāʿatkhānā* also
acts as a focal point for social activity, which may or may not be directly linked to
religious observance in all cases (Nanji 1983, 160-161). *Jamāʿatkhānās* have existed in
India for centuries[791] and in the diaspora, they became an increasingly vital gathering
place for daily congregational prayers as well as a social and cultural milieu. As
mentioned earlier, the Ismāʿīlī community in both Vancouver and Toronto had
organized meetings or *jamāʿats* and had created *jamāʿatkhānās* ("houses of meeting")
as early as 1968 (Nanji 1983, 156). As local groups of Ismāʿīlīs increased in Canada,
locations such as school halls served as places where members of the community could
congregate for the primary purpose of offering prayers accompanied by ritual
observances.[792] At present there are twenty-nine *jamāʿatkhānās* in Ontario that fall
under the jurisdiction of the Council for Ontario and are supported by a population of
31,500.[793]

Council for Canada and Focus Humanitarian Assistance offered to help resettle up to 350 Kosovars
across Canada. See Zenobia Jamal, "From Kosovo to Alberta," *Ismaili Canada* 13, no.2, (December,
1999): 13-14.

[791] The first *jamāʿatkhānā* was established in Sind, at a place called Kotra. See Azim Nanji, *The Nizari
Ismaili Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent* (New York: Caravan Books, 1978), 75.

[792] "Elders in the Ismāʿīlī community recall that their first jamaat khanas were rented spaces, sometimes
schools, that were used for prayer on weekends. They then invested in buildings such as warehouses
which they renovated themselves" (Hussain 2001, 164).

[793] These *jamāʿatkhānās* include: Bobcaygeon (relocated and renamed as Peterborough as of March
2018), Barrie, Belleville, Brampton, Brantford, Don Mills, Downtown (previously 'Dundas West'), East
York, Etobicoke, Guelph, Hamilton, Halton, Kingston, Kitchener, London, Meadowvale, Mississauga,
Niagara Falls, Oshawa, Pickering, Richmond Hill, Saint Thomas, Sarnia, Scarborough, Sudbury, Toronto
Headquarters (Ismaili Centre), Unionville, Willowdale and Windsor. The Ottawa *jamāʿatkhānā* falls
under the jurisdiction of the Council for Ottawa. There are also functional *jamāʿatkhānā* spaces on
University campuses across Ontario which are associated with the 12 Ismāʿīlī Students Association
(University of Toronto, University of Toronto (Scarborough), University of Waterloo, University of
Windsor, Wilfrid Laurier University, McMaster University, Ryerson University, University of Ottawa,
University of Western Ontario, Queens University, University of Guelph and York University.

Figure 7.9: Ismāʿīlī *jamāʿat* in Toronto, 1969/70
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

The earliest daily-operational *jamāʿatkhānās* in Canada date back to the year 1971 and were located in three cities (Vancouver, Toronto, and Calgary). In Toronto the *jamāʿatkhānā* was located at the outskirts of Metropolitan Toronto – a block and a half north of the subway (Yonge and Eglinton), on Broadway.[794] The *jamāʿatkhānā* was setup inside the St. Monica Catholic School starting in February 1971 with Nyaz Jethwani as its *Mukhi.* Daily prayers were conducted at this location until sometime in 1972 when the *jamāʿatkhānā* moved to a larger school gym facility on Coxwell.[795] In Vancouver the first daily operational *jamāʿatkhānā* was located in the Burnaby area on Edmonds Street, with Akber N. Hirji appointed as the *Mukhi.*[796] And in Calgary, the Ismāʿīlīs congregated daily in the social hall of the first Muslim *masjid* (mosque) that had been reconstructed from a church (Mawani 2014a). Much of the early energies of the Ismāʿīlī leadership and community at large were put towards providing services for the economic advancement of the newly settled families[797] and more importantly establishing appropriate spaces of worship for the Ismāʿīlī community. Towards the mid 1970s and moving forward the leaders and lay members of the community worked

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[794] This is noted in the 10th Anniversary *Ontario Newsletter* (1981): 3.

[795] Nyaz Jethwani, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, April 21, 2015. Mr. Nyaz Jethwani was appointed as Toronto's first *Mukhi* in April of 1970 and held *jamāʾatkhānā* services at his residence at Morgandale Crescent until 1971.

[796] In actuality, the Edmonds location was acquired in 1971 and began operation in 1972 on Fridays and Saturdays. It became a daily operational *jamāʿatkhānā* in 1973. The Edmonds *jamāʿatkhānā* would eventually shut down circa. 1975-1976. Farouk Verjee, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 25, 2015.

[797] See above discussion.

at an unprecedented pace to open as many *jamāʻatkhānās* as possible. 1974 saw the opening of Willowdale *jamāʻatkhānā*, located at the Woodbine Junior High School.[798]

Two years later, in October 1976, Toronto received its first students' *jamāʻatkhānā* at the University of Toronto. At this time, the Ismāʻīlī Students Association (ISA) membership at University of Toronto had grown almost 30% since its inception in 1975 (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* January 1977; *Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* September 1977). Another daily students' *jamāʻatkhānā* opened at McGill University sometime in September or October of 1976. The space was open 6 days a week for communal practice, with a number of students from McGill and other students from surrounding academic institutions (*Canadian Ismaili* March 1977, 6).[799] A year later, around February 1977 a new *jamāʻatkhānā* opened in Toronto at Dundas West. This *jamāʻatkhānā* was aimed at serving members of the community living in the Dufferin, Jane, Woolner and Willowridge areas. Formally a supermarket, Dundas West *jamāʻatkhānā* was renovated to suit the purposes of a religious congregation space.[800]

Throughout the 1970s proposals for daily *jamāʻatkhānā* premises in Toronto, including Oshawa, Hamilton and Brantford were put forward to the Council for further consideration. In 1977 an offer to lease a building at 84 South Service Road for Mississauga *jamāʻatkhānā* was finally accepted and by August of the same year the 325

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[798] By August 1978, the Council for Canada "approved in principle" a proposal to lease a new site for Willowdale *jamāʻatkhānā* in the Victoria Park/ McNicoll area and the Council for Ontario was directed to prepare a full project report with updated information for submission to the National Grants and Supreme Councils. See "From Council Chamber," *Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* 3, no. 2-3, (September-October 1978): 3. In 1979 the Willowdale *jamāʻatkhānā* was relocated to an adjacent school, Georges Vanier School and continued to hold religious ceremonies until 1997. In 1993, Aga Khan IV approved a site for a 'built-to-suit' *jamāʻatkhānā* on McNicoll Avenue, west of Victoria Park Avenue. Work on the building renovations began in 1996 and the premises were finally opened on December 16, 1997. See Zahir K. Dhalla, *The Willowdale Jamat Khana Story: 40th Anniversary* (Toronto: Kitabu Publications, 2016).

[799] The first improvised campus space in Canada for Ismāʻīlīs to meet was at McGill University in 1972. The students would meet on Fridays in the Student Union Building. Amir Hussain and Jamie S. Scott, "Muslims," in *The Religions of Canadians,* ed. Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 193. Based on this, the 1976 campus *jamāʻatkhānā* at McGill was an officially recognized space by the Ismāʻīlī Council for daily practice.

[800] Over the years Dundas West *jamāʻatkhānā* has congregated in different places, including the Metro Convention Centre. Currently the Dundas West *jamāʻatkhānā* is now referred to as Downtown *jamāʻatkhānā* and was recently relocated in 2016 to 360 Bloor St W, Toronto, ON M5S 1X1.

Ismāʿīlīs congregants attended a brand new daily *jamāʿatkhānā*.[801] That same year, a daily *jamāʿatkhānā* at 49 Brock Street in Brantford, Ontario was opened in order to cater to population of 70-80 Ismāʿīlīs (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* May 1977, 6; *Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* September 1977). The following year, the 240 Ismāʿīliŝ residing in Hamilton received a daily *jamāʿatkhānā* located at 797 Barton Street, situated in the city's downtown core (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* February 1978, 5). By 1978, a significant number of Ismāʿīlīs across Ontario had access to daily and weekend *jamāʿatkhānās* but the task was not yet complete.[802] The search for suitable *jamāʿatkhānā* locations in Toronto continued for certain areas where appropriate facilities were still not available and where the current sites being utilized were deemed unsuitable or inadequate for the growing community (*Canadian Ismaili* December 1980, 16).[803] Efforts also continued outside the GTA, for example on October 1980 a daily operational *jamāʿatkhānā* was opened in London, Ontario at 2500 Wonderland Road (Ibid). In fact, the first leased 'built-to-suit' *jamāʿatkhānā* in Ontario opened on September 11, 1982 (*Ontario Ismaili Newsletter* November 1982, 5). In 1983, the Council for Ontario crafted a report for the preparation of a regional 5-year *jamāʿatkhānā* Plan, providing policy behind planning and implementation structure and strategy.[804] By early 1983 it was reported that there were 41 *jamāʿatkhānās* (Weekend school halls and daily) under the jurisdiction of the Council for Ontario (*Ontario Ismaili Newsletter* February 1983, 1). The following year, in 1984 the Etobicoke area saw the establishment of the North West *jamāʿatkhānā,* located in close proximity to the Pearson International Airport, 100 Skyway Avenue, in an industrial complex. The

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[801] The current Mississauga *jamāʿatkhānā* is situated 375 Matheson Blvd E, Mississauga, Ontario. This location was opened on June 23, 2002 and continues to hold daily services (Personal communication with members of this *jamāʿatkhānā*).

[802] As of 1978 western Canada began efforts to acquire properties that were considered as 'built-to-suit' *jamāʿatkhānās,* with hopes to apply this strategy for acquiring future *jamāʿatkhānās* in eastern Canada. See "From Council Chambers," *Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* 3, no. 2-3, (September-October, 1978): 2-3.

[803] During my field work I was made aware of a 1980 Report prepared for the Council for Ontario concerning a 3 Year Plan for *jamāʾatkhānā implementation* in Metropolitan Toronto.

[804] In 1989 the Council for Canada put together a comprehensive 5-year plan. This was followed by 1995, an updated 5-year plan in 1995, entitled PLAN 2000. See Rozmina Mitha, "Interview: Looking to the Future," *The Ismaili Canada,* 10, no. 5, (December, 1996): 38-41. Around 1990-1991 a Long Term Plan entitled "The Canadian Jamat of the 21st Century" was shared with me that identified critical areas of improvement for the future progression of the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs. This 40-page report covered topics such as: the role of the Councils and Institutions, Socio-Cultural Issues, Development of *jamāʿatkhānās*, Educational Issues and Economic Issues. The report provides covers key areas of improvement along with goals and objectives as well as possible strategies for implementation.

acquired building was an industrial warehouse that underwent significant changes to transform it into an appropriate payer house. The North West *jamāʿatkhānā* served as a forerunner of several other built-to-suit *jamāʿatkhānās* in Ontario (*Ontario Ismaili* September 1984, n.p.). Two years later, a new daily operational *jamāʿatkhānā* opened in Ottawa at 99 Carling Avenue in late 1986. Prior to this location the Ottawa Ismāʿīlī community congregated on Cody Street where church facilities were leased on an interim bases. Until December 1979 and earlier, a weekend *jamāʿatkhānā* was established on Slater Street in the gym of Ottawa Technical High School (*Ontario Ismaili* March 1987, 18).

Perhaps the greatest milestone to be achieved in the early history of *jamāʿatkhānā* development in Canada took place in western Canada in 1985. The city of Burnaby, British Columbia was the first to receive a permanent (purpose-built) *jamāʿatkhānā* in North America. This was one of the first majestic buildings of the Ismāʿīlī community, known as the Ismāʿīlī Centre.[805] This building was designed with keeping in mind, classical and contemporary architectural styles all the while reflecting its local environment. "Such a development symbolizes the Ismāʿīlī traditional norm which attempts to ensure continuity with religious values in relation to the existing social and cultural life" (Dossa 1985, 26). The opening of the Ismāʿīlī Centre Burnaby represented a powerful symbol marking the community's presence and continuity in Canada. In August 1985, Aga Khan IV and then-Prime Minister Brian Mulroney officially opened the Ismāʿīlī Centre in Burnaby, British Columbia. This marked the first purpose-built *jamāʿatkhānā* and Centre in North America.[806]

> It was clear that the ceremony was not simply to symbolize the opening of a
> new building. It was also to acknowledge Canada's welcome to a large number

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[805] "The Ismaili Centres belong to the historic category of jamatkhana. They are symbolic markers of the permanent presence of the Ismaili community in the regions in which they are established. Architecturally unique, each building incorporates spaces for social and cultural gatherings, intellectual engagement and reflection, as well as spiritual contemplation. They serve as ambassadorial hubs, representing the Ismaili community's attitude towards the Muslim faith and modern life, while extending a hand of friendship and understanding to enhance relationships among faith communities, government and civil society." See "About the Ismaili Centres," *The.Ismaili* website, https://the.ismaili/centres/about-centres, (accessed December 5 2017).

[806] The Ismāʿīlī Centre in Burnaby is also considered as the first project launched during the Silver Jubilee of Aga Khan IV. See Farzana Logan, "Ismaili Centre in Vancouver," *The Ismaili Canada,* (Winter, 2014): 58-59.

of ethnic minorities, including the arrival of Ugandan refugees in 1972…Farouk Verjee, Honarary Secretary of the Regional Council for Western Canada at the time of the foundation ceremony in 1982 remembers the importance of a permanent jamatkhana for the newly arrived Jamat. He recalls that the building signified one of the first steps in a long journey for Ismailis in Canada (Ahmed 2014, 47).

In eastern Canada, the foundation stone for the Brampton *jamāʿatkhānā* was laid on May 7, 1989. The *jamāʿatkhānā* was estimated to open on December of 1989 or early 1990. Brampton *jamāʿatkhānā* would eventually open its doors on Friday, December 29, 1989. This free-standing structure situated on one acre of land, located on North Park Drive still continues to serve the Ismāʿīlī community in Brampton and surrounding areas (*Canadian Ismaili* July 1989; *Canadian Ismaili* March 1990). 1989 was also the year in which the development of another purpose built *jamāʿatkhānā* in Unionville, Ontario was approved by Aga Khan IV on July 11. Located on 2.8 acre site near Hwy 7 and Woodbine Ave, North Central *jamāʿatkhānā* opened its doors in June 1991(*Canadian Ismaili* July 1989).[807] A month earlier, on May 24, 1991 the Halifax Ismāʿīlī community opened its first permanent daily *jamāʿatkhānā*, located at 1000 Windmill Road, Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. For over sixteen years prior to the opening, communal worship gatherings took place in a rented premise (*Canadian Ismaili* December 1991). That same summer, the Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC) also acquired an industrial building in North York, for the purpose of converting it to the Headquarters *jamāʿatkhānā* as well as the home of the offices of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Ontario. The building is approximately 34,000 square feet and situated at the corner of Bartley Drive and Hobson Avenue in North York. Today, this *jamāʿatkhānā* has been renamed East York *jamāʿatkhānā* and still continues to carry daily ceremonies (*Canadian Ismaili* March 1992). Then in 1997 a proposed site – at the corner of Don Valley Parkway and Wynford Drive – was approved for an Ismāʿīlī Centre[808] (*The*

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[807] The opening of Brampton and North Central *jamāʿatkhānās* in Ontario and Burnaby Lake in British Columbia in late 1990 marked a stepping stone of a long term plan to create more purpose-built worship spaces to satisfy the needs of the community in Canada. See Karim Ismail, "Towards the year 2000," *Canadian Ismaili*, (December, 1989): 2. The Brampton and Unionville *jamāʿatkhānās* were the first permanent built-to-serve spaces of worship for the Ismāʿīlī community in Ontario.
[808] The year 1997 marked the 25th anniversary of major settlement of Ismāʿīlīs in Canada. That same year, Ismāʿīlīs in western Canada witnessed the opening of a permanent built-to-serve *jamāʿatkhānā* in Edmonton on March 8, known as the Belle Rive *jamāʿatkhānā*. A second ceremony was held on April

Ismaili Canada July 1997).[809] In 2002, a neighbouring site was acquired by the Ismāʿīlī community further expanding the plot of land to about 17 acres, which allowed for the incorporation of a Park and the Aga Khan Museum.[810]

In addition to *jamāʿatkhānās* the Ismāʿīlī community has *Bayt-ul-ʿIlm* (House of Learning) centres. The different regional Ismāʾīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Boards (ITREB) oversee the *Bayt-ul-ʿIlm* centres across Canada, which all report to ITREB Canada or the National Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Boards based in Vancouver, British Columbia. "These centres provide religious instruction for children and adults, complementing the education that they receive in public or private Canadian schools" (Hussain 2001, 165). In 2015 there were 75 reported *Bayt-ul-ʿIlm* centres accessed by some 7,000 students (4 years to 18 years of age) across the country.[811] The *Bayt-ul-ʿIlm* system in Canada provides religious education for students in kindergarten to grade twelve. Inclusive to the program setup are two curriculums a primary (known as *taʿlīm*) and a secondary curriculum.[812] There is an Academic Director (AD)[813] that oversees and provides leadership to the entire *Bayt-ul-ʿIlm* system in Canada and is supported by Academic Leads in areas where the six regional ITREBs are situated.[814] As of summer 2014, ITREB Canada underwent some restructuring to the management of religious education. In addition to the *Bayt-ul-ʿIlm* system, which goes until grade twelve, an over eighteen religious education and programing team was

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19, 1997, which brought representatives of the Ismaili Council for Canada and Edmonton along with a number of local dignitaries. See "Jamatkhanas," *The Ismaili Canada* 11, no.2 (July, 1997): I-VIII. The Belle Rive *jamāʿatkhānā* celebrated its 20th anniversary on March 11, 2017.

[809] Around 2000-2001, when Amir Hussain was completing his research, the Canadian Ismāʿīlī community was in the process of raising funds towards the establishment of the Wynford Drive project – the second Ismāʿīlī Centre in Canada, believed to be the largest *jamāʿatkhānā* in Canada (Hussain 2001, 164).

[810] More about the The Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto, the Aga Khan Park and the Aga Khan Museum will be discussed at length in Chapter 9.

[811] Anonymous, interview with author, via telephone, March 23, 2015. In 1998, the numbers of centres was 53. See Shamas Nanji, "Bait-ul-Ilm, Nurturing the Young," *The Ismaili Canada* 12, no. 2 (July, 1998): 40-41; Refer also to Amir Hussain, "The Canadian Face of Islam: Muslim Communities in Toronto," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2001). In 2001, it was reported that 55 *Bayt-ul-ʿIlm* were operating across Canada with approximately 5,000 students and some 800 teachers and volunteers. See "Make Religious Education a Priority: An Interview with ITREB Canada Chair, Jalal Jaffer," *Ismaili Canada* 15, no. 1 (March, 2001): 46-47.

[812] The religious education curricula are developed at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies. See Chapter 6 for more details.

[813] The Academic Lead in Canada is Tasnim Dharamsi.

[814] Tasnim Dharamsi, interview with author, via telephone, April 30, 2015.

formalized. Essentially there are now two sub-divisions in relation to *jamāʿatī* education: an under eighteen team that oversees the primary and secondary curricula, and an over eighteen team that leads programming for post-secondary students and adults.[815]

Community Organizations and Outreach Initiatives

From its early settlement in Canada until present, service in the form of volunteerism at the community level (*jamāʿatī* and external) was an integral component of the cosmopolitan ethic expressed by the Ismāʿīlīs.[816] In 1972, the Canadian Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps (IVC) was officially established and the first Major of the Canadian IVC, Mohamed Lalji, was appointed in 1973. That same year was also the first time the Toronto Ismāʿīlī community held festivities for about 3,000 people to commemorate Imāmate Day (Rawji 2014).[817] "It was on this occasion that the *Randhan* (Gujarati, meaning cooking) committee, still headed today by Sadru 'Super' Esmail, was formed" (Rawji 2014, 36). In January 1989, the Ontario Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps established a Junior Volunteer Program for youth between the ages of 9 and 12. Initially a pilot project, the Program was officially adopted in 1990 across Canada (*Canadian Ismaili* July 1990). Today the Ismāʿīlī Junior Volunteer program continues successfully across Canada involving children as young as 7 up to the age of 13.[818]

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[815] Karim Jiwani, interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015. Also Aleem Karmali, interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015.

[816] For more on volunteerism within the Institutions of the Imāmate and the establishment of the Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps see Chapter 6.

[817] For details about Imāmate Day refer to Chapter 5.

[818] Conversation with an Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps representative.

Figure 7.10: Toronto Ladies and Gents IVC Majors, 1973-1974
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

By the late 1970s the IVC began taking on more opportunities to volunteer in the wider community by spearheading fundraising with the United Way and organizing blood donor clinics with the Red Cross (Rawji 2014). Following Aga Khan IV's Silver Jubilee and with the growing presence of the community through its intuitions, the role of the Canadian Volunteer Corps took on a new dimension. Over the years the Corps have expanded their mandate to offer services for a number of events and functions organized by various *jamāʿatī* institutions. Examples include *Milād un-Nabī* celebrations, economic and educational fairs, social events, seminars, conferences, and workshops (*Canadian Ismaili* July 1990). Over the years the Ismāʿīlī volunteers have earned accolades and garnered respect among Canadians at large. On the topic of volunteerism in Canada, the Honourable Senator Mobina S.B. Jaffer[819] called attention to the shared value of service recognized by Canadian citizens and in the outlook of the Aga Khan. In her speech, she draws on the spirit of volunteerism within the Ismāʿīlī community in Canada. She pointed to the spirit of giving both within the community and outside. Take for example the initiative called CIVIC (Challenging Ismāʿīlī Volunteers in Communities) that allows youth between the ages of 13 to 25 to contribute to local communities across Canada.[820] Another example of the Ismāʿīlī

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[819] For Senator Jaffer's bio see Chapter 5, fn. 521.
[820] As part of Aga Khan IV's Diamond Jubilee and the commemoration of 150 years of Canada's confederation, the Ismāʿīlī CIVIC initiative launched CIVIC 150. This community program serves as a pledge by the Canadian Ismāʿīlī Muslim Community to Canada of one million volunteer service hours to improve the quality of life of Canadians. The pledge began on July 1, 2017 and continues until the pledge is fulfilled. In Ontario, Ismāʿīlī CIVIC Day took place on September 17, 2017 and the community

community offering their voluntary services was during the 2010 Vancouver Olympics, where the Ismāʿīlī Volunteer Corps were approached to contribute in the planning and organization of the Winter Olympic Games because of their expertise.[821] Furthermore, in April of 2012, the 24th Premier of Ontario, the Honourable Dalton McGuinty recognized the Ismāʿīlī's commitment to volunteerism and their contributions to Ontario and Canada as a whole. He presented certificates to the then President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada and the President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Ontario, honouring and recognizing the ideals promoted by Aga Khan IV. He acknowledged how these ideals are reflected in the aspirations and hard work of the Ismāʿīlī community, which play a role in promoting a value of service towards others (Jaffer 2012, 68).

The Ismāʿīlī community has also been involved in collaborative efforts with the wider Muslim community in Canada. Amir Hussain[822] points to the collaborative efforts between the Ismāʿīlī Council of Canada and the Council of Muslim Communities of Canada (CMCC). Two examples he notes are: 1) the 20th anniversary banquet of CMCC in Toronto on September 18, 1993 in which the Ismāʿīlī Choir was invited to sing the national anthem and 2) a memorial service for Muin Muinuddin in 1998, in which the Ismāʿīlī Council for Ontario was invited to make a presentation at the memorial service (Amir Hussain 2001, 166). Another example comes from the Ismāʿīlī community in Edmonton. "[I]n the 1990s, Ismailis in Edmonton and elsewhere worked with other Muslims to have the Al Rashid Mosque, the first in Canada,

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gathered in large numbers to participate in the annual Terry Fox run and by cleaning up a number of parks. See "About Civic150," *The.Ismaili* website, accessed December 11, 2017, http://iicanada.org/ismailicivic150 and Global News, "Ismaili Muslims launch Civic 150 in celebration of Canada's sesquicentennial," *Global News* website, accessed December 12, 2017, https://globalnews.ca/video/3752769/ismaili-muslims-launch-civic-150-in-celebration-of-canadas-sesquicentennial.

[821] Senator Mobina Jaffer, "Volunteerism in Canada,' *Debates of the Senate* (Hansard), 1st Session, 41st Parliament, 148 (2012), accessed March 23, 2017, http://mobinajaffer.ca/november-6-2012-volunteerism-in-canada/.

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officially designated as a heritage site" (Karim 2011a, 279). In fact, the National Secretary of the Canadian Council of Muslim Women (CCMW) in 1999 was an Ismāʿīlī by the name of Razia Jaffer who also served as member on the Ismāʿīlī Council (Chagani 1999, 8). Another notable example that continues today is the *Mīlād un-Nabī* celebrations that the Ismāʿīlī community hosts every year across the country in commemoration of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday. This event seems to have started in the early 1980s and continues to be one of the most successful events which brings together a number of Muslim leaders in the various cities where Ismāʿīlīs reside. The event consists of recitals of Qurʾānic *āyāts* (verses), poems and devotional songs in praise of the Prophet. In addition, the community invites a keynote speaker (usually an academic) to give a lecture on key themes around the Prophet and contemporary Islam.[823]

The spirit of service and giving is also reflected in what has become one of the most successful fundraising events, taking place in ten cities across Canada.[824] Known as the World Partnership Walk, this event is "the largest and longest-standing event of its kind in support of international development" (AKFC 2006). The roots of this world-renown event goes back to 1985 in Vancouver, British Columbia when a group of Ismāʿīlī women desired to offer some form of assistance to communities in the developing world. These pioneering women had an ambitious goal: to help end global poverty. Together they were able to raise funds (over $50,000) from about 1,000 people in their city. "This was the inception of the World Partnership which has now become an annual nationwide fund-raising event for Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC)" (Ahmed 2014, 49). The first nationwide (Canada) Walk took place in 1987. More than 8,000 Canadians participated in the Annual Partnership Walk in Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary and Toronto. This first Walk brought over 400 participants in Edmonton, and in Toronto there were about 2,500 to 3,000 attendees. In Vancouver over 1,500 participated in this initiative (*Canadian Ismaili* December 1987). The second nationwide Partnership Walk took place the following year in Montreal,

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[823] Sahir Dewji, Fieldnotes, Toronto, Ontario, 2014-2016. In Kitchener-Waterloo for exmaple, the Ismāʿīlī Council for Ontario and Wilfrid Laurier University collaborate to host a university wide lecture in conjunction with the *mīlād un-Nabī* program.
[824] These cities are: Montreal, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Toronto, Ottawa, Victoria, Kitchener-Waterloo, London and Regina.

Toronto, Edmonton, Calgary and Vancouver. By 1990 two more cities (Victoria and Ottawa) began hosting the Partnership Walk bringing the total to seven cities across Canada (*Canadian Ismaili* 1990). The Partnership Walk, which falls under the stewardship of the Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC), has become one of the most successful outreach events hosted by the Ismāʿīlī community. By 2014, the Walk raised around $90 million for AKFC's international development programs and initiatives. In 2013, alone "the Walk mobilized 40,000 supporters and brought in over $7 million" (Ahmed 2014, 51).[825] In addition to the Partnership Walk, the Ismāʿīlī community in Toronto, Ontario launched the 10K Run for Charity in 1984. "The Ismāʿīlī Run for Charity supports a different Canadian charity each year, ranging from the United Way, the Hospital for Sick Children and the World Wildlife Fund to the Junior Achievement of Toronto and York Region" (Hussain 2001, 165). From 1990 onwards the run became part of the Ontario Track and Field Association's Timex Series and was accredited by the Ontario Roadrunners' Association as a Class 'A' run (*Canadian Ismaili* December 1990). The final 10K Run for charity took place in 2004 (20th anniversary).[826]

Figure 7.11: The inaugural Aga Khan 10K Run for Charity, 1985
Mohamed Manji, the Honourable Lily Munro, and Nizar Kanji (left to right)
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

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[825] 2017 marks the 33rd year of the Walk in Canada. Fore more information about the World Partnership Walk see the official website https://www.worldpartnershipwalk.com/en/.
In 2000 Aga Khan Foundation Canada launched another fundraising initiative – the Partnership Golf Tournament (PGT) – in Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal. This annual endeavour acts in addition to the already successful Partnership Walk raising awareness and funds in the sector of international development. See "Fundraising Success," *Ismaili Canada* 15, no.1, (March, 2001): 25.
[826] When asked about why this event came to an end, I was not able to get a definitive answer but many of the individuals I spoke to alluded to the duplication of interests between the Partnership Walk and the 10K Run.

The Ismāʿīlī community in Toronto also has a Scout group – the 786 Aga Khan Boy Scouts.[827] The 786 Aga Khan Boy Scouts was established in the early winter of 1983. The Group was first registered with the Boy Scouts of Canada in 1982 as a closed group (for Ismāʿīlīs only). Its aim like other Scouts is to help young boys and young adults to develop their character as resourceful and responsible members of the community (*Ontario Ismaili* July 1985). The first Scoutmaster of the 786 Aga Khan Boy Scouts, Mr. Ramzan Shamji was in charge of 20 Troop leaders and about 250 Scouts and Cubs. "The objective of the Aga Khan Boy Scouts is to create good citizens and training boys for future leadership. Women have also joined the group by becoming Cub Masters" (Sunderji 1983, 14-15).[828] The community also has its own Choir known as the Ismāʿīlī Muslim Youth Choir, which started in 1973, when Asif Meherali came to Canada from Pakistan with his wife and two daughters. In 1984 a framework for the Young Ismāʿīlī Muslim Choir was drawn with the help of the Member for Youth and Chairman of the Entertainment and Cultural Committee. The Choir recruited all members of the *jamāʿat* between the ages of 13 and 25. By 1988, the choir had 40 participants (*Canadian Ismaili* December 1988).[829] Over the years, the choir has garnered many accolades for their performances at community and outreach events. The choir has also had the opportunity to perform for Aga Khan IV and many other important dignitaries. According to Karim[830] (2011a, 282)

> Some of the choir's key accomplishments included bringing innovative and hybrid musical accompaniment to previously *a capella* performances for Eid al-Milad An-Nabi, composing choral music for a Muslim audience in a Gospel style, and adding complex textural layers of harmony to a wide range of music

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[827] Similarly the Twelver Shīʿa community also has its own Muslim Scout Group established in 1987. Hussain states that this was the first established Muslim Scouting Group in Canada. However, the 786 Aga Khan Boy Scouts was formed at least 4 years earlier (Hussain 2001, 159-160).

[828] The Council for Ontario appointed a Girl Guide Committee in 1983 that was integrated into the existing Aga Khan Boy Scouts organization and the Volunteer Corps. See "Aga Khan Girl Guides Quick to Act," *Ontario Ismaili Newsletter,* vol. 7, no. 2, (October-November, 1983): 5.

[829] In order to promote musical arts in the community and to showcase youth talent, the Ismāʿīlī Council for Ontario officially sanctioned the formation of the Ismāʿīlī Muslim Youth Choir in 1984. By 1990, the Ismāʿīlī Muslim Choir recorded its first record under the direction of Asif Meherali, the choir's first conductor from 1984 to 1993. See Soraya Shamji, "Hearing with your Heart," *Ismaili Canada* 15, no.1, (March, 2001): 74.

[830] See Karim H. Karim's bio in Chapter 5, fn. 528.

from traditional and contemporary South Asian songs to Christian hymns, Jewish compositions and Zulu spirituals.

The example of the choir explicitly points to the continuous weaving of religio-cultural ideals and realities that transgress the boundaries of time and space. The success of the Ismāʿīlī Muslim Youth Choir paved the way for the creation of a national choir – Canadian Ismāʿīlī Muslim Youth Choir (CIMYC), which was formed in 2007 in commemoration of Aga Khan IV's Golden Jubilee.[831]

In 1976 the Ismāʿīlī community in Toronto formed an editorial team to write and circulate a community publication.[832] The first Ontario Editorial Office was situated in Don Mills at 747 Don Mills Road, Flemingdon Park Plaza Lower Mall until 1979. The Editorial team was miniscule with Mohamedhusein Manji as the chairman, Zahir Janmohamed as Editor, with Dr. Diamond Charania, Hasan Nazarali, Sadrudin Meghji, Dr. Nazir Nensi, and Fatima Somji as content writers (*Ontario Ismaili* July 1986). On July 11, 1976 the inaugural 'Canadian Ismaili' came into existence with its first magazine. This was a prelude to three magazine issues and 8 monthly newsletters. In September of that same year the Ontario Editorial team published the first issue of the 'Canadian Ismaili Newsletter.'[833] By 1978, 17 monthly newsletters and 6 magazine issues were published from 1976 to 1978. From 1978 onwards the Canadian Ismaili became a monthly publication. By 1978, when Aga Khan IV first came to visit the Toronto *jamāʿat*, the Editorial Board had published 24 monthly issues.

Two years later a National Editorial Board of Canada was established, it adopted the name 'Canadian Ismaili.' This Editorial Board was appointed by Council for Canada in February 1980 and consisted of 14 members representing British

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[831] For more on the Canadian Ismāʿīlī Muslim Youth Choir (CIMYC). See Irfan Kherani, "Golden Jubilee marks the formation of the Canadian Jamat's national youth choir," *The.Ismaili* website, accessed December 11, 2017, https://the.ismaili/golden-jubilee/golden-jubilee-marks-formation-canadian-jamat's-national-youth-choir.

[832] A meeting of the supreme Council for Europe, Canada, and USA in 1974, which resolved to encourage and promote community publications, inspired the conceptualization of an Ismāʾīlī Newsletter. More guidance for periodicals was discussed in 1976. See (*Letter from Supreme Council,* Appendix J).

[833] A report on the 'Canadian Ismaili' Publication that was shared with me states: "In accordance with the resolutions taken by the Supreme Council, and the Council for Canada in the fall of 1975, the Editorial Boards for Eastern and Western Canada were set up to establish the publication of a magazine and/or newsletter to serve their respective Jamats in the following areas: 1) give information on community affairs, 2) present articles of interest to the jamats, 3) report local news and features and on policy decisions as they affect the jamat." Ismailia Editorial Board, "Report From The Ismailia Editorial Board On The Canadian Ismaili," (March 1979), 1-6, quote at 2.

Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Maritimes. The first National Edition of the 'Canadian Ismaili' magazine was issued on March 21, 1981 (*Canadian Ismaili Newsletter* February 1981).[834] In Toronto, the editorial committee was renamed 'The Ontario Ismaili' with sister papers in British Columbia, the Prairies, and Quebec and Maritime Provinces (*Ontario Ismaili Newsletter* 1983). Based on my observation of the newsletters and magazines, it seems that the "Ontario Ismaili' came to an end in late 1987 and from then on only the 'Canadian Ismaili' was in print. That same year the Editorial Office relocated to 1987 Leslie Street, Don Mills, Ontario M3B 2M3. This location was in use until circa 1990. The Canadian Ismaili Office then moved to Mississauga for a year and then relocated once again to Thornhill, Ontario. It seems that around 1993, the 'Canadian Ismaili' changed its name to 'The Ismaili Canada' which remains to this day. Another move took place in 1996 when the offices relocated to 789 Don Mills Road – home of the Council for Canada was since 1987 – where it remained until winter 2014. The Editorial Board of 'The Ismaili Canada' is now based at the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto at 49 Wynford Drive. It is worth noting that over the course of the magazine's history a shift in objective has taken place. From its early beginnings, the magazine served primarily as a communication medium, highlighting upcoming events, community developments, concerns faced by the community, and profiles of *jamāʿatī* members. Although some of these aspects still get coverage, it seems that today the ultimate purpose is more about increasing and sustaining the community's profile. In other words, the magazine serves as tool for public relations showcasing the work of the Aga Khan institutions work and profiles of leaders within the community, which is readily available on the official Ismāʿīlī community's website (*The.Ismaili*) and the AKDN website.[835]

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[834] In his dissertation, Amir Hussain (2001, 165) writes that the community published *The Ismaili Canada* since 1987.

[835] "Several national and multinational versions of the print-based magazine The Ismaili are produced, with core content provided by Aigelmont…Very rarely will the content of these publications address religious issues, which were previously to be found in a variety of Ismaili magazines until the early 1990s (e.g., Hikmat in Canada, Ilm in the UK, and Africa Ismaili in Kenya)." Karim H Karim, "A Semiotics of Infiinite Translucence: The Exoteric and Esoteric in Ismaili Hermeneutics," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 40 (2015): 11-28, quote at 23.

Another print media that continues to be utilized by the Ismāʿīlīs is the *Al-Akhbār* (News). The first issue was published in Edmonton in 1988. The *Al-Akhbār* was an initiative started by the Council for Edmonton to keep its Ismāʿīlī members abreast of local and national news concerning the community and its institutions. As of 1999, the *Al-Akhbār* was published in every major Canadian centre. It is supposed to be short, to the point and accessible to everyone. Over the years, the *Al-Akhbār* has evolved with technological advances (*The Ismaili Canada* March 1999). Today, the *Al-Akhbā*r is known as the 'digital' *Al-Akhbār,* which uses a web-based platform, is disseminated across Canada every Friday of the week and is mostly intended for internal circulation. It keeps the community informed about local programing, important news briefs, as well as educational, health, and social topics.

Conclusion

This chapter aimed to build on the institutional developments discussed in Chapter 6 within the context of Canada. It also offered a contemporary history of encounter and engagement that have shaped the identity of the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs. This historical narrative offers a prism through which the vision of a cosmopolitan ethos can be refracted onto the settlement and institutional initiatives of the Ismāʿīlī community in Canada. By the same token, Canada's own history in accommodating diversity provided the building blocks for conceptualizing multiculturalism as a good rather than simply as a liberal theory for minority rights. "The Canadian concept of immigrant integration does not demand assimilation into a melting pot. Newcomers are encouraged to acquire personal skills to participate in the larger society's economic, social and political spheres" (Karim 2011a, 286). There is no doubt that Canada's immigration policy and its framework of multiculturalism contributed significantly to Ismāʿīlī settlement. Canada, through its own historical processes of nation building, exhibited the cosmopolitan ethic in the way that it accepted and embraced many different nationalities and communities including the Ismāʿīlīs. It can be argued, in this sense, that the cosmopolitan ethic in Canada has been reciprocal and not just a one-way phenomenon.

Within this chapter, I sought to portray the community's own voice, through its printed materials and interviews with past leaders, bringing to light a story that needed to be conveyed. Given the diversity found within the Muslim population in Canada there cannot be a singular Canadian Muslim experience. In rendering the story of the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs, my intention was to present a minority experience that does not always find its way in the grand Canadian Muslim narrative. It is also my contention that there is no better way to capture the community's history in Canada other than the varying grassroots efforts put forward to secure a lasting identity and to building a confident community through its institutions and influential personalities.

Framing the Ismāʿīlī community's development and evolution in Canada within the larger crucible of human experience clearly unravels the cosmopolitan ethos captured in the pursuit to balance the universal and the particular. Indeed, the story of the beginnings of the Ismāʿīlīs in Canada is one of continuity and change, of encounters and exchanges – an account of constructing and fostering new relations that have shaped the community's position and understanding of itself in Canada. Without doubt, this endeavour also results in charting new courses exemplified by the Canadian stories of immigration. The community's historical experience surely lends poignancy to earlier observations regarding a cosmopolitan ethic that has materialized over time and space within the history of Ismāʿīlī experiences.

CHAPTER 8
Locating the Cosmopolitan Ethic:
Spatial Properties, Architecture, and the Case of the Global Centre for Pluralism

Introduction

This chapter begins with a brief discussion around spatial methodology that is derived from the disciplines of social geography and social and cultural theory. Setting the contours of this analytic approach is a meaningful exercise to identify uses of spatial terminology that will inform a reading of the built environment and its conceptualization in relation to the production and practice of space/place. Thereafter, I demonstrate how the cosmopolitan ethic is a consequence of spatial practice, but also a concept or value that characterizes the very place that brings meaning to its practice. In earlier chapters I explored recurring themes of encounter and engagement, otherness, hospitality and other key virtues that are inspired by the Abrahamic moral tradition. These features oriented my approach to cosmopolitanism from the Greeks to the Muslims, which manifests through actual engagement with peoples and cultures different from oneself. I also noted how engagement and knowledge serve as important facets of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan sensibility – serving as a continuous process of interaction with the ancient and the contemporary, the strange and the familiar. In this chapter I explore how the cosmopolitan ethic is intrinsic to the relationship between the production of space and place. I suggest that focusing on specific sites allows one to locate an expressive cosmopolitanism that manifests itself in the built environment.[836]

This dimension of my research relates to the application and practicality of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic that is supposed to embody the very work of his institutions. From an ethical perspective, I argue that the way in which the cosmopolitan ethic is articulated in specific locations captures the lived reality of an abstract ideal, which seeks to account for a balanced movement between global and

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[836] "Discourses of cosmopolitanism, and the closely related fields of diaspora and globalization studies, emphasize the importance of mobility and deterritorialization. Indeed, the cosmopolitan individual is typically understood to develop this subjectivity out of frequent movement…This definition of the cosmopolitan, however, fails to recognize that cosmopolitan subjectivities do not only develop from movement. Nor does it recognize that, no matter how frequently a person moves around, they are always already located *somewhere*" (Johansen 2008, 47).

local, distant and near, or universal and particular. The cosmopolitan ethic is given meaning through its social, cultural, and physical manifestations, which are captured through the continued practices and institutional development discussed in Chapter 7. Moving from the experiential dimension of the cosmopolitan ethic – observed through the Ismāʿīlī community's socio-cultural and institutional development – to a more focused reading of how the cosmopolitan ethic is imbued within a particular site, such as the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP), is the goal of this chapter. Exposing what goes into the conceptualization of an institution (physically and ideologically) as well as what happens within the spaces (production and processes) in relation to the vision of Aga Khan IV yields a more acute understanding of the cosmopolitan ethic as a lived reality within institutions.

Positioning the Cosmopolitan Ethic

Emily Johansen[837] opines, "that in order to address the scales of cosmopolitan ethical responsibility we must pay closer attention to the way cosmopolitan sensibilities are enacted in specific locations" (Johansen 2008, 38). The cosmopolitan ethic, as I will demonstrate, is embedded in the built environment itself, from the architectural precision to the conceptualization of the space. Place and our understanding of it are shown to be a construct that emerges from a variety of social practices. In our case, architecture and other design features become part of a range of elements arranged and orchestrated to create possibilities for interaction and experience. The Imāmate institutions' architecture and space can therefore be read as a social and cultural product that is reproduced through use.

> Place shapes the way we understand the world but our understanding of the world also shapes places. Therefore, to suggest that cosmopolitan sensibilities are removed from place means that they are sensibilities that are separate from common understandings of the world. This is clearly impossible. Whether you spend most of your time in airports and hotels or, conversely, never go far from

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[837] Emily Johansen is Associate Professor in the Department of English at Texas A&M University. Johansen specializes in 20th and 21st Century Studies and Transnational Literatures. Her research interests also include 20th and 21st century British literature and culture, postcolonial studies, cultural studies, and cosmopolitanism. She has numerous publications including two monographs: *Cosmopolitanism and Place: Spatial Forms in Contemporary Anglophone Literature* (2014) and *Neoliberalism and the Novel* (2015) with Alissa G. Karl.

your place of birth, you always have access to representations of space even if you are not consciously aware of them. Cosmopolitan world-views then are necessarily - though perhaps often unconsciously - articulated through these connection to specific places" (Johansen 2008, 54).

An experience of place is thus integral to the ways in which a cosmopolitan ethic can be expressed and understood in the world. By looking closely at certain spaces or structures, one is able to discern the expression of cosmopolitanism within them as well as modes of relations to other spaces around it and sub-spaces within it. This leaves us with a crucial question: What is one able to gather about the history, role and functionality of a cosmopolitan ethic from investigating a particular space or structure?

Defining Space/Place[838]

In *The Production of Space,* philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre[839] argues that space is a complex social construction based on values and the production of meanings that affects spatial practices and perceptions.[840] He organizes the experience of space into 'spatial practice' 'representations of space', and 'spaces of representation' in order to show how he thought spaces were perceived, conceived, and lived.[841]

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[838] Place is most often attached to connotations such as "local, specific, concrete, descriptive" and space is usually associated with terms such as: "general, universal, theoretical/abstract/conceptual" (Massey 1994, 9).

[839] Henri Lefebvre (d. 1991) was a French Marxist and existentialist philosopher and a sociologist. His work has influenced the development of philosophy as well as sociology, geography, political science and literary criticism. He is considered as a central figure in geographical discourse. Throughout his career, Lefebvre wrote more than sixty books and three hundred articles. Lefebvre figured as the most translated of French writers during the 1950s and 1960s. His *Dialectical Materialism* (1967) was translated into over 24 languages and brought him international acclaim as the 'Father of the Dialectic'. Lefebvre also wrote extensively on the production of space with a focus on the reproduction of social relations. Considered a central figure in geographical discourse, Lefebvre (in the 1980s) was idolized by American postmodernists and geographers as the pioneer of critiques of the city and spatial theory. Two of Lefebvre`s most important works translated into English are: *Critique of Everyday Life, Volume 1* (1958 [1947]) and *The Production of Space* (1991[1974]).

[840] Lefebvre writes, "[t]he project I am outlining, however, does not aim to produce a (or *the*) discourse on space, but rather to expose the actual production of space by bringing the various kinds of space and the modalities of their genesis together within a single theory" (1991, 16).

[841] "The 'spatialised trialectic' is to be understood not as three compartmentalised spaces – it cannot be deconstructed and then quantified into three polemics. Lefebvre is interested in the complex interactions between each of his three expressions of space…For Lefebvre, spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces stand in direct relation to the dialectical triad: the perceived, the conceived, and the lived." Lee Pugalis, "A Conceptual and Analytical Framework for Interpreting the Spatiality of Social Life," *FORUM Ejournal* 9 (December 2009): 77-98.

> Like any reality, social space is related methodologically and theoretically to the three general concepts: form, structure, function. In other words, any social space may be subjected to formal, structural or functional analysis. Each of these approaches provides a code and a method for deciphering what at first may seem impenetrable (Lefebvre 1991, 147).

Lefebvre (1991) envisions 'social space' as a production of human action and interaction. A central question to his framing of social space in connection to human endeavours was: "What exactly is the mode of existence of social relationships? Are they substantial? Natural? Or formally abstract?" (Lefebvre 1991, 129). To this he responds by noting that the study of space offers an answer according to which the social relations of production have a social existence…" (Ibid, 129) and then he further writes,

> social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. Their underpinning is spatial. In each particular case, the connection between this underpinning and the relations it supports calls for analysis. Such analysis must imply and explain a genesis and constitute a critique of those institutions, substitutions, transpositions, metaphorizations anaphorizations, and so forth, that have transformed the space under consideration (Lefebvre 1991, 404).

Lefebvre offers an approach that presents space "as a *medium,* a *methodology,* and an *outcome*" (Knott 2014, 3).[842] More importantly, his analysis points to the constructedness of space which contributes to the way in which place can be conceptualized and the impact of social practices that occur in specific places. Lefebvre's view of space has important characteristics that lend to a definition of place that is conceived of in social, mental and physical terms. According to cultural geographer Doreen Massey[843]

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[842] This is based on Henri Lefebvre's observation: "Is space indeed a medium? A milieu? An intermediary? It is doubtless all of these, but its role is less and less neutral, more and more active, both as instrument and as goal, as means and as end. Confining it to so narrow a category as that of 'medium' is consequently woefully inadequate." See his *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 411. Also quoted in Kim Knott, *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2014), 3.

[843] Doreen Massey (d. 2016) was a British geographer, feminist, theorist and political activist. She was emeritus professor of geography at The Open University. She is considered as one of the most influential thinkers whose writings on space, place and power inspired generations of geographers. Her areas of expertise included Marxist geography, feminist geography and cultural geography. Massey was made a Fellow of the Academy of Social Science (1999), the Royal Society of Arts (2000) and the British

If, however, the spatial is thought of in the context of space-time and as formed out of social interrelations at all scales, then one view of a place is as a particular articulation of those relations, a particular moment in those networks of social relations and understandings. But the particular mix of social relations which are thus part of what defines the uniqueness of any place is by no means all included within that place itself. Importantly, it includes relations which stretch beyond - the global as part of what constitutes the local, the outside as part of the inside…The identities of place are always unfixed, contested and multiple. And the particularity of any place is, in these terms, constructed not by placing boundaries around it and defining its identity through counterposition to the other which lies beyond, but precisely (in part) through the specificity of the mix of links and interconnections to that 'beyond'. Places viewed this way are open and porous (Massey 1994, 5).

Therefore place is continuously carved at the intersection of ideological visions and lived experiences. "In this interpretation, what gives a place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it is constructed out of a particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus" (Massey 1994, 154).

Kim Knott[844] (2014) who draws from the work of Henri Lefebvre (1991) argues for the importance and impact of space, place and location with regards to the configuration of religious relations:

That spaces themselves may be constituted by socio-religious relations is illustrated not only in the development of places of worship and other sacralised sires, but also by such things as ritual transformations of the human body and the religious production of distinctive narrative and doctrinal spaces (capable of winning the support of individuals and communities and thus engaging in ideological struggles in the public arena) (Knott 2014, 21).

Knott's approach focuses on the location of religion in public life and highlights the interconnectedness of events and the nature of the persons, objects, and places that constitute space. "Whilst space cannot be said to exhibit agency itself, it affects agency

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Academy (2002). She also received a number of honorary doctorates, the most recent being awarded from the University of Zurich in 2013.

[844] Kim Knott is Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Leeds, UK. She has directed an interdisciplinary strategic research program "Diasporas, Migration and Identities" for the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council, and is co-investigator on a research project on "Media Portrayals of Religion and the Secular Sacred." Since completing *The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis*, she has published many articles further developing on the themes of religion, space, and place, and the relationship of the religious and the secular.

in those who experience and participate in space" (Knott 2014, 129). Religion, for example is a key player in contemporary ethical, political, and ideological struggles for space, often in supporting roles. To understand more about the relation between ideology and space, Lefebvre uses religion to demonstrate how social relations and the cultural symbols are intrinsic to the conceptualization of space. He writes,

> What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies? what would remain of a religious ideology…if it were not based on places their names: churches, confessional, altar, sanctuary, tabernacle? What would remain of the Church if there were no churches? The Christian ideology...has created the spaces which guarantee that it endures. More generally speaking, what we call ideology only achieves consistency by intervening in social space and in its production, and by thus taking on body therein. Ideology *per se* might well be said to consist primarily in a discourse upon social space (1991, 44).[845]

From this perspective, it is useful to view the cosmopolitan ethic envisioned by Aga Khan IV as an inherently social construct that must exist and express itself within certain social spaces. By using the relationality between ideology and space, I am able to examine how Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan sensibility is echoed in the institutional spaces created under his leadership. Moreover, the connection between cosmopolitanism and place makes visible the circumstances within which the cosmopolitan ethic is developed and played out through the programing that takes places within these places.

In this way, it is possible to think of place as the location where ideas are continuously formed and constantly changing. What cosmopolitanism does then is *make* or *produce* a space where the self and the other transgress boundaries. The practice of a cosmopolitan ethic ensures that space is constituted as a permeable terrain that welcomes, consolidates and transforms. Imagining place in terms of construction and social interactions suggests that the specificity of place is continually reproduced – highlighting the process of movement. Thus, "[i]nstead of seeing the cosmopolitan only in terms of exposure to different locales and the resulting impact on subjectivities, Massey's re-definition of place [as well as Lefebvre's] points to how people access the

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[845] Also quoted in Knott (2014, 27).

cosmopolitan in ways that are not only the result of their own frequent mobility"
(Johansen 2008, 48). Therefore, the process of producing space necessarily involves
constructing the rhythms of everyday life and producing and reproducing the social
relations that frame it. It is simultaneously a field of action and basis for action, actual
and potential (Lefebvre 1991, 26-27, 191). This sense of place acknowledges the
specificity and construction while drawing attention to how particular locations develop
out of global connections. For Lefebvre too, "[t]he form of social space is encounter,
assembly, simultaneity" (1991, 101). From an ethical standpoint, this points to
importance of fostering an environment of more open and relational conceptions of
social interaction and connectivity that implies a relationship of responsibility.[846] Enter
Derrida's 'hospitality'[847] that orients one's values, principles and character. Thinking
through Derrida's conceptualization of hospitality (enacted between host and guest) it is
evident that hospitality must be played out spatially, thus accounting for the relation
between ethics and power relations (Bulley 2014).

In Chapter 2, I argued that Derrida's ultimate concern was an ideal whereby the
universal right of humanity and the acknowledgement of Otherness were in harmony.
He argues for the practice of unconditional hospitality, which is an ideal by which to
live. According to Derrida, this ideal acts as a horizon towards which to orient the Self
in relation to the Other. However, Derrida does suggest that such an ideal remains
beyond reach because the actual practice of hospitality is limited and conditioned by
power relations. Nonetheless, human beings must orient themselves toward
unconditional hospitality in order to define an ethical life. In this regard, the observance
of hospitality is very much about spatial practice:

> What hospitality works to do then is *delimit* space, tame it as a sphere of
> coexistence, restrict the multiplicity, regulating, filtering and channeling the
> trajectories and contacts that it allows; preventing the 'bad', enabling the
> 'good', while missing and failing to see others. But more than this, hospitality
> *makes* or *produces* a space – it is no longer just any sphere of coexistence or any
> kind of relation or contact. It makes the space *your* space rather than *my* space,

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[846] See discussion on cosmopolitan responsibility in Chapters 1 and 2, which is mirrored in the production of space/place articulated in the present chapter.
[847] See Chapter 1. "Hospitality requires a spatial relation that it also disrupts and upsets, but seeks to manage and contain, thereby constructing a highly particular, contingent and contested space" (Bulley 2014, 6).

and the practice of my crossing into your space is conducted on this basis. Hospitality brings a space into being, cordoning it off from other spaces, as *this* rather than *that* – as private rather than public, as individual rather than collective, as home rather than away, as domestic rather than international, imbued with certain values and excluding others. The outside constitutes the inside, but the practice of hospitality ensures that this inside is not constituted as an impregnable fortress but through a permeability that both welcomes *and* rejects (Bulley 2014, 5-6).[848]

Hospitality, as discussed in Chapter 1, thus serves as a potential for conditioning the cosmopolitan experience within a particular setting and accounting for the various flows and interactions that take place. The practice of spatial hospitality then is part and parcel of a cosmopolitan approach, which serves to (re)create and set an ethos that transgresses rigid conformities of belonging and non-belonging. The implication here, in other words, is the inescapable nature of social relations and lived space in everyday life. Lefebvre too considers the dual nature of space that is at once both an actual location and a space of mediation:

> On the one hand, one (i.e. each member of the society under consideration relates oneself to space, situates oneself in space. One confronts both an immediacy and an objectivity of one's own…One is, in short, a 'subject'. A specific social status – assuming always a stable situation, and hence determination by and in a *state* – implies a role and a function: an individual and a public identity. It also implies a location, a place in society, a position. On the other hand, space serves as an intermediary or mediating role: beyond each plane surface, beyond each opaque form, 'one' seeks to apprehend something else. This tends to turn social space into a transparent medium occupied solely by light, by 'presences' and influences (Lefebvre 1991, 182-183).

The emphasis on the dual nature of a social space acknowledges the multiple influences that impact the composition of a particular place. Lefebvre reminds his readers, "space 'is' whole and broken, global and fractured, at one and the same time. Just as it is at once conceived, perceived, and directly lived" (1991, 356). Taking this view seriously encourages an affiliation towards balancing the mutual nature of the global and local, the universal and particular. Indeed the ways in which space is understood are reminiscent to the very conception and experience of a cosmopolitan ethic. By applying

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[848] Refer also to Jacques Derrida, *Adieu... To Emmanuel Levinas*, trans. P-A. Brault and M. Naas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

Lefebvre, Massey's theories of space/place, it is possible to examine how spatial configurations and ideas such as 'cosmopolitan ethics' can play a role in a dialectic of lived reality which itself points to the possibilities of cosmopolitan practices (Johansen 2008). As such, the experience of place becomes integral to the ways in which a cosmopolitan ethic can be expressed and understood in the world.

Reading and Interpreting the Cosmopolitan Space

David Simonowitz's[849] dissertation (2004) entitled "On the Cutting Edges of *Dhu'l-Fiqar*: Authority and the Discourse of Architecture in the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibī and Nizārī Communities" analyzes and compares a series of buildings of two Shīʿī Muslim communities, the Mustaʿlī-Ṭayyibīs and the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs. Simonowitz approaches the communities' buildings as texts in connection with community publications that provide relevant ideas to the conceptual programing in these spaces. As part of my attempt to capture the expression of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan worldview in three specific places (the Global Centre for Pluralism, the Aga Khan Museum, and The Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto), I adopt Simonowitz (2004) approach of reading architecture. These sites of interest are first and foremost buildings. By approaching it through an architectural lens one is able to deconstruct the many layers that contribute to its production. Remember in Chapter 6, I discussed Aga Khan IV's personal interest in the built environment, which led to establishing the triennial Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 1976 and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture. "While the immediate effects of this event were less obvious, it nonetheless had an important influence on the conceptualization of [Ismāʿīlī] communal spaces" (Simonowitz 2004, 5). Apart from this, architecture is a passion of Aga Khan IV who from the start of his Imāmate was drawn to it. He explains:

> [M]y interest in architecture was driven at that time by the question of what to do to improve the quality of life of the ultra-poor. That brought into focus a very serious question that impacted my thinking on architecture. It was apparent that

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[849] David Simonowitz is Assistant Professor of Middle East Studies at Pepperdine University, Seaver College. He received his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies (2004) from the University of California, Los Angeles. Some of his academic interests include Architecture and Spatial Theory, History and Religious Traditions of the Middle East and the Islamic World, Textual Studies and Gender Studies.

the material needs to change this process were so enormous that the idea that these parts of the world could ever enter the domain of the consumer society was simply unrealistic… (quoted in Jodido 2007, 36).[850]

In architecture there is an inherent and unavoidable demonstration of the quality of life, or its absence. At that time, I was looking at how to deal with these situations (Ibid, 37).[851]

For Aga Khan IV, then, architecture is a critical component to his efforts of improving the quality of life that is encapsulated in the institutions he creates.[852] Here, care for the built environment (inclusive of place, space, and life-forms) and architecture go hand in hand, fitting Aga Khan IV's motto of the inseparability of *dīn* and *dunyā*.

Reading into the buildings and other important sources provides insight about the different places and the functionality of the spaces within them. Moreover, this approach also offers a means to examine how the actors that 'perform' in these spaces conceive and perpetuate the cosmopolitan ethic. Together, Aga Khan IV's distinctive architectural practices and the various complimentary elements (i.e.: space, place, texts and subjects) form a network within which each component influences and reflects the other – what is referred to as 'intertextuality'.[853] It is Julia Kristeva[854] who is credited with coining the term 'intertextuality', modifying the idea of text itself by "envisioning it as a space of semantic instability where multiple intertextual forces enact an on-going process of transformation, rather than as a repository of fixed meanings. Thus, intertextuality creates the space of meaning" (Simonowitz 2004, 8). Kristeva referred to texts in terms of two axes: a horizontal- consisting of the author and the reader and a vertical- connecting the text with other texts (Kristeva 1980, 69). Uniting these two axes are shared codes: every text and every reading depends on prior codes. Kristeva declared, "every text is from the outset under the jurisdiction of other discourses which impose a universe on it" (quoted in Culler 1981, 105). She argued for an emphasis on how the structure came into being. This involves placing it "within the totality of

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[850] Also quoted in (Poor 2014, 144-145).
[851] Also quoted in (Poor 2014, 145).
[852] See discussion below. Also refer to Chapter 6.
[853] "Intertextuality is a natural by-product of the production and consumption of texts. It has a passive component, but also an active component that is a determinant in textual composition" (Simonowitz 2004, 9).
[854] For Kristeva's biography see Chapter 1, fn. 38.

previous or synchronic texts" of which it was a transformation (Coward and Ellis 1977, 52).[855]

Lefebvre (1991) also offers an important trajectory for analyzing the interconnectivity of social relations and spatial embodiment (Johansen 2008; Knott 2014; Lefebvre 1991).[856] "The issue of production is fundamental to the analysis of the discursive space that each community created by linking references to and from written texts (publications) and constructed texts (architecture)" (Simonowitz 2004, 9). Although Lefebvre (1991) is primarily concerned with the production of space and is somewhat skeptical of a rigid 'reading' of spaces, he does recognize a dialectical aspect of codes[857] that helps to provide a crucial understanding of the interaction between space, surroundings and subjects. For Lefebvre, an already produced space (i.e.: monumental space) can be read. He explains:

> If indeed spatial codes have existed, each characterizing a particular spatial/social practice, and if these codifications have been *produced* along with the space corresponding to them, then the job of theory is to elucidate their rise, their role, and their demise. The shift I am proposing in analytic orientation relative to the work of specialists in this area ought by now to be clear: instead of emphasizing the rigorously formal aspect of codes, I shall instead be putting stress on their dialectical character. Codes will be seen as part of a practical relationship, as part of an interaction between 'subjects' and their space and surroundings" (Lefebvre 1991, 17-18).

Examining a specific site with is many constituents and the complex relations that are formed within them does indeed entail an exercise in deciphering the spatial codes that are assigned to these very spaces. Therefore by fusing 'intertextuality' with theories of space/place, as Simonowitz (2004) does, I am able to 'read' architectural sites as part of a wider narrative that is interconnected to the fluidity of ideas, materials and moments

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[855] Roland Barthes elaborated on the theory of intertextuality by claiming that all texts are woven into the fabric of intertextuality itself. Simonowitz further notes that the idea of intertextuality actually informed Barthes theorization of the city, "as a system of signs constituting both discourse and speech in which the meaning of the built environment is as much a product of the placement of its significant elements as of their isolated essences" (2004, 8).

[856] See discussion above.

[857] "It is clear, therefore, that a spatial code is not simply a means of rendering or interpreting space: rather its is a means of living in that space, of understanding it, and of producing it. As such it brings together verbal signs (words and sentences, along with the meaning invested in them by a signifying process) and non-verbal signs (music, sounds, evocations, architectural constructions)" (Lefebvre 1991, 47-48).

of agency.[858] I noted earlier (Part II of the dissertation)[859] the centrality of esotericism in Ismāʿīlī thought and practice. This esoteric dimension (*bāṭin*) is also complimented by exoteric (*ẓāhir*) practices that contribute to a balanced interpretation of the Ismāʿīlī tradition. This interplay of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* can be understood in terms of a dialectic that inspires the architectural works of the community. "Architecture, itself a form of text in this analysis, is the most distinctive and common component in the textual tradition [of the Ismāʿīlī community]. It not only serves as a support for other texts, but it is also deployed as a topic and as a vehicle for community-specific ideas, doctrines, and meanings" (Simonowitz 2004, 61). More importantly, architecture serves as an important platform by which to reflect the cosmopolitan ethos.

Designing Cosmopolitan Possibilities through Architecture

The built environment is itself an opportunity to enable a conscientious encounter and engagement that are accessible to the public and that encourage conversations and interactions with the other. Ibn ʿAbdūn, an Andalusian judge from the twelfth century, is reported to have said, as quoted by Stefano Bianca, "As far as architecture is concerned, it is the haven where man's spirit, soul and body find refuge and shelter" (2000, 22). It is meant to influence the physical, spiritual and emotional wellbeing of those who interact with its many manifestations. Bianca further adds, that the built environment is about "providing people with a deep sense of place and belonging" which "helps to anchor them in their earthly existence while opening a window onto the metaphysical realm" (2011, 243).[860] This is indeed an intrinsic facet of Islamic architecture which places a strong emphasis on form and function – stimulating the

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[858] "Inasmuch as the poet through a poem gives voice to a way of living (loving, feeling, thinking, taking pleasure, or suffering), the experience of monumental space may be said to have some similarity to entering and sojourning in the poetic world. it is more easily understood, how-ever, when compared with texts written for the theatre, which are composed of dialogues, rather than poetry or oilier literary texts, which are monologues" (Lefebvre 1991, 224).

[859] See Chapters 3-5.

[860] Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) writes a beautiful analogy that reminds one of the mirroring of the spiritual and physical world through architecture. He writes, "As an architect draws (*yuṣawwir*) the details of a house in whiteness and then brings it out into existence according to the drawn exemplar (*nushka*), so likewise the creator (*fāṭir*) of heaven and earth wrote the master copy of the world from beginning to end in the Preserved Tablet (*al-lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*) and then brought it out into existence according to the written exemplar." Quoted in Samer Akkach. *Cosmology and Architecture in Premodern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), xvii.

corporeal, cerebral and spiritual dimensions of human beings. This understanding is also inherent in Aga Khan IV's interpretation of Islam:

> Muslims believe in an all-encompassing unit of man and nature. To them there is no fundamental division between the spiritual and the material, while the whole world, whether it be the earth, sea or air, or the living creatures that inhabit them, is an expression of God's creation. The aesthetics of the environment we build and the quality of the social interactions that take place within those environments reverberate on our spiritual life, and there has always been a very definite ethos guiding the best Islamic architecture (quoted in Poor 2014, 146).

There is an inherent connectivity between the built environment and the practice of faith.[861] It is useful to recall one of the core understandings of cosmopolitanism in Muslim traditions, discussed in Chapter 2, which is to 'reflect' on the beauty[862] and wisdom in God's creation. As part of reflecting on the visible and hidden signs of God, Muslims resorted to analogy and metaphor, which proliferated through humankind's ability to design and create (Akkach 2005). Seyyed Hossein Nasr[863] states that, "Islamic art is based upon a knowledge which is itself of a spiritual nature, a knowledge referred to by traditional masters of Islamic art as hikmah or wisdom… This art is based upon a science of an inner nature which is concerned not with the outward appearance of things, but with their inner reality" (1987, 8). In a deeper sense, key principles (i.e.: *fiṭra, tawḥīd, jamāl/jamīl, khalīfa*)[864] are imbued in architectural forms because the material and the spiritual are understood to be mutually dependent.

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[861] This is duality is also articulated by Hisham Mortada who writes, "The tradition of Islam embodies many principles of social organization and behaviour, also notes this. These principals have been established by this tradition to make the life of believers corresponded to its objectives and message. Following these principals, as early Moslem societies did, creates harmoniums social and physical environments. Built environment was shaped by the beliefs and actions of the inhabitants who adhered to a traditional Islamic way of life." See his, *Traditional Islamic Principles of Built Environment* (Abingdon, Oxon: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), quote at xix-xx.

[862] Beauty is considered a reflection of the Divine. A prophetic *ḥadīth* says, "*Allāhu jamīlun wa yuḥibu al-jamāl*", meaning God is beautiful and He loves beauty. See Ibn Ḥanbal, *Masnad,* Book 4, verses 133 and 134. "Moreover, beauty is an intrinsic dimension of the Truth and its manifestations, and it is therefore a necessary component of every legitimate artistic creation." Seyyed Hossein Nasr, "The Contemporary Muslim and Architectural Transformation of the Islamic Urban Environment," in *Toward an Architecture in the Spirit of Islam,* ed. Renata Holod (Philadelphia: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1978), 1-18, quote at 2.

[863] For Seyyed Hossein Nasr's bio see Chapter 2, fn. 198.

[864] For a discussion of these principles refer to Chapter 2.

Architecture is also the medium through which cultural values and concerns are expressed; it is a life form. This aspect directly mirrors the cosmopolitan ethos argued throughout this dissertation. The role that architecture plays in shaping this ethos is enormous since buildings are meant to embody the multiplicity of the inhabitants that surround the different public or private spaces. "[T]he grace and functionality of styles leaps across rigid divisions between 'secular' and 'religious' spaces. This fluidity is part of what makes a living heritage, where culture is not merely a showpiece but rather is integral to the everyday life of a community. The built environment has been a field of remarkably imaginative expression of Muslim identities in all their local and global diversity" (Keshani 2012, 117).[865] I want to pause here on some important concepts of the ethic I have tried to define and relate them to the built environment. Given that architecture, in the Islamic context, is indeed an expression of culture and faith then it must follow that the very concepts of 'encounter-engagement', 'hospitality', 'dialogue', 'knowledge of the self-other' to name but a few, orient and to some extent transform the activity of building.

> In many of its celebrated examples, [Islamic] architecture appears to have been guided by a purposeful intellectual and aesthetic exchange within its own multicultural environment or with past and contemporary cultures near and far. Thus, Islamic architecture has interlocutors in Late Antique, Persian, Byzantine, Armenian, Buddhist and Hindu architectural traditions, and recently Modern and Postmodern European once. But rather mimetic, the process seems to have been dialogic; that is, it went beyond one-way copying to consciously engage the other architectural traditions in an interchange that resulted in original yet historically and territorially grounded architecture (Rabbat 2004, 21).[866]

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[865] In the context of Muslim cities, Hashim I. Dockrat writes, "The innermost reason for the city as a living space is based on the deep-rooted belief in the elusiveness and transcendence of the Divine Being and the imperfect nature of human creation. Islam facilitates the rise of a comprehensive life-form integrating economic, social, and religious activities into a new understanding of urbanism characterized by the solidarity between people and their buildings." See his "Islam, Muslim Society, and Environmental Concerns: A Development Model Based on Islam's Organic Society," in *Islam and Ecology: A Bestowed Trust,* eds. Richard C. Foltz, Frederick M. Denny and Azizan Baharuddin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 364-365.

[866] The creative architectural practice in medieval Andalusia for example, was very much a consequence of encounter, "in which intense identification of differences between groups and allegiances, at times warped by hate and contempt, coexisted with open-minded cohabitation and creative inventiveness." Oleg Grabar, "Two Paradoxes in the Islamic Art of the Spanish Peninsula," in *Early Islamic Art, 650-1100, volume I, Constructing the Study of Islamic Art* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005). First published in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. S. K. Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), pp. 583-91, quote at 590.

At its core then, the cosmopolitan ethic can be looked upon as a motive that explains the entangled realities of architectural practice.

> Architecture has an ethical function in that it calls us out of the everyday, recalls us tot eh values presiding over our lives as members of a society; it beckons us toward a better life, a bit closer to the ideal. One task of architecture is to preserve at least a piece of utopia, and inevitably such a piece leaves and should leave a sting, awaken utopian longings, fill us with dreams of another and better world" (Harries 2000 [1997], 291).

In this sense, architecture or any form of art for that matter, regardless of its origin, is ultimately concerned with questions of identity and representation. Infusing any architectural setting with meaning has always been a concern of those involved in the creative process. "It is the embodiment of meaning in a given place or structure that conditions man's response to it, providing him with a confirmation of his identity and enabling him to reproduce it and give it variety through many other expressions of human culture" (Bianca 2011, 233). However, this identity is not rigid or closed in the case of the Ismāʿīlīs. Fluidity has always been part and parcel of the Ismāʿīlī experience.[867] Simonowitz (2004) has shown how the Ismāʿīlīs draw from the socio-cultural context of their host societies and fuse them with their own forms and practices. He argues that "the [Nizārī Ismāʿīlī] redeploy the vocabulary of the host milieu in an intertextually-defined, new framework that gives it communally-specific meaning" (Simonowitz 2004, 41). His research, I believe, points to the very cosmopolitan ethic that has historically informed Ismāʿīlī engagements with *dīn* and *dunyā*. The commitment to intermesh the local and global, the religious and secular, the self and other are refracted upon the very buildings commissioned by Aga Khan IV. There is a certain fluidity of identities interspersed throughout the buildings that attest and negotiate meaning; a visual and aesthetic dialogue to say the least.

Interestingly, this process as well as particular characteristics informed by Aga Khan IV's discourses that lend towards an inclusive and universal outlook, as Simonowitz concludes, means a far greater appeal of Imāmate institutional spaces (public and private) to broader audiences, not just Muslims. Simonowitz further shows

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[867] See Chapter 3 in particular. Also refer to Chapters 4 and 5.

how, for instance, the Ismāʿīlī Centres he examined express an ecumenical ethos of unity in their designs while inflecting subtle references to Fāṭimid details (an obvious reminder of Ismāʿīlī intellectual, cultural, and political heritage). "The [Ismāʿīlīs] emphasize their links with other traditions, all the while maintaining their unique identity…[asserting] unity of tradition in diversity of identity" (Simonowitz 2004, 55). This conscious recapitulation by Aga Khan IV of his community's real or imagined Ismāʿīlī past and his desire to preserve the Fāṭimid legacy of pluralism in external forms (communal and non-communal architectural settings), I contend, exemplify a cosmopolitan sensibility, and shapes not only the formation of the institutional edifices but also the social spaces they enclose. A by-product of this approach also brings to light how places can act as an entryway to the processes in which the 'producers' and 'users' construct and conceive of their identity (past and present).[868] "In this light, the major architectural commissions of the Aga Khan IV…are (pre)texts[869] for the production of ostensibly subordinate structures and publications, which contain mutually reinforcing or contextualizing messages, thus facilitating the generation, amplification, and shaping of discursive fields" (Simonowitz 2004, 11). Once again, social relations and lived space are inseparable; they are intertwined in the discourses and experiences of everyday life and the social relations that frame them. In addition, it can also be useful to view architecture as the 'building' of a leader. With this perspective it becomes clear to see the parallels of architecture with writing. Simonowitz notes, "when we cite a classical source or text we say that we quote the author, not the work. Therefore architecture is also the building and writing of the leader/patron, and the architect is the author. This is not contradictory" (2004, 39). He further adds that "in Ismaili Shiʿism the ultimate statements of the community are made by the Imam, but authoritative statements can be made in his name, as was the

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[868] Here I am reminded of the historian Michel de Certeau's understanding of spatial practices. He focuses on the practices that shape the experience of place. "[S]*pace is a practiced place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs." See his, *The Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 117. This has two implications for our discussion: first, individuals transform place by their use and, second, travel and movement is the most significant act and metaphor for doing so.

[869] In this chapter, the (pre)texts I utilize include: Aga Khan IV's speeches, (official) institutional websites and print materials, as well as the magazines of the Ismāʿīlī community.

case with many of the doctrinal pronouncements and treatises produced under the Fatimids… Therefore the leader is in fact writing or building himself and his community's identity" (Ibid). The most powerful example of this is through the spaces of worship of the Ismāʿīlīs, which emphasize the Shīʿī expression of Islam.[870] Taking this into account will shed light on the processes by which a religious community constructs and conceives of its identity (past and present) and how they establish their presence within the larger community.

Cosmopolitanism in a Public Institution

In this section I look at the case of the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP) as one place in which the cosmopolitan ethic is activated through the space and programming. This particular institution serves as an interesting point of departure because it reflects the personal interest of Aga Khan IV's to promote pluralism and for its position as a public institution. Based on the theoretical framework, discussed above, I examine the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP) through its physical form and the spaces of communication and dissemination of knowledge. The former is presented through a description of the building's properties and the latter through a discussion of some of the programmatic features of this institution. The focus is placed on meaning and values that are produced through intercourse of ideology, values, traditions and space. Throughout my analysis I utilize print materials and interviews that aid in revealing the cosmopolitan space that is intertwined in this Centre's nature and functionality. I also consider the duality of 'religious' and 'secular' and its ramification in the conceptualization of this space, which is the result of a partnership between a spiritual leader and a government.

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[870] Doreen Massey notes, "…as a result of the fact that [space] is conceptualized as created out of social relations, space is by its very nature full of power and symbolism, a complex web of relations of domination and subordination, of solidarity and co-operation. This aspect of space has been referred to elsewhere as a kind of 'power-geometry' (Massey 1994, 265).

The Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP)

"Is it not therefore the responsibility of enlightened leadership everywhere to ensure that pluralism, and education about pluralism, occupy centre stage in any agenda of global priorities?"

-Aga Khan IV[871]

As early as the late 1980s, Aga Khan IV took an interest in understanding Canada's experience and policies around the challenges and successes in embracing the reality of the country's diversity. The institutional starting point for the Global Centre Pluralism dates back to July 2001 when Aga Khan IV commissioned the Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC) to develop a project entitled 'the Pluralism Initiative.' Through this process, "we did an initial commissioning of three papers by different academics across the country to look at the architecture of Canadian pluralism, the institutional foundations, and policy foundations."[872] From this initial investigation, Aga Khan IV began speaking with a number of Canadian leaders about the need for an institution that could take these experiences, ideas and skill sets and think through plausible mechanisms to contend with the global challenges affecting peaceful prospects for human coexistence. The result was the decision to create a Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP) in Ottawa, Canada and thereafter a funding agreement between the Imāmate and the government of Canada was signed in October 2006,[873] making the Centre an initiative between the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)[874] and the government of Canada.

The GCP is governed by an international Board of Directors and chaired by His Highness Aga Khan IV. The Centre functions as Canada's international hub for research, knowledge exchange, and dialogue with a primary goal of studying and

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[871] *Where Hope Takes Root: Democracy and Pluralism in an Interdependent World* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2008), 63.

[872] Beverly Boutilier, interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, December 2, 2014. See also ""Global Centre for Pluralism holds its inaugural board meeting: A global resource to help develop successful pluralistic societies," *The Ismaili Canada* no. 3 (December, 2010): 32-37

[873] Beverly Boutilier, interview with author, December 2, 2014.

[874] Representatives from AKFC and AKTC (part of the AKDN) in addition to the Imāmate, are represented on the Members of the Corporation of the GCP. Although the idea of the GCP was conceived through the AKFC, in practice there is hardly any direct contact with the AKFC and the wider AKDN with regards to the GCP's activities.

offering tools towards realizing the practice of pluralism in the world.[875] During the LaFontaine-Baldwin Symposium[876] held in Toronto on October 15 2010, Aga Khan IV explained that the mission of this Centre is to closely analyze the challenges of diversity across societies and to identify how to approach such challenges for the improvement of civil society. He added, "this will be demanding work. But as we go forward, we hope we can discern more predictably and pre-empt more effectively those conditions which lead to conflict among peoples. And we also hope that we can advance those institutions and those mindsets which foster constructive engagement" (Aga Khan IV 2010c).

Figure 8.1: Board of Directors
Back row, from left to right: Rudyard Griffiths; Azim Nanji; Huguette Labelle; Khalil Shariff; Margaret Ogilvie; Iain Benson; Marwan Muasher
Front row, left to right: Eduardo Stein; the Right Honourable Adrienne Clarkson; Aga Khan IV; Kofi Annan; Princess Zahra
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

This initiative, for reasons that will be made apparent, can be read through a cosmopolitan lens wherein the institution appeals to the interest of the wider public but still ascribes to potent ethical virtues guided by a spiritual leader's interpretation of religion in relation to the socio-political and cultural affairs of the world:

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[875] Mark Tschirgi, interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, November 20, 2014.
[876] Founded by John Ralston Saul in 2000 and part of the Institute for Canadian Citizenship, the LaFontaine-Baldwin Symposium invites guest speakers who address relevant issues of the day and continues the public debate around the future shape of Canada's civic culture. Refer to Chapter 5, fn. 470 as well.

> This orientation on the part of the Imamat might be perceived by some as undercutting the particulars of Muslim and/or Shi'i identity, especially in the midst of cultural globalisation. Still others may be disappointed by a quite different undercutting – of the insistent claim about an unbridgeable gulf between the ostensibly distinct worlds of Islam and the West (Sajoo 2015, 368).

From this perspective, it can be argued that the conceptualization of such an institution of knowledge exchange is fueled by an interest in the dialectic of *dīn* and *dunyā* in the public arena, as expressed by Aga Khan IV, as well as keeping with the long Muslim ethical heritage that guides the work of the AKDN.[877] "Drawing on both the Ismaili experience and the pluralistic model of Canada itself," notes Aga Khan IV, "the Centre recognizes that we cannot make the world safe for democracy unless we also make the world safe for diversity – and that strengthening can be achieved by the institutions of civil society. They can contribute significantly to that goal" (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 118). It goes without saying that the GCP is a direct manifestation of Aga Khan IV's religious and secular discourses of pluralism and cosmopolitan ethics put into action. The necessity to conceptualize an institution dedicated to studying and implementing pluralism across various societies of the present world are indeed inspired by powerful precepts in the Qur'ān and the Muslim tradition.[878] As one of the GCP's Board of Directors explains,

> I think the Centre of Pluralism is that manifestation of His Highness' vision that the world is all one as the Qur'ān teaches, the creator created us as one, and that we must realize that we are part one thing and that is the overwhelming thing that what we should always be working to, that we should be trying to do no matter what countries we originally come from, what are beliefs are, that we should always work towards being one and helping one another to be unified.[879]

The Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP) was launched in 2006 in partnership with the Canadian government. The then-Prime Minister Stephen Harper described Canada as "a fitting home for the new centre because of the country's success at

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[877] See Chapters 5 and 6.
[878] See Chapters 2 and 5.
[879] Anonymous, interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, March 30, 2015.

bringing cultures together."[880] Both partners have invested $35 million in the Centre to

form an endowment fund and to revitalize the Centre's landmark headquarters building

in Ottawa. This partnership between the government of Canada and the Imāmate, John

McNee[881] adds, "speaks to the bi-partisan recognition that this [pluralism] is actually

one of the defining characteristics of Canada today. It's striking diversity and the way

we manage to make it work. I think the partnership reflects that deep sense of 'this is

who we are' and that this maybe an area in which Canada can make a global

contribution."[882] This speaks to a confidence in how Canada is a working example of

pluralism; it is not a perfect model, however the Canadian narrative in relation to the

current state of the world offers a message of transformation.[883] It is this story of

transformation, in Canada's history, into a pluralist society that has salience for the

Centre's endeavours.[884]

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[880] Canadian Press, "Ottawa funds Global Centre for Pluralism," *The Toronto Star,* October 25, 2006. http://www.thestar.com/news/canada/article/111442--ottawa-funds-global-centre-for-pluralism (accessed February 9, 2014).

[881] John McNee is the GCP's Secretary General since 2011. He received his B.A. from York University and M.A. from Cambridge University. He has served as Canada's Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 2006-2011. He has also served as Canadian Ambassador to Belgium, Luxembourg, Syria and Lebanon. In addition, Mr. McNee has worked in various capacities in the Department of External Affairs.

[882] John McNee, interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, December 2 2014. Another interviewee who has chosen to remain anonymous added another dimension to this partnership. He says, ""to be honest, another reason is that Canada has a very broad reach internationally. But I suspect that there are places that His Highness [Aga Khan IV] and his network can go, easier, more easily than we, and without the mantle of public office. So there is a, how can I put it, a mutual advantage of communication, of opportunity, to reach out." Anonymous, interview with author, Minto Place, Ottawa, Ontario, February 13, 2015.

[883] Indeed, Canada's model of pluralism is not perfect: "Canadian multiculturalism policy has not been able to account for issues of cultural and racial hybridity nor for the growing importance of global diasporic links." Karim H. Karim, "Pundits, pachyderms, and pluralism: The never-ending debate on multiculturalism," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 34, no. 4 (2009): 701–710, quote at 9. There still remain obstacles to overcome. One cannot deny that racism has bot been completely eradicated. There is still a continuing resistance to the diversification of religious diversity in Canada. More importantly, one cannot forget the long and continuous challenge of Canadian social policy to deal fairly with its Aboriginal people. For instance, Canada has not resolved the residential school question. Further, there is a shortage of 85,000 housing units on First Nations reserves. Until today, Canada has still not met the goals noted by Georges Erasmus, who led the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1991–1996. See Adrienne Clarkson, *Belonging: The Paradox of Citizenship* (Toronto: Anansi, 2014), 132, 177. Also refer to Nicholas D. Shrubsole, "Secularization, Dispossession, Forced Deprivatization: The Conditions of Public Religion and the Protection of First Nations' Sacred Space," *Studies in Religion* 45, no. 3 (2016): 335-359.

[884] See Chapter 7 for a brief history. For more on the transformative process and its impact on Aga Khan IV's pluralistic initiatives in Canada see Sahir Dewji, "The Aga Khan's Discourse of Applied Pluralism: Converging the 'religious' and the 'secular'," *Studies in Religion* Online First (2017): https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429817713738. Regarding a detailed discussion around Canadian

The GCP is considered a foremost knowledge organization that works to influence the global conversation of pluralism as a positive tool to overcome obstacles that challenge the possibilities of coexistence, diversity and peace in today's world (GCP n.d.). Speaking to the vision of the GCP, Board of Director, Huguette Labelle[885] expressed the following:

> At the GCP, we hope to learn and share what are the attributes of successful societies and peaceful societies. To also learn from what contributes to the multitude of factors and sequences of events that contribute to conflicts, war and genocide. Where have been the best experiences of post-conflict reconstruction, post-war reconstruction? What were the factors that contributed to that? We want to use the experiences of many countries around the world and extract from that the lessons, histories and share those widely. The Centre can also be a place where people can come to a safe environment to discuss these issues…So, Canadians will not only benefit from this but will be able to see directly how Canada has contributed to the positive aspect of it. These experiences reinforce our own contribution to this history, which is being put together, and increase our confidence that something important has been started that needs to be continued since this is a never-ending project.[886]

The underlying catalyst that propels the Centre's work is dialogue, and thus it is fitting that the Global Centre for Pluralism's logo comprises four dialogue boxes that are speaking to one another.

multiculturalism see for example: Michael Adams, *Unlikely Utopia: The Surprising Triumph of Canadian Pluralism* (Toronto: Viking, 2007); Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, "Beyond multiculturalism," *Canadian Diversity/Diversité Canadienne*, 3, no. 2 (2004): 51-54; Keith G. Banting, Thomas J. Courchene and F. Leslie Seidle, eds.,. *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada* (Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy, 2007); Michael Bliss. "Has Canada Failed?" *Literary Review of Canada*, 14, no. 2 (2006): 3–6; Paul Bramadat, ed., *Religion and Citizenship in Canada: Issues, Challenges, and Opportunities.* Report prepared fro Citizenship and Immigration Canada by the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society, University of Victoria; Allan Gregg, "Identity Crisis: Multiculturalism: A Twentieth-Century Dream Becomes a Twenty-First Century Conundrum," *The Walrus*, vol. 3/2 (March 2006); Will Kymlicka, (2015) "The Three Lives of Multiculturalism" in *Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada. Transnational Migration and Education,* ed., Shibao Guo and Lloyd Wong (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2015), 17-35; David Seljak, "Post-secularism, Multiculturalism, Human Rights, and Religion in Ontario," *Studies in Religion* 45, no. 4 (2016): 542-565. This list is by no means exhaustive.
[885] See her bio in Chapter 5, fn. 463.
[886] Huguette Labelle, interview with author, via telephone, January 7, 2015.

Figure 8.2: Global Centre for Pluralism logo
Credit: Sahir Dewji

The Global Centre for Pluralism first raised its flag on January 23, 2017, and opened officially on May 16, 2017.[887] The inauguration of the Centre coincided with Canada's sesquicentennial anniversary of Confederation,[888] symbolically expressing the convergence of Canadian and Ismāʿīlī values espoused by Aga Khan IV. The Opening Remarks by Secretary General of the GCP, John McNee, highlighted that Canadian identity is refracted through the differences and similarities that bind the inhabitants of the country. McNee also affirmed that Canadians are united in "a commitment to inclusive citizenship through *practices of recognition and belonging*" (McNee 2017).[889] These practices that are made reference to, clearly resonate with the goals of a cosmopolitan ethic that has transgressed time and space.[890] During the celebrations, Aga Khan IV was invited to offer his remarks on the Centre's initiative. He relayed the significance of the public-private partnership between the Imāmate and the government of Canada that views diversity as a strength for successful societies. Expressing his gratitude to the government for its invested interest, Aga Khan IV highlighted:

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[887] The Global Centre for Pluralism began operation in 2011. Its offices were temporarily located at the Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, situated at 199 Sussex Drive, until 2017. My interviews with representatives of the GCP, in 2015, were held at this location. For more on the Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate see the official website at https://www.akfc.ca/about-us/visit-us/. Refer also to Philip Jodidio's *Under the Eaves of Architecture: The Aga Khan: Builder and Patron* (Munich: Prestel, 2007).
[888] In 2017, the National Capital Commission designated this building as one of the 2017 Confederation Pavilions to mark Canada's 150th anniversary.
[889] Emphasis is mine.
[890] See Parts I and II of this dissertation.

It was with Prime Minister Jean Chretien, that we first discussed the idea of founding a new pluralism centre, and it was Prime Minister Paul Martin who helped develop the plan. Prime Minister Stephen Harper's government sealed the partnership and Minister Bev Oda then signed with me the establishing Agreement. Minister Mélanie Joly has also given strong support to the GCP. And Prime Minister Trudeau has articulated, with conviction and with passion, the need for pluralism in our world (Aga Khan IV 2017).

In acknowledging the importance of values such as pluralism, Aga Khan IV also noted the significance of learning and celebrating the past, while looking ahead to the future with a better understanding in order to respond to the many challenges that lay ahead. Bringing together the thoughts and lessons of the past with new stories of the present symbolically echoes the cosmopolitan sensibility that undergirds Aga Khan IV's worldview discussed in Chapter 5. On the topic of stories, especially Canada's story, the Right Honourable David Johnston, Governor General of Canada echoed similar sentiments:

Here in Canada, when we look around for this pluralism story, and listen for it, we begin to realize that in fact it isn't a new story we need, but rather a very old one that continues to unfold. It's a story of partnership: balanced, reciprocal and respectful… Those truths, that story, are the beating heart of our modern, pluralistic society…
Where Canada has failed in the past—for example, the disastrous residential schools policy—it has been in trying to reduce diversity and restrict inclusiveness. And where Canada has succeeded, it has been through a commitment to inclusiveness—to pluralism. Canadian society is at its best when it mirrors its geography: broad, expansive, diverse. Canada is a constantly evolving experiment in inclusiveness and making pluralism work. This is what positions us to tell the pluralism story not just here in Canada, but around the world (Johnston 2017).

The Right Honourable David Johnston also acknowledged Aga Khan IV as "a wise practitioner of this brand of diplomacy [who] appreciates that the success of our increasingly interdependent world is based on people of many faiths, cultures and values expressing tolerance, openness and understanding towards others." Later in his speech, Governor General of Canada thanked Aga Khan IV for choosing Canada as the home for the Centre, which would help to fortify Canada's commitment to pluralism (Johnston 2017). The speech serves to cement the coalescence of values between Canada and the Imāmate and elucidates the purpose of creating a place like the GCP. In

addition, it helps to establish Aga Khan IV as an exemplary and authoritative representative of pluralism on the world stage, further buttressing the Centre's position as a global institution. Subliminally it serves to clarify doubts, held by some, regarding the incompatibility of secular values and Islam. The presentations (pretexts) made at the opening ceremony enhance and imbue the GCP with an aura of authenticity and sanction, while further cementing the relations and dimensions of the two partners involved.

Figure 8.3: Aga Khan IV and Governor General David Johnston
unveil a plaque marking the opening of the Global Centre for Pluralism in Ottawa
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

The headquarters of the GCP is strategically located on 330 Sussex Drive, one of Ottawa's major ceremonial and institutional routes.[891] It sits between the Mint and the National Gallery of Canada on a perch overlooking the Ottawa River. The immediate predecessor institutions housed at 330 Sussex Drive included the Public Archives of Canada (1905-1967) and the Canadian War Museum (1967-2005). The building (old War Museum) was designated as a national historic site in 1990. The first building at 330 Sussex Drive, built between 1904 and 1906, was home to Canada's national archive, designed in the Tudor Gothic style by Chief Dominion Architect, David Ewart.[892] Archival documents books and artifacts were stored and displayed in large open spaces with minimal architectural detail, creating a very modern interior at

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[891] Sussex is a prominent street in the capital, as it is home to the Prime Minister's residence at 24 Sussex Drive and home to the Governor General's residence at Rideau Hall. Also located on Sussex are a number of embassies such as: the French embassy, Japanese, Saudi Arabian and the United States.
[892] Tour Guide, Global Centre for Pluralism, Ottawa, Ontario, August 26, 2017.

that time. This open concept was preserved in the revitalization of the building.[893] In 1925 an additional wing was constructed on the south side of the building to accommodate the growing collection of archival records. This addition was built at a right angle to the original with the intention to add a third wing at the building's north edge (GCP 2017).[894]

Figure 8.4: Global Centre for Pluralism additional wing
Credit: Sahir Dewji

In 1967, the Archives moved to a new facility at 395 Wellington Street and the Canadian War Museum inherited the building during Canada's 1967 Centennial celebrations. The plan was to create a national repository for the War Museum's large collection of artifacts, historical paintings and war records.[895] It is worth noting that the original function of these places occupying 330 Sussex Drive was about telling the stories of Canadians (GCP 2017). In the most peculiar way, the current space occupied by the GCP also functions to tell the stories of diversity, inclusivity, and pluralism rooted in the Canadian historical narrative. After thirty-eight years, the War Museum required more room to house its collection and thus moved to its new location on the LeBreton Flats site in downtown Ottawa on May 8, 2005 (GCP 2017).[896] The site

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[893] Ibid.
[894] During my visit the tour guide noted that in 1925 the 'original' exterior wall of this wing was covered with plaster. During the restoration process in 2014, this wall was uncovered beneath the plaster, revealing the Nepean sandstone and Gloucester limestone used in the original construction of the building. The newly revealed façade was left exposed on each floor of the GCP, offering a glimpse into the building's past. Tour Guide, Global Centre for Pluralism, Ottawa, Ontario, August 26 2017.
[895] Tour Guide, Global Centre for Pluralism, Ottawa, Ontario, August 26, 2017.
[896] Ibid.

remained vacant until a partnership between the government of Canada and the Aga Khan Foundation Canada began a rehabilitation process to transform the building into the Global Centre for Pluralism. A team of Canadian Architects from KPMB was selected to lead the renovations of the building bringing it to twenty-first century standards. Their efforts included: "removing asbestos from the walls and then insulating them; replacing all heating, cooling and lighting systems to improve energy efficiency; and introducing contemporary design elements to the building" (Klotz 2017, n.p.).

Figure 8.5: Global Centre for Pluralism
Credit: Sahir Dewji

At present the GCP stands as a three-story (also has a basement level) asymmetrical L-shaped building. This 60,000 square foot building has retained the exterior Tudor-Gothic structure built from massive blocks of Nepean sandstone and Gloucester limestone, preserving much of the building's heritage elements (Pearson 2017, n.p.).[897] Renovations took place in the interior of the building, with efforts to unveil the original column and beam structure and open floorplates that characterized the original archives interiors (KPBM 2018). The main entrance retains its ornamental plaster Gothic ceiling vault and Tudor arched opening. In the lobby, the largest vault – which once had walls on all sides – has been modified to suspend freely giving lightness to the space.[898]

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[897] This was also explained during my tour of the site.
[898] Tour Guide, Global Centre for Pluralism, Ottawa, Ontario, August 26, 2017.

Figure 8.6: Global Centre for Pluralism inner entrance
Credit: Sahir Dewji

There are two features of the site that differentiate the current building from its predecessors. There is the addition of a garden with flowers and benches organized symmetrically in the forecourt, serving as a public space that is inviting to passers-by.[899]

Figure 8.7: Global Centre for Pluralism forecourt garden
Credit: Sahir Dewji

The second new feature is a full height glazed bay window situated in the foyer directly across the entrance vestibule. The purpose of this window, sometimes dubbed as 'the Beacon,' is to connect the GCP with the Ottawa River and to serve as a beacon visible from the opposite bank. The window's angle resembles a door opening onto the river

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[899] Tour Guide, Global Centre for Pluralism, Ottawa, Ontario, August 26, 2017.

and to what lies beyond. Inlaid within the glass is a unique pattern inspired by the trefoil found on the building's parapets.[900] "Viewed from inside, it acts as a magnet, pulling people to it, compelling them to stare out over the river below. It symbolizes opening a door to the river and simultaneously acts as a nod to the organization's raison d'être to position Canada as a country that's open to the world" (Pearson 2017, n.p.).

Figure 8.8: Interior of glazed bay window - Global Centre for Pluralism
Credit: Sahir Dewji
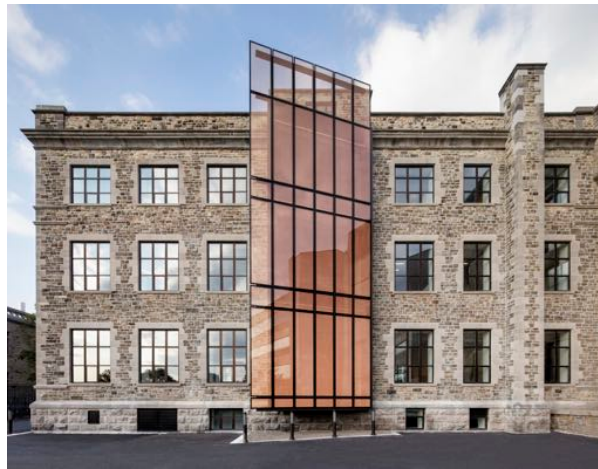
Figure 8.9: Exterior of glazed bay window – Global Centre for Pluralism
Credit: © KPMB Architects/ Adrien Williams

Proceeding from the entrance and heading towards the right of the foyer is the 'Dialogue Centre'. It serves as a meeting and event room for people to come together, converse and exchange ideas (GCP). It is suffused with light and the windows that encircle the space offer views of the Mint, the river and the courtyard. The room is

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[900] Ibid.

designed to offer state-of-the art acoustics creating ideal conditions for audio-visual presentations. The ceiling and walls of the room are lined with white oak millwork, with a laser cut pattern inspired by the trefoil found on the building's parapets.[901] Along the walls of the foyer and in the seminar room one finds artwork from Canadian artists. The art pieces have been specifically selected to convey artists' rendition of their stories and identities, which illustrate pluralism in various ways (GCP).[902]

Figure 8.10: Dialogue Centre 1
Credit: Sahir Dewji

Figure 8.11: Dialogue Centre 2
Credit: Sahir Dewji

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[901] The tour guide also noted that white oak was prevalent in the original Dominion Archives building.
[902] Tour Guide, Global Centre for Pluralism, Ottawa, Ontario, August 26, 2017.

At this juncture it would be suitable to ask, what does architecture have to do with the

GCP initiative? For Philip Jodidio the answer is "everything." He writes,

> the Global Centre for Pluralism has everything to do with the approach of the
> Aga Khan to architecture as an element in the processes of change of which he
> speaks. It is not an accident that the spoke of the 'honourable and ancient
> foundations' of pluralism. This is an architecture of the mind and of the soul,
> the architecture that is truly the one that has inhabited the Aga Khan for fifty
> years and more (2007, 31).

The place, surroundings, and the architectural thought are components of the

cosmopolitan ethic that reverberates throughout the Centre. Subtle references continue

in Aga Khan IV's speech, bringing attention to ideas of connectivity and symbolism.

These elements prove to be central to my argument of rooting the cosmopolitan ethic

within space/place, and so I quote at length the remarks of Aga Khan IV below:

> I think you will agree with me that the past still speaks to us in this place. The
> architects, designers, engineers and so many others who have rehabilitated this
> wonderful Tudor Gothic building have taken enormous care to respect its
> distinctive historic character… But even as we celebrate the past today, we are
> also looking ahead, with joy and confidence, to a particularly exciting
> future. That future has also been symbolized by those who have renewed this
> building, in two compelling ways. First, they created a new garden in the
> forecourt, a tranquil space for contemplating the past and thinking about the
> future. And then, secondly, they made a dramatic new gesture for the future by
> opening this building to the river.
> When I first visited this site, I went across the Ottawa River, to see things from
> the opposite side. From that perspective, I noticed that many buildings on the
> Ontario side had, over the years, turned their backs to the river. But as we
> began to plan, another possibility became evident. It seemed increasingly
> significant to open the site to the water. Water, after all, has been seen, down
> through the ages, as the great source of life. When scientists search the universe
> for signs of life, they begin by looking for water. Water restores and renews
> and refreshes. And opening ourselves and our lives to the water is to open
> ourselves and our lives to the future.
> In addition, the Ottawa River represents a powerful connection to other places,
> nearby and far away. It is not only a refreshing symbol, it is also a connecting
> symbol, connecting this site to the rest of Canada and the rest of the world.
> Throughout the history of Canada, the Ottawa River has been a meeting place
> for diverse peoples, originally the First Nations, and then the British and the
> French, and more recently Canadians from many different backgrounds. It
> symbolizes the spirit of connection. And the spirit of connection, of course, is
> at the very heart of the Global Centre for Pluralism. The new forecourt garden

suggests that the Centre will be a place for contemplation and reflection. And the opening to the River suggests that it will also be a place for connection and engagement (Aga Khan IV 2017).

Placing Aga Khan IV's remarks alongside Jodidio's observation, discussed above, it becomes clearer that the built environment is connected to the underpinnings of the cosmopolitan ethic noted in Chapter 2. This calls attention to the recognition of the sacred within the natural world; imbued in the above address are traces of key themes: hospitality, love, forgiveness, and justice that underpin the practice of a cosmopolitan inspired by core religious tenets. Together these inform the engagement and connection Aga Khan IV refers to at the end of his remarks. The ancillary themes of the cosmopolitan ethic are witnessed at all levels in the development of place; and if one agrees that the cosmopolitan ethic, at the very least, is about sincere engagement with diverse traditions and backgrounds, then the GCP must be one way of advancing that ideal.[903]

It is significant to note that the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate and the government of Canada's public-private partnership has helped to reimagine a space that once commemorated contributions to war into a place that seeks to engender its surroundings with a cosmopolitan ethos that values pluralism and draws from a long narrative of engagement. As Mayor Naheed Nenshi expressed to me,

> I think the concept of it [GCP] is fascinating… I just love the symbolism of the Global Centre for Pluralism being in the old War Museum, in such a prominent part of Ottawa. But I think the real interesting thing will be how well can we integrate the values of pluralism into Canada's foreign policy, not so much our domestic, but our foreign policy and can it help influence how we act as and actor in the world. And there's a lot of debate about that at the moment. But to me that's the most interesting part of the whole thing, whether we can incorporate these values from the Centre into how we act in conflict zones and what the role of Canada is in the world?[904]

Indeed it is the work and research of the GCP, which aims to bring forward a better understanding of pluralism within policy development in areas where diversity and difference are almost always faced with strenuous challenges. To better understand the

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[903] Khalil Shariff, interview with author, via telephone, April 2, 2015.
[904] Mayor Naheed Nenshi, interview with author, City Hall, Calgary, Alberta, March 9, 2015.

GCP's approach to pluralism, the Centre's Director of Global Analysis, Beverly

Boutilier[905] describes a more nuanced articulation of the way in which pluralism is

conceived of, at the GCP, and how it is interconnected to its programmatic structure:

> Here at the Global Centre for Pluralism, we are saying diversity itself can be a
> public good but only if it is addressed in a systematic way by the society for
> collective good. By this I mean, individual citizens are not only recognized for
> their differences but that these differences don't become a source of division or
> a wedge but rather an enrichment of the society. This is why pluralism is a vital
> component to healthy and successful societies. Well what is pluralism? Is it an
> ideology or is it a practice? It's both in the context of the way that the Centre
> uses it. Ultimately pluralism is an ideology. It's an ethical proposition that
> living with diversity peacefully is a good thing and that diversity, therefore, is
> also a good thing. However, like any other ideology, it is also about taking into
> consideration a particular set of power relations and to not think about pluralism
> in connection to power would be very naive I think because pluralism, the
> relationships between peoples, among peoples, particularly in societies where
> diversity is pathologized is all about power relations.[906]

This approach to pluralism identifies the different strands of a functional society

(political, economic and socio-cultural) that harness competing claims of rights and

power in order to devise mechanisms that ensure the possibilities of compromise that

lead to more fruitful dialogues in societies where diversities are seen as a threat to a

normative way of life. This layered analysis is enmeshed within the various programs

of the Centre that account for the 'hardware' (institutional bodies) and the 'software'

(contributing factors) of pluralism (GCP 2018).

The GCP official website posts Annual Reports that provide news about the

various programs, events and finances. These are submitted to the Minister of Canadian

Heritage as part of the requirements stipulated under the 2006 Funding Agreement

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[905] Beverly Boutilier (BA, Toronto, MA, PhD, Carleton) is a specialist in Canadian history and a past winner of doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Since 2011, Beverly has worked for the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP) in Ottawa—first as Director of Strategic Planning and now as Director of Global Analysis. Prior to joining GCP, Beverly worked in Indonesia for five years where she implemented CIDA- and USAID-funded gender equality projects. In Canada, she has worked for Canadian Policy Research Networks, a social policy think tank, and Aga Khan Foundation Canada, where she led the Pluralism Initiative. As well as academic publications, she is the author of *Defining Pluralism* (Global Centre for Pluralism, 2012) and the forthcoming *Through a Pluralism Lens: Toward a New Global Response to Diversity*, which introduces GCP's Pluralism Lens framework.
[906] Beverly Boutilier, interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, December 2, 2014.

between the Centre and the Government of Canada (GCP 2015). The GCP also publishes a Corporate Plan, which started in 2015. The Plan offers highlights and projected plans similar in nature to the Annual Report, but without the audited financial statements. The print and visual media published on the GCP websites (reports, speeches, videos) are a valuable entry into the ongoing programs of the Centre. These publications and the GCP building complement and reinforce the main message of Aga Khan IV, while legitimizing its location within the public domain. I utilize some of these sources to describe the implementation and development of a few programs that take place at the GCP.

As an international research and education institution, the Centre arranges a number of fora, workshops and public events about pluralism and related issues concerning human diversity with important implications for both public policy and public discourse. This is accomplished through studies and roundtables in collaboration with other leading organizations such as the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, the Trudeau Foundation, the Institute for Canadian Citizenship and many others.[907] In 2016, for instance, the first Ottawa Peace talks, co-hosted with Interpeace, were held at the Centre. It also hosted the 'Global Pluralism Think Tank,' which saw 40 researchers from across the globe convene in one place, working together to clarify and develop the Centre's pluralism lens on diversity (GCP 2017).[908]

Another part of the Centre's mandate involves making pluralism relevant to different fields of practice. To meet this objective, the Centre has been working to provide resources for the implementation of pluralism in other countries. For example,

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[907] One of my interviewees raises a valid concern regarding the Centre's space, which perhaps pays too much attention on 'high profile' events. "I just hope that the Global Centre for Pluralism is not going to be very elitist in the sense that it's just about academics and policy makers. What would it be for something to really be a place where ordinary people can connect?" Farouk Mitha, interview with author, via Skype, February 6, 2015.

[908] During my interview, in 2015, with the secretary general of the GCP, John McNee, I posed a question about the Centre weighing into public debates in Canada. He responded by underlining the role of the Centre as a "knowledge institution." He explained, "it's about exchanging an understanding of the best practices, the best thinking, and writing about how to manage pluralism in diverse societies. It's not a 'frontal' advocacy organization or a human rights organization. So, for now it remains an open question for the Board. The bigger question concerns the extent to which the GCP going weigh into the public debates in general, or work in a more discrete fashion, sharing information, and encouraging, helping, and pointing the way." Interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, December 2, 2014.

the Centre has teamed up with the Nairobi-based Katiba Institute to implement pluralism provision in Kenya's Constitution. More recently, the Centre has begun working on education with a number of strategic partners, such as the International Baccalaureate and UNESCO. Its current energy in this sector is focused on creating modules and offering professional development support to educators working with kindergarten to grade 12 levels. One such educational resource is the Centre's Education for Pluralism Guidelines, which offers pedagogical approaches, learning competencies and outcomes, along with a series of companion resources to aid in implementing pluralism in global curricula (GCP 2017). Other innovative productions include the development of a global tool to track patterns of social, political and economic inclusion and exclusion using published data (GCP 2015). That same year the Centre commissioned 18 "change cases" that highlight contributing factors impacting strategies for greater inclusion or exclusion. "Each case considers a specific question related to pluralism, including the role of constitutions, responses to horizontal and other group-based inequalities, religion and secularism, democratization and decentralization, and post-colonial nation building" (Ibid, 18).

Since the inception of the Global Centre for Pluralism, program officers have been working closely with selected countries, such as Kenya and Kyrgyzstan, to address questions and challenges around the practice of pluralism. This is tackled by identifying different kinds of actors (government and civil society) and then finding the necessary tools to engage through collaborative efforts. These cases point to approaching pluralism as a civic project, bringing all the different actors in specific places into dialogue around creating a civic identity that is grounded in pluralism and supported by diverse institutions.[909] Locally, the Centre hosts three major events a year, with room for other partnership events. Two of these major events are 'lower-profile' forums that bring together experts on a particular topic that falls under the Centre's mandate. These typically take place in the spring and one in the fall and are open to the public. The other major event is the Annual Pluralism Lecture that began in 2012. The Annual Lecture is presented by a recognized individual whose efforts in leadership for

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[909] Mark Tschirgi, interview with author, Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate, Ottawa, Ontario, November 20, 2014.

pluralism has made an impact across various sectors of human life. Aga Khan IV, the Board of Directors, and distinguished invitees are in attendance and so this is closed off to the public. However, the Centre has looked at different avenues for public accessibility. One solution is the choice to live stream the event through the *Globe and Mail* as an attempt to reach out to a wider audience.[910]

The GCP's *raison d'être* is indeed to educate and instill a level of pluralism as an inherent objective of civic culture. Although the task of cultivating pluralism in civic culture is generally associated with the realm of the secular, it does not necessarily require a strict separation between religion and the public sphere. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 5, there is a rich and dynamic tradition of social ethics (here I am thinking of Qur'ānic precepts and the mix of *adab* and *akhlāq*) that are grounded in religion, which offer an ethical and moral dimension to the ideology of pluralism.[911] Ironically, my conversations with some GCP representatives around the intersection of the religious – secular conceptualization of the Centre and its messaging, point to a sharp attempt to disassociate the link of the Ismā'īlī community in relation to the establishment and function of the GCP and rightly so.[912] The GCP is not founded on the premise of advancing the interests of the Ismā'īlī community, although this is very much a by-product of any of Aga Khan IV's public initiatives that cannot be ignored, as I explain in Chapter 5. In spite of the secular tone and the fact that the GCP does not bear the name 'Aga Khan' in its title, I contend that the GCP is still an institution of the Imāmate that is created in partnership with the Canadian government. The values on which the GCP are premised cannot be thought of as being devoid of the religio-cultural interpretation of Islam, given Aga Khan IV's position as Imām of the Ismā'īlīs and his explicit messaging that *dīn* and *dunyā* cannot be separated; a worldview that is intrinsic to the mandate of the Imāmate.[913] If anything, the effort to extenuate this reality only helps to undercut the messaging expressed in the public speeches of Aga Khan IV, in which he does not shy away from the religio-spiritual underpinnings of his

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[910] Ibid.
[911] See my discussion in Chapter 5.
[912] To a certain extent, the AKDN also favours a more 'secular' language to present its *raison d' être* for reasons I take up in Chapter 6.
[913] For a discussion on the duality of *dīn* and *dunyā* according to Aga Khan IV refer to Chapter 5.

deep interest in moral values such as pluralism and cosmopolitan ethics. Here I recall

the words of Aga Khan IV at the time the project was announced:

> In my own role as Imam of the Shia Ismaili Muslims over the past half-century,
> I have come to appreciate the importance of pluralism in every-expanding ways.
> The Ismaili community, after all, is itself a global family, spanning many
> geographies, cultures, languages and ethnicities – and sharing its life with
> people of many faiths. In addition, much of my work over this time has dealt
> with highly diverse societies in the developing world, often suffering from
> poverty, violence and despair. In such circumstances, a commitment to
> pluralism comes as no accident. For pluralism, in essence, is a deliberate set of
> choices that a society must make if it is to avoid costly conflict and harness the
> power of its diversity in solving human problems (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 133).[914]

In no certain terms am I criticizing the GCP's approach to propagating its message of

pluralism to the world. Rather what I am raising here concerns the understanding of the

Imām's position vis à vis the relation between the secular and religious. If there really

exists no divide between the two, as Aga Khan IV expresses, then would not

diminishing the significance of this understanding in the conception of the Centre raise

serious questions about the validity of the message in the first place? In other words,

what are the implications of this and does it have strategic worth to not locate 'religion'

in the domain of human (secular) affairs given that Aga Khan IV has objected to

describing his work as philanthropy?[915] In my opinion, it would undercut Aga Khan

IV's framing of the cosmopolitan ethic that he employs repeatedly as an ethic for all

peoples – that does not shy away from the 'rootedness' of different peoples and

traditions. To this, one can also ask just how much Aga Khan IV's articulation of

pluralism has influenced the Canadian psyche.

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[914] Also quoted in (Jodidio 2007, 30-31).

[915] Upon receiving the Tolerance Prize from the Tutzing Evangelical Academy, Aga Khan IV declared,
"Of course my experience includes the religious faith in which I have been nurtured…My commitment to
the principle of tolerance also grows out of that commitment. One of the central elements of the Islamic
faith is the inseparable nature of faith and world…I am fascinated and somewhat frustrated when
representatives of the Western world, especially the Western media, the to describe the work of our Aga
Khan Development Network…either as philanthropy or entrepreneurship. What is not understood is that
this work is, for us, a part of our institutional responsibility, it flows from the mandate of the office of
Imam to improve the quality of worldly life for the concerned communities" (Aga Khan IV 2008d, 125-
126).

We are aware of Canada's historical experience with 'multiculturalism'[916] and its impact on the country's social policy. Recall that the vocabulary of pluralism in Aga Khan IV's discourses dates back to the 1980s, even before Canadian leaders utilized it. In a conversation with a Senior Program Officer for Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, I was made aware of the quite recent inclusion of the term 'pluralism' as part of the often-quoted Canadian values:

> During an interview with Peter Mansbridge, John Baird explained that his role as Foreign Minister is to promote Canada's interests internationally on the international field and to promote Canadian values. Then he clearly articulated those values. He said 'freedom', 'democracy', 'human rights', 'rule of law' and then 'pluralism'. I was taken aback because since 2006 this government has been always talking about Canadian values and they always list four: human rights, democracy, freedom, and the rule of law. Go back over speeches, go on Google [and type in] 'Canadian values per Jason Kenny', 'per the Prime Minister' and see. They're almost always the same four. And on his way out the door, after his resignation, the Foreign Minister, added a fifth and it was 'pluralism'. Now, that could be a throw away, it could be a slip of the tongue, or it could tell us that this notion of the promotion of Canadian values internationally includes this ethic of the pursuit of equality, the acceptance of the other, that kind of thing.[917]

Perhaps there is more happening here than is easily discernable. Either way, it will be for others to answer these questions, as I am too close to the process and too involved to be properly critical in this regard. Be that as it may, I opine that if one of the cornerstones of the cosmopolitan ethic is the exploration and exchange of knowledge and ideas in the common search for betterment. Then the Centre for Pluralism is a medium that facilitates that search. As Khalil Shariff aptly notes,

> [The Centre's] very ambition is premised on the notion of a cosmopolitan ethic (i.e.: the set of values) that can keep a society together even when it's constituent parts may have very diverse views around a number of things. So the very idea of the Global Centre for Pluralism, I think, is intricately related to the idea of a cosmopolitan ethic. In fact, without perhaps even the notion of the cosmopolitan ethic, the idea of pluralism becomes very fragile.[918]

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[916] See Chapter 7.
[917] Anonymous, interview with author, Minto Place, Ottawa, Ontario, February 13, 2015. See also Peter Mansbridge, "Mansbridge One on One: John Baird," (CBC-Radio Canada, 2015), from CBC player, MPEG video, 22:38. http://www.cbc.ca/player/play/2652649815.
[918] Interview with author, via telephone, April 2, 2015.

Conclusion

This chapter commenced with a brief survey of spatial theories so that I could demonstrate the application of an interdisciplinary spatial approach to the single case study of the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP). I have gleaned from the analyses of previous studies that prove necessary to understand the contours of space and its role in contributing to the nature and function of a cosmopolitan ethic within it. In thinking through spatial practices, as I hoped to have shown, there is more than first meets the eye: physical, social and cognitive dimensions.[919] From here I looked at the relationship of space and place to architecture, specifically Islamic architecture. The way in which a place is conceived through design and materials reveals yet another dimension of the built environment and its significance to spatial practice as well as to the inherent promotion of certain ideals and values.

My investigation of the production of a cosmopolitan ethic within a specific locale also accounted for earlier discussions of this construct ideal, which takes on different modes of expression in disparate places throughout history. The scholarly definitions and theories together offer a method to situate the cosmopolitan ethic in a physical place, the spaces within, including the actions and actors that inhabit them. By looking, in the second half of this chapter, at the GCP I intended to uncover the various layers (physical and ideological) in order to map the ways in which the ideals of Aga Khan IV are imbued in the GCP and how this site in return augments and buttresses those ideals. These are clearly visible in the programmatic thinking, but also the (not so easily distinguishable) architectural design choices as well as the communicative mediums (i.e.: texts) that reproduce a set of ideals that infiltrate the public sphere.

The nature and function of this institution in comparison to other institutions of the Imāmate is of interest. The GCP is perhaps an entity of its own which brings together religion and politics (partnership) and religion and the public sphere (civil society institution) like no other. I do raise some of the implications in regards to the tenuous division between religious and secular spaces vis à vis Aga Khan IV, the Imām

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[919] These theoretical approaches are utilized in the next chapter when studying three other sites in city of Toronto.

of the Ismāʿīlī community, which also preoccupies the discussion in Chapter 9. I have treated some key themes in this chapter about space and place and their relevance to meaning making, which point to the dialectic nature of the topic at hand. As I have shown, ideas (built, written or symbolized) are effectively communicated in the institutions that fall under the ambit of Aga Khan IV, which speak to the nature of his role and the Ismāʾīlī community's in generating and disseminating a particular worldview.[920]

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[920] This becomes more apparent in the three sites I examine in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 9
Manifesting the Cosmopolitan Ethic:
The Poised Relation of *Ẓāhir* and *Bāṭin* / Universal and Particular/ Public and Private in Space and Place

Introduction

The lofty aspirations of the early Ismāʿīlī pioneers in Canada, some four decades ago, recounted in Chapter 7, illustrated a story of perseverance, community and institutional building, as well as integration of common values. The story of the Canadian Ismāʿīlīs is an insightful narrative of how culture and heritage have shaped the lives of a minority community in Canada thus far. If anything, the community's experiences speak to the aspirations of a cosmopolitan ethic. As Ismāʿīlī settlement continued to grow, lager cosmopolitan cities such as Toronto became important locations of a strong communal and institutional identity for the Ismāʿīlīs, witnessed through the physical establishments of *jamāʿatkhānās* as well as through contributions to the city's own diverse heritage. This reality was reaffirmed on September 14, 2014 when the Ismāʿīlī community celebrated yet another milestone: the opening of an Ismāʿīlī Centre in Toronto – the second Centre in Canada – and a museum dedicated to history and arts of Muslim civilizations. "That these institutions have been entrusted by [the Imām] to the Jamat and people of Canada is a powerful testimony to significant confidence in Canada," remarks Malik Talib, President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada (Talib 2014, 5).[921]

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[921] Since 2012, Malik Z. Talib has served as President of the Aga Khan Council for Canada, the social governance body for the Ismāʿīlī community in Canada, composed of volunteer leaders from across the country. Mr. Talib was recently appointed as vice-chair for the External Advisory Committee on religious freedom. Mr. Talib also serves as Board Member and Corporate Secretary for the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto. The President of the Aga Khan Council for Canada serves as an ex-officio member of the National Committee of Aga Khan Foundation Canada, a non-denominational Canadian international development agency. A tax lawyer by training, Mr. Talib is a start-up entrepreneur. He is currently the CEO of the Talmont Group of Companies (diversified holdings). Mr. Talib holds a BSc from McGill University, and an LLB from Osgoode Hall Law School.

Figure 9.1: President Malik Talib, 2012-present
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Indeed these intuitions serve not only as a focal point for the growing community in Toronto but also express a bold commitment to the cosmopolitan ethic as envisioned by Aga Khan IV. These institutions are also a tribute to the community's past, present, and future in Toronto. A quote from the community's magazine – a volume dedicated to unveiling of the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT) and the Aga Khan Museum (AKM)[922] – reinforces the relationship of these places with the experiences of the Ismāʿīlīs, which I describe as being emblematic of Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan endeavors:

> …The story of these beautiful institutions is to some degree a story about how we [the *jamāʿat*] came to be Canadian Ismaili and how we sought to give back to the country that welcomed us and started a new chapter in our collective history. It is also a story of the global Jamat and the way in which Canadian values of international engagement and pluralism are inextricably linked with Ismaili values. And it is a story of the neighbourhood in which these projects are situated – one that reflects the rich sociocultural diversity of Canada's largest city. In turn, it is a story of internationally renowned architects who envisioned landmark institutions, and whose vision was brought to life in collaboration with dedicated teams from all over the world. And finally, it is and will be a story of the artists, educators, civil society leaders, volunteers and others who will attempt to foster greater understanding of Islam and promote cross-cultural exchange (Hirji 2014, 7).

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[922] This particular volume of *The Ismaili Canada* entitled 'Symbols of Enlightenment' resembles a commemorative booklet that dedicates the entirety of its contents to images and excerpts of speeches from the Opening Ceremonies of the institutions. There are also articles in this volume that offer more details to the reader about the objectives and expectations of the buildings for the Ismāʿīllī community. In this sense, the volume compliments and enhances the meaning and purposes of these places.

Adding to this narrative and carrying on with my analysis in Chapter 8, this chapter will look at how the cosmopolitanism ethic is engrained in the thought and production of important buildings that fall under the purview and mandate of the institutions of Imāmate. The running thread in the discussion to follow focuses on how a cosmopolitan ethic expresses itself in relation to specific sites of the Imāmate institutions: the Aga Khan Museum (AKM), the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT) and the Aga Khan Park (AKP). I argue that these sites serve as nodes by which cosmopolitanism becomes anchored within the centrality of physical space. These spaces are taken up with consideration of dynamic relations (i.e.: physical, social, and cultural) in order to discern the location of the cosmopolitan ethic within the features of these spaces.

Places of Engagement: The Responsibility of a Cosmopolitan Ethic

In his speech at the Foundation Ceremony in May 2010, Aga Khan IV expressed that "these three projects will symbolise the harmonious integration of the spiritual, the artistic and the natural worlds — in keeping with the holistic ideal which is an intimate part of Islamic tradition. At the same time they will also express a profound commitment to inter-cultural engagement, and international cooperation" (Aga Khan IV 2010a). This quotation from Aga Khan IV's speech serves as a point of entry into uncovering the purposes for creating these spaces. It elucidates and confirms, for reasons that I take up below, the relevance of the cosmopolitan ethic within the institutional sites of the Imāmate. As such, this section builds on Chapter 8 where I established the necessary theoretical framework concerning space, place and intertextuality. Continuing with this framework, I offer a 'reading' and analysis of three sites of interest: the Aga Khan Museum (AKM), the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT) and the Aga Khan Park (AKP). In each of these cases, I am interested in how the cosmopolitan ethic is deployed as a vehicle of engagement. Subsequently, I glean from the affiliated materials (verbal and textual) in my analysis, which are instrumental in augmenting a certain set of vocabulary that engenders a cosmopolitan discourse attached to these spaces. I also consider the programing (nature and function) that takes

shape in these places. In my discussion, a cursory description of the buildings is provided along with certain key elements of the interior design. Where possible, I also offer details regarding the philosophy of the architecture that signals a clear characteristic of the cosmopolitan ethic. Be that as it may, I do no purport to be an expert on architecture and spatial theory, and therefore my explanations of the sites are not meant to provide every detail nor are they to be considered authoritative assessments.

Aga Khan Museum (AKM)

"Throughout history, and sadly even today, fear of 'the other' has torn apart communities along racial, religious, linguistic and ethnic lines. Understanding 'the other' requires a level of dialogue and knowledge which institutions such as museums can foster. Museums have a strong educational impact: they present evidence of material cultures, without intermediaries, in a direct way that appeals to people both on emotional and intellectual levels. The need to bridge the growing divide of misunderstanding between East and West is pressing and, therefore, I have chosen to establish a museum of Islamic art, the Aga Khan Museum, in Toronto, Canada."

-Aga Khan IV[923]

On October 8, 2002 Aga Khan IV announced his intention to establish the Aga Khan Museum (AKM) in Toronto, Ontario[924] and after fourteen long years, the Aga Khan Museum finally opened its doors to the public.[925] Similar to the Global Centre for Pluralism, the Aga Khan Museum (AKM) is concerned with knowledge building and sharing. Although they share a fundamental objective – education, the AKM is a place of encounter and curiosity that is open to the public, offering an opportunity to engage with the past and present. At the Opening Ceremony of the AKM on September 12, 2014 Prince Amyn Aga Khan[926] captured the ethos of the AKM:

> If I were looking for a single word to sum up my intention and hope for the Aga Khan Museum, it would be the word 'enlightenment'. It is a word which has both cultural and spiritual significance. The history of the thought and the

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[923] Preface to *The Aga Khan Museum, Toronto* by Philip Jodidio (Munich: Prestel, 2008), 6.

[924] See AKDN, "Aga Khan to establish major academic and cultural center and museum in Canada," Toronto, Canada October 8 (2017), *Aga Khan Development Network* website, http://www.akdn.org/press-release/aga-khan-establish-major-academic-and-cultural-center-and-museum-canada.

[925] Initially planned for London, UK, the AKDN ran into some hurdles around planning permissions. Toronto became the second choice for the AKM (Karim 2013).

[926] See Prince Amyn Aga Khan's bio in Chapter 7, fn. 774.

creations of man can perhaps be said to be a long path from one period of enlightenment to another. I would hope that this Museum will contribute to a new period of enlightenment, helping visitors form around the world to rediscover the common symbols that unite us all across the globe, across all civilizations, across time. And so, it is in a spirit of immense gratitude that we open this Museum, respectful of the rich traditions that it represents and hopeful about the role it can play in the great, continuing work of cultural connection (Aga Khan 2014).

Museums are understood to serve as "engines of social transformation"[927] imbued with the responsibility to better inform through their collections, the dynamism of cultural interchange and past civilizations that have been the hallmark of human life. As such, "museums incorporate extensive historical and cultural research into their exhibitions, integrating personal stories and social and political histories rather than only displaying ostensibly representative cultural traditions and objects" (Gordon-Walker 2013, 22). Showcasing the diversity of lived-lives and societies is a key feature of representing heritage of places and peoples. Heritage, as such, is more than just an artifact; it is "a constitutive cultural process" and a discursive practice that emphasizes the movement of people, meanings, memories and experiences (Smith 2006, 3). Simply put, heritage is about the activity of 'doing' and 'making' which is brought to the fore by showcasing the many contributions of past and present civilizations to world heritage and sharing stories that connect cultures.[928] It is in this context that the AKM serves as a locus of human evolvement in all areas of life whether they are preserved in material or immaterial elements, with particular attention to the historiography and development of Muslim societies. The AKM, as I will demonstrate, is perhaps one such institution that serves as a gateway towards understanding the 'Other',[929] ensuring the possibility of dispelling the stereotypes and fears that have lead to what is dubbed as the 'clash of civilizations.' As Aga Khan IV notes,

> The Aga Khan Museum will have a unique responsibility to engender this understanding, based on a refreshed, enlightened appreciation of the scientific,

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[927] Tony Bennet "Exhibition, difference and the logic of culture" *Museum Frictions* (eds.) Ivan Karp & Corinne A. Kratz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 57.

[928] Caitlin Gordon-Walker notes, "[c]ultures are internally varied, encompassing intersecting forms of identity and myriad examples of intercultural exchange and mixture" (2013, 23).

[929] See discussion around understanding and engaging the 'Other' in Chapters 1 and 2.

linguistic, artistic and religious traditions that underpin and give such global value to Muslim civilizations" (2008a, 10).

The AKM is part of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) and is directly overseen by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC).[930] In keeping with the AKTC's aim of promoting 'culture', the AKM is also assigned a specific mission of fostering knowledge and understanding through the arts (AKM Brochure, n.d.). In a promotional video on the official website of the AKM, Director Henry Kim,[931] gives a snapshot of the AKM's primary goal. "We're a catalyst for conversation," he says. "We're here to engage people in dialogue and discussion, to introduce them to ideas that will expand their horizons and really allow them to understand better the world in which we live today" (AKM 2017). Understanding the 'Other' requires a level of dialogue and knowledge, which are stimulated by the context, and content of museum spaces. Indeed, museums are by their very nature 'dialogical' because they are places that are shaped by social discourses (external) and they also contribute to the production of dialogue (internally).[932] "As institutions that operate through processes of dialogue and collaboration (even if only internally), they both engage in and provide opportunities for more dialogically negotiated forms of recognition. They create borders, but simultaneously allow them to be questioned, crossed, resisted and used as productive places of engagement and mixture" (Gordon-Walker 2013, 23). In this respect, the AKM is carving out a dialogic 'contact zone'.[933] This is a space in which different

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[930] See Chapter 6 for background on the Aga Khan Development Network and its constituents.
[931] Henry S. Kim is Director and CEO of the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto. An ancient historian and classical archaeologist by training, Mr. Kim joined the Aga Khan Museum from the University of Oxford where he taught, curated collections and managed capital projects at the Ashmolean Museum from 1994 to 2012. From 2004 to 2011, he was the Project Director for the Ashmolean Redevelopment Project, a £70 million redevelopment and transformation of the museum. Most recently, he was Director of the University Engagement Programme, a three-year project sponsored by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, aimed at expanding the use of the museum's collections in teaching across the University. His publications include a number of articles on early money, particularly regarding the development of small change in Greece, on the development of numismatics in the 17th century, on the use of classical coins as sources for Renaissance medals and on the development of museums today.
[932] See above discussion on theory of space/place.
[933] See James Clifford's essay entitled "Museums as Contact Zones*" in his *Routes: Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge & London, Harvard University Press, 1997). The conceptual understanding of museums as 'contact zones' is widely appropriated in museum studies. See for example, Sharon Macdonald, *Behind the Scenes at the Science Museum* (Oxford, UK: Berg, 2002); Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A History of the Colonial Cultures of Display* (Wellington: Te Papa Press, 2007); Andrea Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum* (London & New York, Routledge, 2003). From this perspective, the museum as a 'contact zone' acknowledges the

cultures come into contact (sometimes conflict) and competing narratives are confronted (explicitly or implicitly) to create a place of encounter and dialogue; there is a process of interaction and meaning-making that takes place in the museum setting, which is continuously reworked and challenged by the actors involved.

The AKM is an active agent in shaping knowledge through constructing a particular narrative (past and present) that is inspired by visual arts, music and various artistic renditions. In an interview with one of the AKM's Board of Directors, Huguette Labelle expressed to me that the AKM gives people an opportunity to be exposed to knowledge about Muslim culture. She further states,

> What we hope, for example, that by being able to experience the exhibitions at the Museum, that they will be able to learn for the first time the positive narratives and contributions of Islam to civilization. It is easy to brush a whole community with the same colour if that is all you learn from headlines. So I think that this will be very important in getting people to engage with different aspects of Muslim culture. This is bringing the history, the contributions of Islamic societies to the world when each visitor will be able to share what they have learned and understood. I think it gives them a chance to think, to get first hand information, as opposed to information through others, sometimes individuals who have never experienced diverse cultural groups directly and who share prejudices that they have acquired for others… You do not necessarily change these prejudices over night but hopefully through the Museum's expanded programing we will succeed in reaching people directly.[934]

The AKM can be seen as an addition to a rich cultural landscape (multicultural city of Toronto) and further contributing to a cosmopolitan presence – as do other cultural institutions – that has become a hallmark of Toronto. However, the AKM also has a more focused agenda of disseminating an informed understanding of Islam in the West compared to for example, the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) in Toronto. By creating a museum dedicated to Muslim arts and heritage, Aga Khan IV and the AKDN have chosen to bypass the option of reimagining the spaces in already extant museums and instead express their own ideas about Muslim civilizations in their own terms. It would be naïve to think that this strategy does not help to assert a more active voice and

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complex web of demands and expressions that are negotiated and contested. As such, contact zones are places of dialogue because there is movement in both directions.
[934] Huguette Labelle, interview with author, via telephone, January 7, 2015.

interpretation of Islam in the Canadian public sphere (Ashley 2014).[935] This undertaking, hence, serves as a medium to transmit ideas and values that are espoused by Aga Khan IV as well as the agents of the broader socio-political rhetoric in which the AKM resides. Similar to the communities studied by Susan Ashley[936] (2014), the establishment of such a museum contributes to a community's desire, in this case the Imām of the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī Muslims, to "dispel myths about their heritage, present a story not told in mainstream museums, and assert its legitimacy as part of the national Canadian historical narrative" (Ashley 2014, 157).[937]

Notwithstanding these nuances, it is apparent that attention to education and facilitating learning is an important dimension of the AKM's *raison d'être.* In a promotional brochure of the AKM, education and scholarship are presented as an integral component of the AKM's programmatic structure. It states, "with a state-of-the-art library, conservation lab, and ample facilities for symposia and public lectures," the AKM is committed to deepening knowledge of Muslim civilizations and "delivering thought-provoking programs for children, youths, and adults" (AKM Brochure, n.d.). On the same page, this stated purpose is complimented with a quote from Prince Amyn Aga Khan that buttresses the educational role that the AKM aspires to take on. The AKM holds a number of lectures and workshops that serve as resource for those who are interested in seeking a more significant experience. There are a broad number of educational programs that provide access to narratives of culture and identity from different points of entry (i.e.: film, performing arts, and visual arts). The content may not be unique but the packaging of these mediums and their availability within in a single museum is noteworthy. "Through the activities of display and interpretation,

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[935] Refer to the discussion on Aga Khan IV and the public sphere in Chapter 5.

[936] Susan Ashley is a senior lecturer in Cultural Management at Northumbria University, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK. She holds a Ph.D. in Communication and Culture from York University, Toronto. Her research on heritage and its relation to subjectivity, representation and citizenship has been published in books by Routledge and Ashgate, and in peer-reviewed journals such as Organization, International Journal of Cultural Policy, Museum & Society and International Journal of Heritage Studies.

[937] Ashley (2014) explores two cases of immigrant communities who employ museological practices, becoming cultural agents in their own terms, in order to better self-represent themselves in the Canadian public sphere. She argues through here case studies, that this practice allows for the immigrant groups to help change the narrative through an assertive process of engagement and identity construction within a multicultural society. What is important here, is "the idea of 'making' rather than 'representing' as the positive knowledge-building and citizen-building connections that museum spaces and practices can offer" (Ashley 2014, 161).

using objects, paintings, photographs, models and texts, museums construct a view, present a story and produce resources for learning. These interpretive processes, which involve the attribution of meaning…could be described as the constitution of the 'curriculum' of the museum" (Hooper-Greenhill 2007, 2). A popular program for students at the AKM is called 'Pattern Play in Arts and Mathematics'. In this activity, the students explore the galleries in search of various geometric shapes and patterns visible throughout the AKM. After their exploration, the students return to the classroom and crate their own shapes and designs on clay tiles, which are six-sided and fit together.[938] What is interesting about this particular activity, according to the AKM's Education and Public Engagement Manager Jovanna Scorsone,[939] is the extended learning associated with it:

> Each student is influenced by the patterns they have found in the galleries on objects from diverse Muslim civilizations. They are then using those diverse influences to create their own individual expression through their tile, which is beautiful on its own. Then their own unique diversity is fit together into a larger piece of art that is also beautiful and shows the diversity of all the tiles of each student highlighted in a larger combined art piece. The students have spent the day learning about art and math inspired by the art of diverse Muslim civilizations, and they've also seen how individual diversity can make a beautiful thing when combined with others.[940]

The AKM space offers an unadulterated learning experience that is individually directed and more susceptible to diverse approaches. Individuals are exposed to a rich array of artifacts laid out across the building, stimulating both movement and curiosity (Hooper-Greenhill 2007). "Learning in museums is potentially more open-ended, more individually directed, more unpredictable and more susceptible to multiple diverse responses than in sites of formal education, where what is taught is directed by externally established standards" (Ibid, 4-5). The AKM has also created a 'Curriculum

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[938] Jovanna Scorsone, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.
[939] Jovanna Scorsone is the Education and Public Engagement Manager at the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto, and former Manager of Children's and Family Programs at the Royal Ontario Museum. She is an advocate for the use of interactive inquiry and arts-based learning in museums to create meaningful and accessible learning experiences that help people to understand the world and each other. She holds a Masters in Museum Studies from University College London, and a Masters in Egyptology from the University of Toronto. Her work in museum learning and interpretation has spanned museums across Canada, Syria, Korea, Northern Ireland, and the UK.
[940] Jovanna Scorsone, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

Resource Guide for Teachers' grade 1 to 8, available on the official website, which is linked to Ontario curriculum and based on the content of the AKM. The 'Curriculum Recourse Guide' acts as a tool kit to help teachers navigate the art collection prior to bringing their students. It provides important concepts and ideas related to study of Muslim civilizations through art-based learning and can be used in multidisciplinary lessons. "What we found is that there's a real hunger for that content because most teachers don't have much knowledge about the art of Muslim civilizations and want to be able to relate their lessons to the backgrounds of their students."[941]

Although education was set as the overarching priority of the AKM from its inception, it has struggled with finding the right approach to fulfill that mission. During an interview with Rizwan Mawani, four months after the opening of the AKM, he raised a concern about the organizational programmatic structure:

> I think the challenge in my understanding of the structures of organization, is you have one person who is responsible for performing arts, you have one who is responsible for creation, and you have one person who is responsible for education. And these are, I think, to a large extent conceptualized in silos… What really has to happen is something that is a thread that runs through all of these things and not just a thematic thread, not just say for example, we're doing Pakistan and so let's look at Pakistan, how can we infuse Pakistan in sort of all this? I think what has to happen is you need to really think of the user, and there needs to be somebody who then takes the user's perspective in the conceptualization of these things… It's a challenge; it's a difficult thing to do. With an experience you educate and instill values rather than just impart information. You can be an active participant in the way people see, experience, reflect and make connections.[942]

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[941] Ibid. This curriculum is catered specifically to Ontario, however discussion are underway with teachers in Alberta and as far as the Gulf to create essential resources for using works of Muslim arts to foster learning and understanding about Muslim civilizations. Sarah Beam-Borg, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

[942] Rizwan Mawani, interview with author, at his home, Toronto, Ontario, January 9, 2015. Working in silos is a challenge faced by museums in general. In a study on Italian museums, for example, Anna Chiara Cimoli showed that departments (curatorial and educational) working with little interaction can lead to the "danger of a single story". See her "Politics, rhetoric and participatory practices in Italian museums," in *Museums and Migration: History, Memory and Politics,* ed. Laurence Gouriévidis (London & New York: Routledge, 2014), 83-102.

This challenge was indeed a struggle for the AKM in its first two years. Sarah Beam-Borg,[943] the Senior Exhibitions Manager explained to me:

> Simply put, 'we were building the airplane while we were flying it'. And so from an education perspective, the education team and the curatorial team, didn't have as many opportunities to coalesce in a contemporary museology. Each stream was working rather independently. Whereas in contemporary museology, ideally curators and educators are working together from day one with exhibition mangers and designers and so what we see on the main floor is a strong gallery for clarity but a slightly out of date version of museology. The outcome is however lovely.[944]

Mawani's concern is captured and acknowledged by the current Senior Exhibitions Manager at the AKM. The AKM was still figuring out how to best deliver on its mandate as a foremost learning center that focused on education and showcasing cultural connections. "It was very much from an academic, you know, Islamic studies sort of perspective rather than a more cosmopolitan perspective. It was less of a museological- education approach and more of an art history curatorial academic approach."[945] The galleries exhibited the diversity of Muslim cultures like many other museum exhibitions. The experience of interaction or engagement was not showcased through the artwork within the galleries (Karim 2013). Nevertheless, it is fair to say that the AKM has come along way, but of course each new implementation brings its own set of hurdles. In this regard, Karim H. Karim weighs in on the possibility of achieving the cosmopolitan goal. He says,

> There is greater potential, in the temporary gallery where we have our temporary exhibits, to bring in artwork by artists who specifically draw on that pluralism, that vision of cosmopolitanism, that engagement between people. And that sense of what is required of an individual and a community and an institution that has to interact with another, with a different vision, different aspirations, but they share some commonality, but there are certain specifics

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[943] Sarah Beam-Borg is the Senior Exhibitions Manager at the Aga Khan Museum. She holds a Bachelor of Arts in Cultural Anthropology, a Bachelor of Education and is a certified Project Management Professional. With a post-graduate certificate in Museum Management and Curatorship, her professional experience in museums over the past 20 years has included roles as Collection Manager, Assistant Curator, Project Manager and Exhibition Manager. At the Aga Khan Museum, Sarah has been part of the dynamic team that has planned and implemented the permanent and temporary exhibitions since before the AKM's opening in 2014.

[944] Sarah Beam-Borg, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

[945] Jovanna Scrosone, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

which are quite different. And what does it mean to create a common conversation?[946]

To a certain extent, the AKM is producing more programs that keep in mind the user experience and the leaning outcomes that should generate from the AKM visitations. However, the continuing challenge lies is discerning what it means to create a common conversation (Ashley 2014; Karim 2013). This is where I think the AKM will need to make room for competing claims of knowledge, whether it be through workshops or conferences in the AKM space. Perhaps even the installation of certain 'sacred' exhibits in partnership with other Muslim organizations will speak to the cosmopolitan ethic in practice, and will allow for the AKM to live up to its potential of a true 'contact zone'.

More frequently than not, museums are only thought of in terms of the artifacts they house. Though this is an integral component of the museum space and function, the distinctive design and architecture of the AKM contributes to its operation and further enhances the collections contained within it, as well as the experience of the visitor. Like many of the Imāmate institutions, the built environment is valued as a proponent of the message that is to be expressed through the function of the institutional space. Before closely discussing the ambitions of the AKM's architecture, comments made by Aga Khan IV in regards to the Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate building[947] provide some insight into Aga Khan IV's general understanding and functionality of the built places he commissions:

> …I am trying to bridge a number of different forces by building this modern building, and one of them is to take some of the value systems of the past, put into this building, but not make it so esoteric that it overburdens you. It has to be inspirational and subtle. It is not a theological building, but if, within that building, there are spaces of spirituality which we like to see as part of everyday life – it is not the exception, it should be part of everyday life -, then you are bringing that into that building (Aga Khan IV in Jodidio 2008, 52).[948]

Some characteristics that stand out from the above quote include a constant reminder of *dīn* and *dunyā,* which is a recurring theme in Aga Khan IV's range of activities and embedded in the conceptualization of his institutional places. In addition, Aga Khan IV

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[946] Karim H. Karim, interview with author, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, December 3, 2014.
[947] See Chapter 8, fn. 879.
[948] Interview with Aga Khan IV by Philip Jodidio, London, United Kingdom, March 6, 2007.

makes an effort to forge links inspired by nature and function, as well as the connectivity of space and time which are in turn expressed through the intermingling of peoples. The 47,000 square-foot AKM designed by Pritzker Prizewinning architect Fumihiko Maki[949] is inspired by the idea of openness and modernity, with attention to traditional conceptions of architecture that are a hallmark of Islamic architecture.[950] Vividly evoked throughout the building is a close connection between the spiritual and sensual experience, of which the idea of light plays a central role. This is captured in Aga Khan IV's instructions to architect Fumihiko Maki to focus on 'light' as a necessary theme for the building's design and functionality, of which Qur'ān 24:35 (known as *āyat al-Nūr*) serves as a direct inspiration.[951]

In a letter[952] to Fumihiko Maki, Aga Khan IV explained the importance of light as an inspiration for all faith traditions while highlighting the role of light in the area of intellectual inquiry. Aga Khan IV describes two fundamental sources of light: one being the "natural light emanating from God's creation," and "light…which emanates from human sources, in the form of art, culture and well-inspired human knowledge" (Aga Khan IV in Jodidio 2008, 63). In this letter Aga Khan IV explains that, although the concept of light is dear to Islam, especially in the Shī'ī and Ṣūfī traditions, it is one that traverses nearly all of humanity. He writes, "[t]he notion of light has transversed nearly all of human history, and has been an inspiration for numerous faiths, going as far back of course to the Zoroastrians and their reverence for the Sun, to the *Sura* in the Holy Qur'an titled *al-Nur*. Decades of Western history are referred to as the 'enlightenment' for good reason" (Aga Khan IV in Jodidio 2008, 37). Further in the

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[949] Japanese architect Fumihiko Maki is considered one of the foremost architects in the world today. He completed his undergraduate studies at the University of Tokyo (BS Arch). He then went on to obtain two Master's degrees from Cranbrook Academy of Art (M.Arch) and Harvard University Graduate School of Design (M.Arch). Foremost among Maki's many distinctions is the Pritzker Prize awarded to Maki in 1993.

[950] Director's Tour, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, September 15, 2015. See also Philip Jodidio's *Under the Eaves of Architecture: The Aga Khan: Builder and Patron* (Munich: Prestel, 2007).

[951] "God is the light of the heavens and the earth. The parable of His Light is a niche, wherein is a lamp. The lamp is in a glass. The glass is as a shining star kindled from a blessed olive tree, neither of the East nor of the West. Its oil would well-nigh shine forth, even if no fire had touched it. Light upon light. God guides unto his Light whomsoever He will, and God sets forth parables for mankind, and God is Knower of all things." Translation of this passage is based on (Nasr et al. 2015, 878).

[952] Letter from His Highness the Aga Khan to Fumihiko Maki, dated January 3, 2006. Jodidio (2008) quotes fragments from this letter in his book, reproduced above.

letter, Aga Khan IV clearly explains the qualities of light that, I opine, refract the cosmopolitan ethic that has crossed the many civilizations and religions that have inhabited this shared planet:

> I hope that the building and the spaces around it will be seen as the celebration of Light, and the mysteries of Light, that nature and the human soul illustrate to us at every moment in our lives…I have explained at the beginning of this letter why I think Light would be an appropriate design direction for the new museum and this concept is of course particularly validated in Islamic texts sciences: apart from the innumerable references in the Qur'an to Light in all its forms, in nature and in the human soul, the light of the skies, their sources and their meaning have for centuries been an area of intellectual inquiry and more specifically in the field of astronomy. Thus the architecture of the building would seek to express these multiple notions of Light, both natural and man-made, through the most purposeful selection of internal and external construction materials, facets of elevations playing with each other through the reflectivity of natural or electric light, and to create light gain or light retention from external natural sources or man-made internal and external sources (Aga Khan IV in Philip Jodidio 2008, 53).

The use of light for the AKM symbolically reflects the inclusive nature and the particular rootedness of its purpose in accordance with Aga Khan IV's interpretation that captures the cosmopolitan ethic. "This theme justifies the conclusion that much of the activity of the Aga Khan has been leading to this Museum – in the sense that is a distillation of everything he has expressed interest in – from architecture to the meeting of peoples and minds: a ray of light passing through a translucent wall" (Jodidio 2008, 39). The building and site of the Aga Khan Museum (AKM), in connection with the Aga Khan Park and Ismāʿīlī Centre put forward an architectural language that further supports not only the AKM collection, but also the very ideal of the cosmopolitan ethic. The edifice of the AKM is part of the same need that creates and sustains its institution. Preserving authentic artifacts and showcasing what influences our relationship with nature and other communities is part of that mandate. More importantly, the architectural marvel of the building sparks the curiosity and begins the conversation, therefore raising interest in the actual place, followed, one hopes, by the objects that are as interesting as the building that houses them.

Figure 9.2: Skylight above stairs
Credit: Sahir Dewji

The Aga Khan Museum (AKM) is located along Wynford Drive on a 17-acre site that includes the Ismāʿīlī Centre and the Aga Khan Park.[953] The AKM is positioned at 45 degrees solar north so that as the sun shines, and the earth rotates, the sun will reflect on all the external walls of the building. The exterior of the AKM is Brazilian Granite, while the walkway at the exterior is Italian sandstone. Usually, marble is the material of choice, especially in Islamic architecture, but marble was not conducive to the climate conditions in Toronto.[954] The Brazilian granite was chosen for its durability and its milky white colour that leaves the eye with an impression of marble.[955]

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[953] The site on Toronto's Wynford Drive, was first acquired for the Ismāʿīlī Centre. The plot originally had corporate buildings such as the Shell building and the Bata building. Back in 1996, the Shell building was purchased with the intention of building an Ismāʿīlī Centre. Then in 2001, the Bata building was acquired which provided Aga Khan IV and institutional representatives 17 acres of land to play with. As such, a master plan was created to conceptualize a space that would accommodate a space of prayer as well two other elements: a museum and a park. Director's Tour, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario September 15, 2015. See also Aga Khan IV, "Foundation ceremony of the Ismaili Centre, the Aga Khan Museum and their park," May 28, 2010, Toronto, Ontario, *Aga Khan Development Network* website, http://www.akdn.org/speech/his-highness-aga-khan/foundation-ceremony-ismaili-centre-aga-khan-museum-and-their-park (accessed February 9 2018).

[954] Tour Guide, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, January 10, 2018.

[955] Director's Tour, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, September 15, 2015.

Figure 9.3: Exterior view of the skylights at the AKM
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Inside the AKM, the spaces of the building revolve around a double-height courtyard, which is typical of the built environment in the Muslim world and used to surround the different spaces of a particular setting.[956] "The enclosed courtyard was the most widely used spatial idea in Islamic architecture, serving purposes that could be commercial, educational, military or religious. While its origins pre-date Islam, it was adopted in both masonry and wood building regions of the expanding Muslim world" (Keshani 2012, 127). At the AKM, the courtyard serves as the heart of the building, bringing every part of the building together, which consists of four main areas: 1) the exhibition galleries, 2) the auditorium, 3) educational facilities and 4) the Bellerive room.[957]

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[956] Tour Guide, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, January 10, 2018.
[957] According to Jodidio (2008, 79), "[t]he use of the screen-like effect seen in the inner courtyard may recall Maki's own Japanese heritage, albeit in a very indirect and modern way."

Figure 9.4: Arial view capturing the landscaping, buildings and pools
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

The floor of the courtyard is a mixture of Brazilian granite, French limestone, and Namibian lapis. Glass walls that are etched with a pattern that references the *mashrabiya* screens of traditional Islamic architecture enclose the courtyard. As sun moves around the building, these etched glass walls cast a shadow on the white interior walls.[958] **"In fact, ornament in Islamic architecture, in its rhythm and regularity, helps to create a void by dissolving the raw body of wall and pillars and thus enhancing the effect of the great white surfaces so characteristic of Muslim interiors"** (Buckhardt 1967, 136). At the AKM the use of the patterned *mashrabiya* is indeed a deliberate attempt by the architect to play with the concept of light within the space at all times.[959] An interesting feature of the courtyard, noted by the tour guide, is the heated-flooring that prevents snow from building up during winter. As the snow melts, the water escapes through a star-shaped drain at the center of the courtyard.

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[958] Tour Guide, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, January 10, 2018.
[959] Scattered light was also an effect explored with wood, displayed brilliantly in Ottoman Cairo's urban domestic architecture. These city homes had projecting windows made of wood screens knows as *mashrebiyyas*, which offered both privacy and quiet spectacles of light into the interior" (Keshani 2012, 130).

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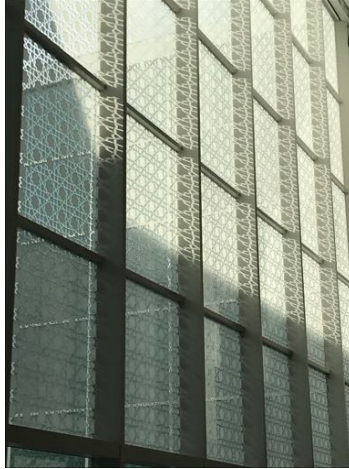
Figure 9 5: Atrium courtyard screen
Credit: Sahir Dewji
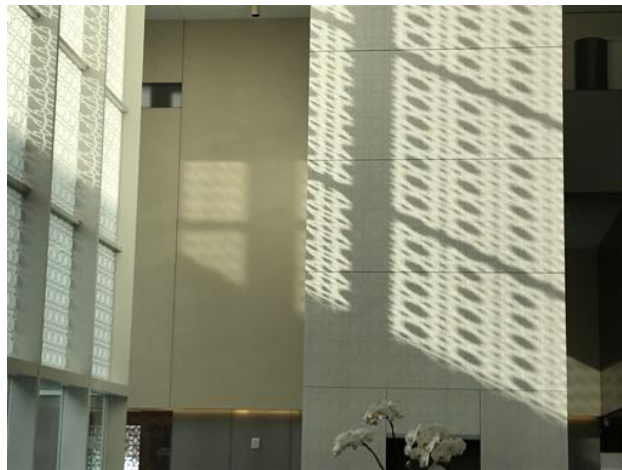
Figure 9.6: Courtyard shadow
Credit: Sahir Dewji

One of the greatest features of the AKM is its auditorium which seats 350 guests and hosts around 75 performances a year. The *mashrabiya* design appears once again along the Indonesian teakwood paneled walls of the auditorium.[960] In a similar manner to the Dialogue Room of the Global Centre for Pluralism, the acoustics are seamlessly tucked behind the wood paneled walls.[961] The ceiling of the auditorium is a spectacular dome. From the outside, one is able to notice a dome-liked shape on top of the AKM. From the interior, the ceiling is inspired by the *muqarnas* design,[962] based on

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[960] Tour Guide, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, January 10, 2018.

[961] On a practical note, this wood was chosen for its longevity and its softness, which helps with acoustics. Director's Tour, September 15, 2015.

[962] *Muqarnas* is a three-dimensional decoration of Islamic architecture that was first developed in Iran and Iraq around the 10th century. "In ceilings it serves a clear architectonic aim or at the very least

hexagonal patterns that are exploded outwards. In terms of pattern it resembles a diamond around a diamond giving it a three-dimensional effect.[963] The walls of the auditorium foyer are enclosed with Phoenician plaster (marble mixed with limestone). There is a spiral staircase that leads visitors to the second floor. At the top of the staircase, on the second level, a heptagonal shaped skylight sits directly above, in parallel configuration to the staircase, emitting sunlight during the day. In the upstairs foyer of the auditorium is a window that is covered by a *mashrabiya* (with the exact pattern of the glass enclosure of the courtyard) made entirely of zinc.[964]
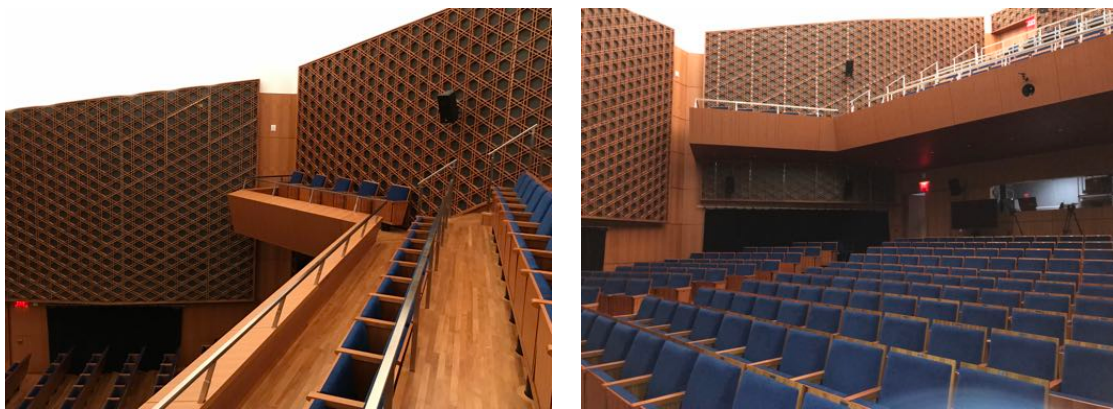
Figure 9.7: Auditorium
Credit: Sahir Dewji

One of the other marvels of the interior space is, the Bellerive room, named after Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan's Bellerive Castle in Geneva, Switzerland. The room's layout and design is replicated on his 'Salon Person' (Persian room) and houses ceramics from the Prince's collection as well as the actual 'showcase' cabinets donated by the Prince's widow, Princess Catherine.[965] One of the ceramic plates in the Bellerive room from Khurasan, Iran contains a repetitive motif that has inspired the logo of the Aga Khan Museum. Aga Khan IV chose this particular motif because it is in continuous

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provides the structural illusion of ascending movement culminating in a small cupola. The muqarnas is at the same time a linear system and an organization of masses." Yvonne Dold-Samplonius and Silvia L. Harmsen, "The Muqarnas Plate Found at Takht-I Sulayman: A New Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 22 (2015): 85-94, quote at 85.

[963] Director's Tour, September 15, 2015. "In explaining the interior forms of the dome that tops the Museum's auditorium, Maki makes specific reference to a dome…perhaps [the dome of] the Bazaar in Kashan, Iran" (Jodidio 2008, 59).

[964] Tour Guide, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, January 10, 2018.

[965] Director's Tour, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, September 15, 2015.

design, symbolizing the continuity of the soul.[966] It goes without saying that the materials, motifs, and designs of the AKM complex represent a sort of cultural cosmopolitanism. This feature is what marks this building as an architectural splendor that literally connects cultures within its structural design.

Figure 9.8: Bellerive Room
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada
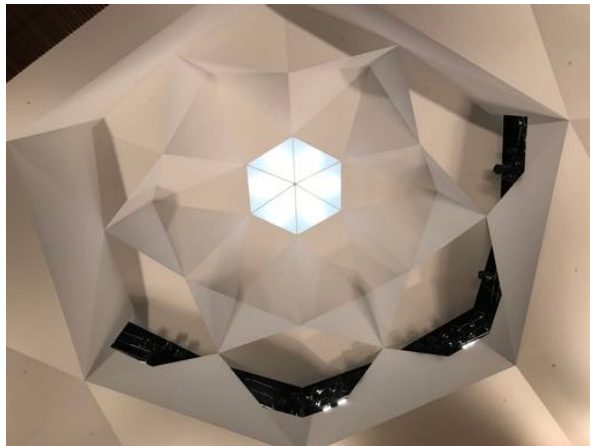
Figure 9.9: AKM auditorium dome
Credit: Sahir Dewji

When we look at this building we see architectural elements that are inspired by other Muslim civilizations. You see *mashrabiya* all through, the glass, you see the light coming through and shining on different walls around the courtyard. You see the screens between the windows from the atrium to the second floor galleries. You see all the geometric patterns on the floor so that is influenced by these past and diverse Muslims civilizations but they are interpreted in a new way using materials from our global, social and trade networks and our financial networks. Some of them were made in Canada and some from other parts of the world but they were all brought together here. And even the architects for the Museum, for the Aga Khan Park, the Ismāʿīlī Centre across the way, they're all from different places. What we see is a coming together of people, influences,

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[966] Tour Guide, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, January 10, 2018.

background knowledge, materials; it is very much a manifestation of cosmopolitanism.[967]

Figure 9.10: Second floor atrium screen
Credit: Sahir Dewji

Indeed, the AKM leaves the visitor with a sense of awe and humility that is staple to Islamic architecture, but it's openness and bright spaces welcomes the curious visitor to explore and transform herself as she travels through its different corners. The worldly and spiritual world are indeed reflected in the foundation of this space, a reminder that one cannot function without the other especially when concerned with the integrity of human life. The building is also designed to bring a feeling of calmness and inspiration:

> The building is an unaggressive space of calm. So whether or not that feels relevant for cultural diversity, it was very intentional that the atrium space be very under-decorated and neutral. When you first walk into the building you notice that the walls are plain. You've got that beautiful courtyard in the center but you're not yet bombarded with the intensity of the artworks inside the galleries. Fumihiko Maki designed the space so that everything is symmetrical. So when you look, our eyes seek symmetry. When you're downstairs you see that the grout of the floor tiles lines up with other architectural elements; the split in the doors and the air exchange in the ceiling – everything ties in. So you walk in and your eyes don't have to do any work. You automatically take a big deep breath…What I like about it is that's it's a blank space, it's a comfortable forum, in which I would challenge people who feel it wasn't setup for cultural diversity to explain to me why. Because all it is, is geometry which is human and its also neutral… And so in the atrium space I think that neutrality is a welcome space for cultural diversity because if we had done any particular...if

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[967] Jovanna Scorsone, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

we had done homage to any particular design style or architectural style we leave people behind. You can't be diverse in something that isn't neutral.[968]

Figure 9.11: Spiral staircase of auditorium
Credit: Sahir Dewji

As much as the cosmopolitan ethic permeates throughout the properties of the building's architecture and design, it is actually inside the walls of the AKM that the action takes place. In other words, it is within the AKM where the spaces of the visual arts and performing arts coalesce and transform the AKM into a place that premiates the cosmopolitan ethic. "Museums are cosmopolitan institutions dedicated to the proposition that, by gathering and presenting representative examples of the world's diverse artistic cultures 'under one roof,' work to dissipate ignorance and superstition about the world and promote tolerance of difference itself" (Cuno 2011, 8). Museums are public institutions open to all that encourage visitors to come and explore on their own accord. It can be argued that the AKM, inspired by Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan sensibility, is paving the way ahead by reconfiguring the very nature of museums.

When set against the idea of a cosmopolitan ethic, the AKM's mandate, at least in theory, measures successfully in its attempt to illustrate the interpenetrated and interactive reality of today's world. With the mobility of peoples and increased flows of information, the need for a cosmopolitan ethic as an appropriate moral comportment, for reasons discussed in the first section of this dissertation, has become essential to a future of coexistence. In this sense, a museum that chooses to focus on the uses and connectivity of its objects can be a step towards an institutional cosmopolitan practice.

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[968] Sarah Beam-Borg, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

During one of my visits to the AKM, I spoke with the Director, Henry Kim who believed that the AKM strongly embodies the 'cosmopolitan' spirit that existed among the great Muslim civilizations. He explains:

> I think that when you look at what the aims and what the ambitions of the mandate of this Museum are, it is very much the 'cosmopolitan' because what we're trying to do is not only to represent cultures of the Muslim world as a world culture, we're also trying to get people to view it as part of their own. In other words, to expand people's own horizons so that it's not simply a case of a very niche type museum with its programs but one that actually relates to a worldview that they should be taking on board. And so I think that if you look strictly at the word, the definition of cosmopolitan, I think we fulfill it in two ways: One is by our own outlook but Secondly, in another sense, it's also there to expand other people's horizons so that they're aware of the bigger picture. So in that sense this Museum is very much there because what we're here to do, and our mandate is very simple: We're here to increase people's understanding and appreciation of the arts and culture of the Muslim world…
> We're here to give people a much more better understanding of the past also of current art and culture. And that again I think is a very interesting approach because it brings you into movements, it brings you into art, which cuts across boundaries, which isn't just limited to one or two areas but actually encompasses the arts of the entire Muslim world. And I think one of the interesting things that we as a museum hope to achieve is that Muslims as a whole start identifying the art of the Muslim world as not just one part that's their own but the entire parts that make their own, I think that this fits well into the whole cosmopolitan ethos.[969]

The knowledge contained within the walls of the AKM is meant to be multivalent rather than a simple unified homogenous narrative. The very conception of the AKM as a site of learning and understanding marks it as a cosmopolitan institution. "It's really the core part of everything that we look at here: making the shift from being this collection of stuff to a forum for people to make connections and talk and explore together."[970] As such, the AKM strives to connect the experiences of the past with the present and the foreign with the familiar. That being the case, it would seem appropriate to label the AKM as a 'cosmopolitan museum' where "cross-cultural mixing is an exhibiting strategy" and "museological practices create the basis for an open cross-cultural polylogue" (Kreuzzieger 2009, 1070). The AKM presents evidence

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[969] Henry Kim, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, September 15, 2015.
[970] Jovanna Scorsone, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

of a cosmopolitan ethos in material culture that directly appeals to each visitor on an emotional and intellectual level. It is this ethic that sustains the mandate of the AKM, which is necessary to foster greater respect for human dignity.

The AKM and its contents express a narrative, they tell a story – a basic human form of communication and learning that is shared by all peoples.[971] This is what makes the cosmopolitan ethic accessible and relatable; it's about forming relations. "The Aga Khan said his goal for the museum is to chart the far flung journeys these objects take through time and various cultures and faiths" (Crow 2014, n.p.). Walking through the galleries of the AKM, where each visitor comes into contact with works from different times and places, constructs a narrative of human experience that is akin to a traveler's account (reflective in the *safarnāma* genre). In Roxanne Euben's terms, such narratives illustrate

> how a sense of home and other is produced and transformed through shifting sets of nested polarities… the continual traction and mutability of these polarities suggest that home and away, self and other, familiar and foreign are 'not an instant property of possession' but rather emerge, transform and recede in the course of the journey itself, much like the flow of a river nested between solid embankments (Euben 2006, 10).

It comes as no surprise that when the visitor sets off on their journey in the permanent gallery downstairs, there is a map. It is a map of the world with Toronto located on it and then cities from which the collection has art objects. Interestingly, there are no national borders represented on the map, rather there are just cities. It is the natural geographical features like the Mediterranean Sea, the Indian Ocean and the names of the cities that orient the AKM patron. This is one of the best visual ways by which to explain to the visitor, that she is about to embark on a journey that will take her through the art of multiple civilizations that have been inspired by the different contexts in which they have taken shape.

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[971] The challenge that the AKM Exhibition Manager and Curator face, are finding appropriate yet appealing stories based on the permanent collection available. Unlike an encyclopedic museum with a vast collection, the AKM is working with around 1,000 pieces; thus the stories are prewritten. With a limited number of artifacts, the focus shifts then moves from the collection itself to how the collection can be used to connect people and understandings. Jovanna Scorsone and Sarah Beam-Borg, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

Up to 330 pieces from the AKM's collection are showcased in a permanent gallery, which changes twice a year – meaning some of the fragile and organic items (paintings on paper and textiles) stand for a six-month period.[972] One of the featured items of the permanent gallery is a fourteenth century planispheric astrolabe. The notion of an astrolabe is a pre-Islamic instrument that continued to be used and developed under scholars in Muslim societies. For Muslims it was used, more often than not, to find the direction of the *qibla* at the time for prayers but also for exploration. Here one notices how science, in a sense, developed hand in hand with aspects related to faith.[973] But what makes this object worth noting is that it bears inscriptions of constellations in both Arabic and Latin, as well as inscriptions that were later added in Hebrew, clearly showing that it was shared among diverse peoples. It highlights a cosmopolitan time where people from different cultures and civilizations worked together to advance knowledge. It comes as no surprise that this astrolabe is considered as one of Aga Khan IV's favourite pieces in the collection. "I like art that contains symbols," he said, "but this object is a symbol. It says it all" (Crow 2014, n.p.).

Figure 9.12: Astrolabe
14th century Spain; Bronze engraved and inlaid with silver
Credit: ©The Aga Khan Museum (AKM611)

Another example, Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* – known in the West as Avicenna's Canon of Medicine –is considered the most important encyclopedic corpus of medieval medical knowledge in the medieval Muslim world. It is also points to the transfer of

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[972] Sarah Beam-Borg, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.
[973] For more on the relation between faith and seeking knowledge refer to Chapter 2.

knowledge from the Muslim world to the Latin West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The manuscript on display at the AKM is part of the fifth book of the *Qānūn* that dates back to the eleventh century. The *Qānūn* was the most influential of all medieval references in medical schools across Europe up until the modern period.[974] Yet another example is a rare porcelain Ewer that contains the seal of Emperor Shah Jahan on its thumb rest. The object comes from fifteenth century China and made its way to the court of Shah Jahan, an avid collector of the arts. Again, this piece speaks to the cross-cultural interactions taking place between Muslim and non-Muslim civilizations.

Figure 9.13: Ewer
Jingdezhen, China (1402-1424); with Shah Jahan's cartouche (1053AH/1643-1644)
Porcelain, glazed
Credit: ©The Aga Khan Museum (AKM966)

Examples such as these, remind us that works of art tell stories about roots and routes. They are a testament to the continuous dialogue and engagement with different ideas and translation processes. They are also a witness to the negotiation of identities and attachments in different cultural contexts that resonate with the cosmopolitan outlook of encountering the unknown and learning to engage with it in a positive way. As Jovanna Scorsone aptly notes,

> These are all really important examples of sharing knowledge among human cultures. So when you celebrate the knowledge of different cultures, times and places and when you bring awareness to this ideal you plant a seed of respect.

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[974] Director's Tour, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, September 15, 2015.

Whether its acknowledging something from someone's background and they can feel proud of their history or whether it's introducing someone who had no idea to what that background is, what that culture is, how it grew and interacted and evolved. That's how you build a society that respects each other. It's not just about tolerating each other; it's about how to interact with each other.[975]

Despite the richness of its collection, the AKM is not solely an art gallery museum. The lived arts and visual arts of Muslim civilization have coexisted together, a reality that the AKM aims to highlight. One of the key visuals at the AKM is the multimedia wall at the entrance of the galleries that plays continuously in a 7-minute loop. The idea behind the multimedia projection is to bring to life, for the visitors, the objects by animating them. It gives a sense of what it takes to create some of the objects and highlights the calligraphy and geometric patterns that underline many of the pieces at the AKM.[976] In regards to the lived or preforming arts, the AKM takes pride in showcasing local and international musicians, dancers, and other artistic performers in order to capture yet another medium of cross-cultural collaboration, while integrating contemporary sounds with ancient musical traditions. One example that overlaps well with the AKM's mandate is the Silk Road Ensemble with the world-renowned cellist Yo-Yo Ma, which performed at the AKM on September 16, 2015. This musical group highlights the cross-fertilization of sounds that traverse the Silk Road and draws on talent from more than twenty countries that weave in instruments from different cultural traditions.[977]

The second floor gallery houses the AKM's contemporary exhibition and material culture exhibition, both of which converse with the permanent collection on the main floor. During my fieldwork I attended a Curator's Tour of a temporary exhibit entitled 'The Lost Dhow: A Discovery from the Maritime Silk Route'. This exhibit showcased items from China, dating back to the ninth century, that were set to sail to the Arab world. This lost cargo points to the early evidence of a maritime silk route and a vibrant exchange of ideas and tastes among different peoples. Many of the pieces on display showed the mixing of Chinese indigenous techniques and patterns with Arabic

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[975] Interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.
[976] Director's Tour, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, September 15, 2015.
[977] Ibid.

inscriptions, pointing to the possibility of Chinese manufacturers producing goods specifically for Muslim patrons of art.[978]

It is intentional that the upper and lower galleries speak to one another. The architect designed the big cut out space looking from the second floor down into the main collection on the first floor, providing for a very effective use of spatial setup.

> When you're on the main floor and you're going through the collection gallery you are in a very traditional museum space. And as you come around the corner I am always pleased to see people look up. And when they do look up, we intentionally place things on the sidelines above for viewers to take in. So very intentional! And underneath the opening of the second floor we display textiles (at least for now) as it warms things up and humanizes the large gallery space. So as you come through, you have gathered a basic knowledge of chronology and geography and when you go through the temporary exhibitions upstairs, that information will supplement what the viewer will be exposed to in the upstairs gallery. There is a continuous thread.[979]

Figure 9.14: Birds eye view of the galleries
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Although the permanent gallery is arranged somewhat historically and almost chronologically, there are also items that are grouped thematically throughout the gallery. The theme of 'the transition of knowledge' best reflects the cosmopolitan spirit of borrowing and furthering knowledge. The concise collection of manuscripts on

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[978] Curator's Tour, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, April 16, 2015.
[979] Sarah Beam-Borg, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

display focuses on many different areas of knowledge, such as astronomy, chemistry, medicine, pharmaceuticals, etc. Through this representation of the flow of knowledge, the notion of continuity of cultures is also highlighted. As a result, the objects, discussed above (Astrolabe and Avicenna's Canon of Medicine), help the visitor to catch a glimpse of a world in which various scholars working within Muslim cultural hegemonies continued perfecting, translating, adding, and developing inherited knowledge from other civilizations and moving it forward. In a sense, the visitor is witnessing the transition of knowledge that speaks to Muslim civilizations as being part of a continuous chain of the productivity of human knowledge.[980] Another example where a thematic approach is utilized in order to highlight related conversations and connectedness is with the Qur'ān. Using this revered text of Muslims as a common thread helps point to the inherent diversity of the production of the text. For example, visitors will notice how a Qur'ān from Iran versus Indonesia may look different; that is the materials of the book itself: whether cotton, vellum or paper is used or even the choice of paints that are utilized.[981]

> This is a very conscious decision to show the diversity not just by showcasing different groups in silos, but by bringing the objects together so you can very easily see it's the same thing manifested in different ways. And the Qur'ān is a great example of that because the words are the same for everyone. It's about the same thing that is expressed differently due to the locations and diversity of peoples interacting with it.[982]

It is not the separate historical or artistic circumstances that are privileged, but the interaction of the contents – giving a sense of compatibility and continuity. As I understand it then, Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan ethic is manifested in the AKM's design and programming through the linking of movement, engagement, and experience.

Now although there is a pre-conceived course of action based on spatial layout and flow of galleries, the narrative of learning through engagement is also instructed by the visitors themselves.

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[980] Jovanna Scorsone, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.
[981] Ibid.
[982] Ibid.

Visitors bring their experience into our space. So in my mind, the cosmopolitanism that we now get to learn from and evolve from is what people bring with them when they come to us. Because some of our artifacts are very beautiful and very discrete and they sort of whisper; so if you were rushed for time, or distracted or if you weren't feeling well, you're not going to spend time looking at that piece unless we do our job to say come where it's worth it, come listen to the story it needs to tell. And that's where we have the opportunity to have some real effect and where we evolve to do that. I believe that some of the incredible beauty and diversity of the objects' story is also similar to cosmopolitanism; the story has the chance to shine as we evolve.[983]

From this perspective, the visitors also transform the AKM space; Human activity alters a place. "[S]pace is a practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers" (de Certeau 1984, 117). The AKM thus becomes a practiced space wherein visitors create space by interacting with the environment and by their physical movement within it. "This suggests that de Certeau' s practitioners have varying levels of access to place and that this access is, in part, shaped by the systems that Lefebvre suggests are key to creating places" (Johansen 2008, 40). In de Certeau's terms, the AKM becomes a socially meaningful space if its users are able, in their real and virtual journeys, to find connections to their own identities. In these terms, the AKM is a lived space that invites individuals to reflect, interpret, and infuse multiple meanings much like a sacred site. "Indeed, the museum visitor has been constructed as the 'tourist pilgrim'. Museum goers are like visitors to a temple shrine, bringing with them the willingness and ability to shift into a certain state of receptivity. They follow a route through a programmed narrative" (Kong 2005, 496). The ordinarily 'secular' space of the AKM is transformed by the visitors who bring a religious reading to certain objects, like the Qur'ān in the galleries. Although religion is not explicitly present in the AKM, it is nevertheless implicit in the conceptualization of the space and more importantly entangled on the bodies and identities of the visitors that carry inward and outward religious symbols (Knott 2014; McCoy 2002). As such, "[m]useums are sacred spaces, and the nature of the museum space means that it is special and a site for power relations…Visitors trust sacred spaces to provide them with

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[983] Sarah Beam-Borg, interview with author, Aga Khan Museum, Toronto, Ontario, June 28, 2017.

certain experiences, feelings, and in the case of museums, knowledge" (Nixon 2012, 188-189). The religious experience is also heightened because the AKM is located adjacent to a place of worship, the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto. In some cases, engagement with the AKM and its contents is simply a co-product of community affiliation, especially in the case of the Ismāʿīlī patrons:

> So when they see an object of beauty, they understand it as beautiful because it's related somehow to the community or the Imām and not necessarily for the object's historic or aesthetic value. The value of the objects are validated, if not sanctified in someway because of their association with the Imām and not always because of their intrinsic value.[984]

In addition, the collected artifacts, which come from Aga Khan IV's own private collection, help to connect Ismāʿīlī patrons through time to a historical Ismāʿīlī past that is itself sacrilized in the hearts of the Ismāʿīlīs. Through this experience, then, the AKM reinforces a religious community's identity (Ashley 2014; Kong 2005). Dissolving the separation between what is secular and what is regarded as sacred in such a museum is a challenge, in light of the earlier discussion of the space and architectural design of the AKM, which is connected to Islamic architecture. Moreover, the association of the AKM to Aga Khan IV (spiritual leader) becomes another link to the Imāmate, through a different medium. Indeed the more esoteric pursuits of the visitor cannot be divorced from the museum experience, since each component of the space including the objects and paintings carry layers of meaning. In the words of the late Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan:[985] "Behind each illustration, there is a hidden meaning - the struggle between good and evil, the secrets of the universe, the meaning of life and death. Interpreting each picture requires considerable knowledge and concentration. If you look at it quickly you miss most of the true dimension of the picture.[986]

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[984] Rizwan Mawani, interview with author, at his home, Toronto, Ontario, January 9, 2015.
[985] See Chapter 4, fn. 344 for his biography.
[986] June Ducas, "Hidden Secrets of the Universe," *The Telegraph* (UK), January 24, 1998, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/4711667/Hidden-secrets-of-the-universe.html. Also quoted in Jodidio (2008, 30).

Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT)

Adjacent to the Aga Khan Museum (AKM), about 250 feet apart, stands the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT), which is connected by the Aga Khan Park (Jodidio 2007; Karim 2013).[987] The Ismāʿīlī Centre is an 80,000 square foot, two-story building housing a prayer hall (*jamāʿatkhānā*), social hall, library, exhibition areas and meeting rooms. Charles Correa,[988] the award-winning architect based in Mumbai, designed the ICT. This is the sixth Ismāʿīlī Centre in the world and joins a network of global Ismāʿīlī Centres that include: London, Lisbon, Dubai, Dushanbe and Vancouver. The Ismāʿīlī Centres are considered to be ambassadorial buildings of the Ismāʿīlī community across the world.[989] These purpose-built Centres are places that offer spaces for spiritual and intellectual pursuit for the members of the community but are also "designed to become part of the fabric of the civic life of the area in which they are built", thus advancing opportunities for dialogue and engagement with the broader community (Poor 2014, 183). In this respect, the Centres serve as a symbolic reminder that *dīn* and *dunyā* (the spiritual and secular) are not at odds. As Aga Khan IV notes at the inauguration of the Ismāʿīlī Centre in Dushanbe, Tajikstan,

> We will seek to demonstrate that spiritual insight and worldly knowledge are not separate or opposing realms, but that they must always nourish one another, and that the world of faith and the material world are the dual responsibilities of humankind (2009a).

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[987] I offer more details about the Aga Khan Park (AKP) later in this chapter. Karim H. Karim (2013) provides the distance of approximately 250 meters in his article, but in a later article (2015) he decreases this distance to about 80 meters. Nonetheless, the importance for this chapter as Karim rightly suggests, is the very close proximity of these two buildings that share similarities but function through different modes of activity.

[988] Charles Correa (d. 2015) won an international competition to design the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto. Correa was an architect, planner, activist and theoretician residing in Mumbai, India. Some of his built work includes, the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial in Ahmedabad, the Jawahar Kala Kendra in Jaipur and the State Assembly for Madhya Pradesh. In 1985 Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi appointed him Chairman of the National Commission on Urbanization. Correa has also taught at several universities in India and abroad. Most recently he was the Farwell Bernis Professor in the School of Architecture and Planning at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). He has also served, on 5 occasions, as a member of the Award Steering Committee of the Aga Khan Award for Architecture, as well as a member of the Award Master Jury in 1989.

[989] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

The Ismāʿīlī Centres thus serve as religious and cultural anchors of Ismāʿīlī identity while also professing "tangible manifestations of a vision of Islam that the Aga Khan and his community have been trying to communicate" (Simonowitz 2004, 67).

Figure 9.15: Ismāʿīlī Centre crystalline dome with reflective pool
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

The planning of the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto started in 1996 with younger generation of Ismāʿīlīs, between the ages of 18 to 27, being surveyed about their vision of what a Centre in Toronto should represent and how it would function. The general agreement from their voices pointed to a building that is anchored in traditional values while being progressive in its outlook. They also expressed a desire for a building in which they could formally unite in prayer but also strengthen relations amongst their brethren and other surrounding communities (Aga Khan IV 2014b).[990] In the words of Aga Khan IV, "[t]hey hoped that the Centre would become, and I quote, '... a great avenue through which they could integrate into society at large,' a place that would command the respect of all those who would visit it" (Aga Khan IV 2014b). Honouring the voices of the Toronto Ismāʿīlīs and in keeping with the spirit of its predecessors, the ICT – conceived by Correa – is designed with attention to a long tradition of Islamic architecture while simultaneously reflecting the Canadian environment in which it is situated. As Charles Correa explains:

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[990] See also Nazlin A. Nathu, "The Unity underlying Diversity," *The Ismaili Canada: Symbols of Enlightenment* (Winter 2014): 21-35, quote at 23.

> We knew this Jamatkhana must be pluralistic – expressing on the one hand the age-old heritage of the Ismaili community, and on the other their newfound aspirations as proud citizens of Canada. So, throughout the building, the architectonic language and the materials used are contemporary (exposed concrete, stainless steel and frosted glass), but there are also references to other values, derived from other times (Correa in Jodidio 2007, 204).[991]

The architectural design of this Centre is meant to be open and welcoming, similar to the AKM, inviting the visitor to discover and explore through the use of light. The guide stated that the use of natural light is symbolic of the Divine Light as well as the light of intellect, which is integral to the Shīʿī tradition of Islam.[992] Indeed the entire building is configured geometrically, symmetrically and imbued with layered symbolism, as I illustrate throughout my description of the Centre. The ICT, located at 49 Wynford Drive, presents a very different façade from the neighbouring buildings; a large curved façade is used for the front entrance of the building in comparison to the rectangular structures of the surrounding buildings. The tour guide explained that this curved façade symbolically represents an 'outstretched hand' – a gesture of hospitality that embraces the visitors, welcoming them into the space.[993] The cladding outside is limestone called delma cream limestone, from Croatia. This particular limestone was chosen for its low porosity and high luminosity. It has a mat finish to bring out the beauty of the stone's colour. Directly above the entrance is a canopy of laminated wooden beams that serves a shelter from the outdoor climate. The top of this canopy is covered by clear glass allowing light to shine through. A significant feature of this entrance is the single column that supports the entire canopy. There is a symbolic reading of this structure, in that the pillar can be understood as the ultimate supporter or sustainer (God) who grants shelter to humanity as they make their journey through life.[994]

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[991] E-mail from Charles Correa to Philip Jodidio, February 20, 2007.

[992] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

[993] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

[994] Ibid. "While the traditional architect seeks to protect the inner spaces of a building from the great heat of the outside; and while coolness and shade are associated in the Muslim mind with divine blessing, the soul of the Muslim, and in fact the primal man in every man, yearns for light which is ultimately a symbol of Divine Presence, the Light which shines upon the whole cosmos from the central axis mundi that is neither of the East nor of the West" (Nasr 1985, 50-51).

Figure 9.16: Entrance to the Ismāʿīlī Centre
with a view of the Aga Khan Museum in the distance
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

The ICT consists of two levels above ground and lower level (basement) covering a total floor are of around 7,800 square metres (Jodidio 2007). One may reach the second floor and the basement by stairs or by an elevator. The lower level of the Centre is accessible through an underground car park that is most often utilized by the members. As Ismāʿīlī congregants enter the main doors of the lower level, a calligraphic relief along the inner wall (directly facing the doors) welcomes them.

Figure 9.17: Ismāʿīlī Centre basement entrance
with view of the activity room and on the left, calligraphic representation of the *'basmala'*
Credit: Sahir Dewji

This calligraphic representation spanning almost the entirety of the wall reads *'bismillah al-raḥmān al-raḥīm'* in *kūfic* Arabic script (In the name of God the most Compassionate, the most Merciful) and is designed by a German-Muslim artist by the

name of Karl Schlamminger (d. 2017).[995] The piece is made with coloured stones: black crystalline lava stone, beige limestone, and red and green cultured stones. One may think of it as two separate pieces of calligraphy on the left and right. From the right side of the wall, the verse is written right to left and from top to bottom, and is replicated once to its left as a mirror. This entire design is then replicated onto the left side of the wall.[996] The *basmala* is significant here as it is the opening verse of every chapter of the Qur'ān (except Chapter 9), and symbolically marks a beginning for all Muslims before entering into a range of activities in their daily lives.

> The *basmala* provides an aperture into the physical, conceptual, and spiritual text-space of the Ismaili Centre as book and the Ismaili Centre as building. It is also the key to a larger, more critical space…As a verbal as well as textual invocation, it is the prompter of the Islamic 'speech-act.' The operative idea is that it authorizes aperture and entrance. And, the type of space that it opens is a thoroughly Islamic space. This is a crucial matter to the Isma'ili community (Simonowitz 2004, 170).

Continuing along, as one turns to the left, (s)he faces another stone-work calligraphy by the same artist. The relief, in *kūfic* script, reads '*nūr 'ala nūr*' (light upon light) from the *āyat al-Nūr* (Q24: 25). This epigraphy is also a common feature in the three Ismā'īlī Centres studied by Simonowitz (2014). In his description of an oil painting at the Ismā'īlī Centre in London that bears a different segment of the same verse, Simonowitz writes,

> The Qur'anic verse is not only relevant to Ismā'īlī doctrine but to an ancillary function of the Centre as a place of communal outreach and cultural bridging, since the continuation of the verse, though not included, describes the metaphoric oil of the illuminating divine lamp as from neither East nor West. The verse may be significant for many reasons, but it reiterates in writing a concern formally expressed in the natural illumination that reaches the interior of the Centre through carefully placed skylights and windows. Most importantly, the Imam bears the light of divine knowledge (2004, 94).

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[995] Karl Schlamminger was a German–born Muslim and artist, he is best known for his design of the logo for the Aga Khan Award for Architecture. He designed many of the interior spaces of the Ismā'īlī Centre in London, UK and also contributed his art to the Ismā'īlī Centre Toronto. In addition, Schlamminger designed the (2017) Global Pluralism award.

[996] Tour Guide, Ismā'īlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

Figure 9.18: Stone work calligraphy of a verse from *āyat al-Nūr* by Schlamminger
Credit: Sahir Dewji

Schlamminger has written the verse once and then reflected it three times over. The guide noted that the artist arranged this work as a metaphorical gate or entry for those who seek light, because to the left of this calligraphic piece are the stairs that lead the community upstairs to the main level, directly towards the prayer hall.[997] The guide re-emphasized the importance of light in religion and specifically in Ismāʿīlī thought.

Together these calligraphic reliefs mark the entry point for the community who park their cars underground and walk through the basement doors to arrive for prayers. These pieces of art are situated in a "key transitional point" and "sets the spiritual tone" (Simmonowitz 2004, 203) as one ascends towards the foyer of the prayer hall and then into the prayer hall proper. The members start their journey with the name of God, turn left passing the metaphoric 'gate of Light' and then turn left at a set of stairs to reach the prayer hall on the main floor. The basement of the Centre also houses the activity room along with technical facilities, such as a full size kitchen. The activity room, situated to the right of the main doors of the basement, serves a multipurpose room of sorts. It is used for special activities, seminars, and meetings and is also available for rent for those who would like to book it for small gatherings or meetings.[998]

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[997] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.
[998] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of these two verses staring with the *basmala* followed by the reference to *āyat al-nūr*, serves as a visual and cognitive reminder of the relationship between God and the Imām that is central to the Shīʿī interpretation of the office of Imāmate. Refer to Chapter 3.

Figure 9.19: Mirrored calligraphy tile work designed by Schlamminger
On the right, the '*basmala'*, and on the left, the words *nūr 'ala nūr'*
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Another set of stairs situated near the entrance takes one to the foyer of the entrance (street level). Directly ahead is the Centre's social hall and to the right is what is referred to as the 'intellectual space or hub'. This area contains a library, classrooms and an atrium lounge – considered to be the focal point of this intellectual space.[999] The slightly raised atrium lounge anchors the foyer with its double-height ceiling and glass walls that rise through the upper floor to a skylight. This skylight allows natural light to come through and flows into the other spaces and the administrative offices on the upper level. On one side of this atrium (facing the foyer) a glass wall encloses the atrium, which acts as a semi-transparent boundary between the foyer and the atrium.[1000] This silk-like-screen with carefully etched geometric patterns – particularly an eight-sided figure that is encountered throughout the building – provides a *mashrabiya* effect.[1001] This conceptual design is what is known as illuminated geometry, a technique that dates back to the eleventh century, in which geometric patterns are infused with light. "The artists were aware of the impossibility of representing divine light and therefore developed visual techniques to approximate this light using colours, calligraphy and geometry. The star-cross pattern and the star-hexagon pattern are examples of how geometry, illumination and calligraphy were integrated in Islamic art"

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[999] Ibid.
[1000] Ibid.
[1001] Ibid. Simonowitz (2004) also notes that the use of glass windows and screens with geometric patterns are a common design element that feature in many Ismāʿīlī Centres and *jamāʿatkhānās*.

466

(Marani 2000, 40). The eight-sided figure at the ICT is also found in the carpet design of the prayer hall (*jamā'atkhānā*) and takes inspiration from the crystalline dome that sits above in the center of the prayer hall. This motif is used to connect different spaces of the Centre bringing them together through a unified geometric pattern.[1002] The number '8' represented by the eight-pointed star motif[1003] in the ICT is considered an auspicious number in Islam, connoting the number of angels believed to carry the throne of God and the number of paradises (Schimmel 1993, 157; Simonowitz 2004).[1004]

Figure 9.20: Atrium lounge with glass walls
Credit: Sahir Dewji

[1002] Tour Guide, Ismā'īlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018. "The Pythagorean philosophy of mathematics provided the language and presented an already elaborated science, itself of a esoteric nature and going back to Egypt and Babylon, for the 'spiritual mathematics' which is so central to Islamic architecture and even the so-called decorative arts. It did not create this art. The use of rigorously defined geometric spaces, precise mathematical proportions, clearly defined lines and volumes relating to exact mathematical laws 20 were means whereby the space of Islamic architecture, as well as its surfaces, were integrated. The principle of Unity was thereby made more manifest and the Islamic space within which Muslims carried out their ordinary lives as well as moments of worship were sacralized" (Nasr 1987, 47-48).

[1003] The form of the eight-sided stars found at the ICT closely resembles the 'star-cross' pattern that is prominent in Islamic art and found throughout the Middle East and Spain. Interestingly, this shape represents a convergence of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity. "The eight-pointed star is the Seal of Solomon, the cross is from the Christian tradition and calligraphy decorating the cross consists of verses from the Qur'an, invoking divine compassion." Salma Karim Marani, "The Artist's Silent Prayer: Illumination and Geometry in Islamic Art," in *Ismaili Canada* December 2000: 40-41, quote at 40.

[1004] "Coincidentally, the number eight governs a graphic representation of authority composed by the Fatimid *da'i* Hamid al-Din al-Kirmani in his culminating treatise, *Rahat al-'aql.* This eight-part verbal schematic diagrams the relationships of authority, duty, and obedience binding the strata of the ideal polity" (Simonowitz 2004, 143).

Figure 9.21: Atrium lounge as seen through the etched glass screen
Credit: Sahir Dewji

Opposite the comfortably furnished atrium lounge[1005] is the exhibition hall
(literally a wide corridor that runs the length of this space). It is where the ICT holds
temporary or moving exhibitions; usually around 6 to 7 exhibitions are held annually in
this space.[1006] One particular exhibition that was held here from fall 2014 to early
spring 2015 was 'Connect Create Cairo: Build a City with History and Technology',
curated by Zulfikar Hirji.[1007] This exhibition and workshop offered participants a first
hand experience into Cairo's urban landscape and architectural heritage dating from the
ninth to the eighteenth centuries.[1008] The exhibition included an incomplete
architectural-scale model of one Cairo's oldest districts. The empty spaces in this model
provided participants an opportunity to add their own pieces utilizing a three-
dimensional printer. Through a series of workshops, participants learned to use three-
dimensional design software in order to create their own prototype residences to add to
the exhibitions model.[1009] This interactive program taught participants about history,
urban spaces and how to think about ethical solutions to contemporary issues of city
planning and urban design. This exhibition falls under one of five areas of the ICT

[1005] It should be noted that this space is also used as a waiting area for non-Ismāʿīlī family members who
accompany their Ismāʿīlī counterparts at the time of prayer.
[1006] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.
[1007] For a short bio on Zulfikar Hirji see Chapter 5, fn. 537.
[1008] Zulfikar Hirji, interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, February 3, 2015.
[1009] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018. See also "Cairo exhibition uses 3D
printing to teach students about urban issues everywhere," *The.Ismaili* website,
https://the.ismaili/ismailicentres/knowledge-reflection/toronto/cairo-exhibition-uses-3d-printing-teach-
students-about, (accessed February 2, 2018).

thematic programming, called 'Cities of Arrival' which looks at urbanism as well as broader concerns of human coexistence. The theme of 'Cities of Arrival' is directly connected to the Ismāʿīlī Centre. According to Zulfikar Hirji, "when we think about cities of arrival we can think about this place where the Ismāʿīlī Centre is located. It's a suburban sort of environment, there's a large percentage of Muslims of different backgrounds, it's a new part of the city in a sense and it is a revitalized part of the city.[1010] The other thematic themes are conceived around issues that appeal to a broad audience but also remain true to the concerns and causes of the Ismāʿīlī community. "So this is the idea of understanding the other while not losing sight of who you are. The programs should take into consideration the issues or challenges that face all human societies."[1011] These are some of the governing principles that offer a trajectory for thought-provoking programming that also allows for collaborations with other communities and organizations generating reflective conversation. The other four themes speak to this vision:

> The second theme concerns the pursuit of wisdom in age of information. We want to have more conversations around the increase in data information in relation to the nature of wisdom and how to deal with that data. The third theme is inspired by the question; 'are we living in a twenty-first century renaissance?' This is where the kind of interface between arts, science, philosophy, technology and religion takes place. When we talk about the European Renaissance we tend to see the confluence of these different disciplinary sensibilities coming together to create new things. And we see lots of things happening today if we think about the biomedical field or about nanotechnology. Are we living in a twenty-first century renaissance? And then what do we do with that? This theme also aims to showcase what religious communities have say about this. The fourth theme revolves around the notion of *khalāfa* or *khilāfa* – this is not the idea of a political entity but rather this idea that all human beings are custodians of the earth. The fifth theme is about global networks. This is where we want to answer questions regarding human navigation vis à vis a networked world. What is a network mean? How do we actually travel along these networks? What does it mean to be globalized? So I think these five themes, if you will, help to at least shape our programming for the next five or six years and will, in a sense, provide a space for thinking long term and bringing in partners who have these broader concerns as well.[1012]

[1010] Interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, February 3, 2015.
[1011] Ibid.
[1012] Ibid.

Each of these themes touches on Muslim experiences (past, present, and future) and are very much part of the Ismāʿīlī experience. However, they are also perennial issues that affect all communities, whether they are based in Toronto or in other parts of the world. The programming at the ICT is indeed local but the themes they address are much broader, which sits well with the cosmopolitan ideal.

The intellectual hub also houses classrooms for religious education (*Bayt ul-ʿIlm*).[1013] As discussed in Chapter 7, the dissemination of religious education across Canada is based on curricula developed from the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies (IIS).[1014] There is a curriculum for pre-primary and primary as well as for secondary students, which serves as one of the main avenues through which the message of cosmopolitan ethic is articulated.[1015] Conceptually then, these texts prime in students "intertextual references that figure prominently in the discourse" of Aga Khan IV and his institutions (Simonowitz 2004, 234). I spoke with Riz Muhammedi,[1016] a Teacher Lead at the Ismāʿīlī Centre to find out more about how the cosmopolitan ethic is articulated through religious education. He explains,

> In the classroom, my role with the cosmopolitan ethic is to enable students to be able to understand who they are and then how they fit into the larger cosmos. However, they cannot learn about the cosmos and all other faiths before understanding their own. I think the curriculum sets the cosmopolitan ethic up very well. It's always trying to situate Ismāʿīlī Muslim history within the larger global narrative. They're not learning about their history in isolation, but rather in relation to a broader history of communities. I think that's brilliant because that allows students to position themselves in the cosmos as they're learning, but they need to have that kind of grounding in themselves first.[1017]

[1013] For a brief background on *Bayt ul-ʿIlm* Centres see Chapter 7.

[1014] See Chapter 6.

[1015] Nurdin Dhanani, interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre Vancouver, British Columbia, February 26, 2015.

[1016] Riz Muhammedi is currently a Teacher Lead at the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto. He also is on the Board of Directors for the UN Kosovo Education Projects. He completed his BA and B.ED in the concurrent program at Queens University. This led him to work in Prishtina, Kosovo on a project to provide Peace Education to students affected by war crimes. He then completed a Double Masters at UCL (United College London, United Kingdom), obtaining a double distinction in Muslim Societies and Civilizations (M.A) and Teaching (Mteach). Muhammedi is very passionate about Peace Education and has presented at various conferences on the topic of teaching children who have been through traumatic war experiences. He is also passionate about identity studies focussing on how religion plays a role in the formation of a student's moral and ethical conduct.

[1017] Riz Muhammedi, interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto, Ontario, May 22, 2015. Muhammedi did note that although the curriculum is a great tool for teaching Muslim civilizations and

Religious education is thus an integral component of cultivating a cosmopolitan ethic within the young members of the community. Enrolled students who attend their classes on a weekly basis are given the tools to articulate their faith in a multicultural, multifaith society like Toronto and are exposed to ideals and values – passed down through a history of Muslim experiences, albeit from a particular perspective – that will help to inculcate a profound sense of self as well as an openness, which may have an impact in their lived realities. Indeed, the community has access to a well-rounded curriculum[1018] and teachers who are willing to teach it from a cosmopolitan lens, but there is a sense that the community is still not ready for it. Questions from all tiers of the community still arise about the 'narrowness' that is missing from the program. They are concerned that if religious education continues to be taught through a civilizational approach, through a wider lens, then the children will never be exposed to specific Ismāʿīlī ideals and perspectives. There is an expectation that there should be a one-to-one correlation between the curriculum and belief and practice.

> There's an expectation from the community that sometimes differs greatly from the larger vision of the curriculum. I do feel like we're working on building a bridge between the two so there's also a lot of parent education sessions and working with the *jamāʿat* in general as well as Council leaders because they are not versed in the curriculum, but once they're versed in the curriculum they're approach and messaging will shift.[1019]

Academic Director, Tasnim Dharamsi,[1020] also recognizes these challenges and also affirms that as the structure of the secondary program keeps evolving more efforts are

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traditions, "there's a lot of emphasis on the teacher to find out how to be a cosmopolitan person. There's not much training in that or much discussion in that."

[1018] For a close analysis of the IIS secondary curriculum and how teachers interpret and relate the information within a religious educational context see Tasnim Dharami's thesis "Living within the Hermeneutic Circle: Interpreting the Curricular Inquiry of Canadian Secondary Ismaili Religious Education Teachers," (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 2014).

[1019] Riz Muhammedi, interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto, Ontario, May 22, 2015.

[1020] Tasnim Dharamsi is the Academic Director with the Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board (ITREB) for Canada. In this role, she is responsible for the oversight and stewardship of the religious education system, Pre-Primary to Grade 12, for the youth of the Ismāʿīlī Muslim community. Some of the key responsibilities of her role include strategic planning, teacher education, curriculum inquiry, parental education and school leadership. Other professional roles have included service at Simon Fraser University's Professional Development Program (PDP) in pre-service education, curriculum development with the Ministry of Education in French as a Second Language, and consulting with the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies for the Secondary Teacher Education Program (STEP) on program

being put in place to "become more cosmopolitan in [ITREB's] engagement and deliberation." She says, "at one point in time when decisions were being made about the educational direction, maybe the academic staff would make it. And now it's no longer the case, we work collaboratively with our local boards, with our sister institutions for example, and in time with more parents and students.[1021] Although the concept of a cosmopolitan ethic has only recently become part of the community's everyday parlance, the ideals that constitute this particular worldview have in some way always been essential to the community's development in Canada. For the current President of the Council for Canada, Malik Talib,[1022] the cosmopolitan ethic is part of the way in which the community interacts with a variety of people and groups on a daily bases.

> [In fact, the notion of a cosmopolitan ethic] has been built through the notion of a diverse community and to a certain extent embedded in our minds, and so I would say that many Canadian Ismāʿīlīs, especially younger ones, either they instinctively understand what it means to have a cosmopolitan ethic, or have grown to understand it depending on where you are in the spectrum of your engagement with our community – first generation, second generation or third generation. My sense is that it would be different all the way through and navigating that has not been an overt strategy. I also think a lot of our religious education and much of the communication that we have with the *jamāʿat* stretching back a long time, has been infused with the notion that we are part of a transnational diverse community bound together by our allegiance to the Imām of the time. And so I think this implicit understanding has been rooted with an undertone of what the Imām has called the cosmopolitan ethic, or at least that's the way I've understood it.[1023]

Proceeding from the intellectual hub through a set of doors leads one back to the foyer. Turning right leads one to the ICT social hall. This is the prime social space of the building. It is generally full of sounds of enrichment, entertainment, dialogue and warm rapport as people of different faiths and culture come together in this space.[1024] Here again, one encounters yet another unique skylight that starts from the roof of the social

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development and teacher education. She has completed a Masters of Education at Simon Fraser University in teacher education and a Ph.D. at Simon Fraser University in curriculum.
[1021] Tasnim Dharamsi, interview with author, via telephone, April 30, 2015.
[1022] See this chapter, fn. 921 for President Talib's biography.
[1023] Malik Talib, interview with author, via telephone, August 18, 2015.
[1024] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

hall and descends down the wall, bringing in so much natural light. The social hall also opens up to another terrace which itself opens up to the Aga Khan Park. Visitors will admire the artifacts from different parts of the Muslim world that adorn the walls of this space. The guide noted that a number of events are hosted here, such as: cultural performances, lectures, seminars, workshops, book launches, film screenings and even weddings.[1025] In fact, the Opening Ceremony of the ICT was performed in the social hall on September 12, 2014. On this occasion, Aga Khan IV emphasized the dual nature of the Ismāʿīlī Centre, stating that the Centre is "a building that is focused around our Jamatkhana, but which also includes many secular spaces." He continued,

> These are places where Ismailis and non-Ismailis, Muslims and non-Muslims, will gather for shared activities — seminars and lectures, recitals and receptions, exhibitions and social events. These meeting halls and lounges, work offices and conference rooms will serve the organisational needs of the Ismaili community. But they will also, we trust, be filled with the sounds of enrichment, dialogue and warm human rapport, as Ismailis and non-Ismailis share their lives in a healthy gregarious spirit! (Aga Khan IV 2014b)

Figure 9.22: Aga Khan IV and Prime Minister Stephan Harper
after unveiling the plaque commemorating the opening of the Ismāʿīlī Centre
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

Indeed, The ICT serves the community's needs while continuing to act as a medium to bridge partnerships and create new friendships with the greater community around it. It serves as a structure to "receive other communities and institutions in a dignified

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[1025] The importance of the social halls in the Ismāʿīlī Centres was also made apparent to Simonowitz (2014) during his fieldwork.

manner" and serves to "demystify" the faith and act as a "symbol of new hope."[1026]As such, the ICT aims to be part of a public discourse, playing a critical role in encouraging exchange, mutual understanding and providing a secure environment to raise complex questions.

Considered an 'ambassadorial building', the ICT is a place where dialogue takes place, bringing in and engaging with people from the Centre's immediate surroundings and elsewhere. Enter in the social hall, a space that is meant to cater to a diverse number of events that contribute to the cosmopolitan ethos of the environment, reflecting the vision of Aga Khan IV. For instance, the annual *Milād un-Nabī* program discussed in Chapter 7 takes place in the ICT social hall. I attended one of the first *milād* events hosted at the ICT in January 2015, which was organized around the Centre's thematic program 'Cities of Arrival'[1027] and co-sponsored with Emmanuel College of Victoria University in the University of Toronto. Guest speaker Asma Afsaruddin[1028] spoke on the importance of interfaith dialogue and historical Muslim experiences of religious pluralism, which placed importance on knowing the 'Other'. The event saw members of the Ismāʿīlī community in attendance and brought individuals from the Muslim *umma* and other faith communities, as well as members of civil society organizations, including scholars, artists, and writers.[1029] The following year, an interesting occurrence took place regarding the *milād* lecture, which raises question about the cosmopolitan spirit associated with the ICT. On January 30, 2016 the ICT held its second *milād* lecture, in conjunction with Emmanuel College of Victoria University, on the topic of Islam's humanistic spirit in conflict resolution. That same day, the Noor Cultural Centre[1030] hosted its own lecture on Divine Love as explained through the writings of *Rūmī*. Although the speakers were different and the subject of their lecture differed, the overall perspectives that were to be disseminated to

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[1026] Aga Khan IV, "Presentation of the Gold Medal by the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada," Ottawa, Ontario, November 27, 2013, *Aga Khan Development Network* website, http://www.akdn.org/speech/his-highness-aga-khan/presentation-gold-medal-royal-architectural-institute-canada (accessed February 15, 2018).

[1027] See discussion above.

[1028] For her bio see Chapter 2, fn. 220.

[1029] Sahir Dewji, Fieldnotes, Toronto, Ontario, January 31, 2015.

[1030] This is an Islamic Cultural Centre in Toronto, Ontario. It is non-denominational space for worship, learning and community outreach events. For more about the Centre see their website: http://www.noorculturalcentre.ca.

the public audience were influenced by the same values found in early Muslim thought.[1031] What is problematic about this occurrence is that it sends a message of competitive nature between these two places, which are down the street from one another, especially since these lectures are intended to reach out to broad audiences. If this may have been a coincidence, one could question why more efficient methods were not put in place for communication and partnership. This is not about placing blame on any one institution; however, this raises a question of responsibility and accountability on the part of the ICT, which prides itself as a Centre that promotes pluralism as an integral characteristic of the Ismāʿīlī institutions and that firmly holds true to Aga Khan IV's vision of partnership and engagement. Whatever the case may have been, such occurrences only undermine Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan vision that is mirrored in the mandate of Ismāʿīlī Centres across the globe.

Figure 9.23: Social hall with silk tapestry backdrop
and ceiling featuring the Boteh design motif
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

I attended another lecture at the ICT, entitled 'Religious Pluralism and Pragmatic Governance' by Shainool Jiwa[1032] of the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies,

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[1031] Sahir Dewji, Fieldnotes, Toronto, Ontario, January 30, 2016.
[1032] Shainool Jiwa is the Head of Constituency Studies at The Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies. Prior to this, she was the Head of the Department of Community Relations from 2005 to 2012. She was also the founding coordinator of the Qurʾānic Studies Project at the IIS from 2002-2005. As a senior faculty member, Dr Jiwa teaches on the IIS graduate programmes (GPISH & STEP) and contributes to the development of the IIS Secondary Curriculum. Jiwa is a specialist in Fāṭimid history, having completed her Master's degree from McGill University and her doctorate from the University of Edinburgh. Her latest monograph is entitled: *The Founder of Cairo: The Fatimid Imam-Caliph Al Muizz and his Era*

presented in partnership with the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. This lecture was open to the public and had a number of attendees from different communities and organizations. There were a number of scholars, given the nature of the lecture and indeed, a good majority of the participants were from the Ismāʿīlī community. The lecture, based on Jiwa's research and publications, focussed on the *Fāṭimid* model of governance as an early example of pluralism that was articulated by a Muslim dynasty, set against a vast territory inhabited by diverse ethnicities and religious communities.[1033] These few examples illustrate, at the very least, the programmatic endeavours of the ICT. What is important for the present discussion is the way in which these examples point to the promotion of a cosmopolitan ethic. As Malik Talib tells me,

> I think that the Centres themselves express a very deep appreciation of this notion of a cosmopolitan ethic in their architecture, in their spaces and through their programming…The programs hosted at the Centre embrace a commitment to a wide spectrum of issues that affect society – whether it's health or poverty alleviation or women in politics or the discovery of new knowledge in space. This kind of programming helps to demonstrate that Muslims, just like other Canadians, have a range of interests and values not a narrow set of self-interested perspectives, as is often portrayed. I believe such initiatives can have a broader impact on the quality of life, not only for the Ismāʿīlī community but for wider society as well. As you might already be aware, some of our members partner with health organizations so that we can work together to understand the causes and treatments of certain diseases, for example. Others work alongside educational organizations so that our experiences and our knowledge for example, from our own Early Childhood Development programs, can benefit others and so that we can in turn learn about best practices from others. We also provide a venue for discussion about critical issues of the day and that's one of the reasons for the establishment of the Centres – as a platform that brings people in and helps us all to seek knowledge and engage in dialogue.[1034]

The ICT building and its programmatic endeavours offer a potential avenue through which to act upon the cosmopolitan ethic. In this sense, the ICT and the various actors charged with ensuring the lived impact of the Centre's mandate carry a responsibility to live up to Aga Khan IV's ideal.

(2013) which compliments an earlier work *Towards a Shiʿi Mediterranean Empire* (2009).
[1033] Sahir Dewji, Fieldnotes, Toronto, Ontario, December 5, 2014.
[1034] Interview with author, via telephone, August 18, 2015.

Back in the foyer of the social hall are a number of aesthetic elements that are worth describing. A medallion rests on the outer wall of the atrium lounge consisting of carefully cut inlays of semi-precious stones. The blue section consists of lapis lazuli (a deep blue metamorphic rock) from central Asia, the stripped section are tiger eye stones from South Africa, the yellow are jasper stones from India, in blue and red also tiger eye stone from South Africa, and a central crystal quartz from Madagascar. The medallion is embedded within a pure white marble from the Thasos island of Greece.[1035] In the center is written 'Allah' (God), in square *kūfic* calligraphy.

Figure 9.24: Medallion made of semi precious stones in the social hall foyer
Credit: Sahir Dewji

The first set of squares placed around the central hexagon bears three names: *Muḥammad*, *'Alī* and Allah. The outer most squares contain five names: *Muḥammad, Alī, Fāṭima, Ḥassan and Ḥusayn* – the *ahl al-bayt,* which connotes the household of the Prophet.[1036] The guide offered an interesting anecdote regarding the wall on which this medallion is placed:[1037] "when the building first opened, this wall was made of plain plaster. A father and son duo (master artisans from Tajikistan) using small tools and chisels, hand carved a beautiful arabesque design on the spot. It took a total of 14 long months, truly a labour of love."[1038]

[1035] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018. Minaz Nanji has also created another medallion with the same materials and consists of the word 'Allah' in the center in square *kūfic* calligraphy, enclosed around the ninety-nine names of Allah.
[1036] See Chapter 3.
[1037] Another medallion (see fn. 48) also rests on similarly designed wall.
[1038] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

Figure 9.25: White plaster wall with arabesque design
by master artesian from Tajikistan
Credit: Hussein Charania

There are three other calligraphic pieces in the social hall foyer created by Karl Schlamminger. One of these pieces is an intricate (aluminum) geometric patterned latticework that appears to the naked eye as a three-dimensional sculpture, however it is actually constructed on a singular plane.[1039] The artist's choice to keep some surfaces polished and others unpolished render this three-dimensional effect. Each surface (polished and dull) intertwines the names of Allah, *Muḥammad*, and *'Alī*.[1040] These names are an explicit reference to the continuation of spiritual guidance passed from Prophethood to Imāmate that is integral to Shī'ism.[1041] "The triad of names thereby highlights the authoritative contextualizing, interpretive role of revelation that 'Ali and, by extension, the Imams play in Nizari Isma'ili doctrine and identity. In addition, the triad of names recalls the three dimensions of interpretation, the exoteric or *zahir* (*Muhammad*), the esoteric or *batin* (*'Ali*), and the inner truth or *haqiqa* (*Allah*)" (Simonowitz 2004, 141). According to the guide, the polished panels allude to signs in nature that clearly point to God; these are manifest signs. The dull surfaces allude to signs that are hidden, that are spiritual, which one has to search for.[1042] "In this resonates a fundamental religious quest: to know the *mysterium tremendum* – 'that

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[1039] This particular piece is framed on each side by two other sculptures by the same artist, made of polished brass and aluminum on steel plate. One the left side the name *Muḥammad* is repeated 24 times and on the right the name *'Alī* is repeated 72 times. Tour Guide, Ismā'īlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

[1040] The triad of names is a feature displayed in all Ismā'īlī Centres.

[1041] See Chapter 3.

[1042] Tour Guide, Ismā'īlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

which is hidden and esoteric, that which is beyond conception or understanding, extraordinary and unfamiliar'"(Karim 2015b, 13).[1043] Indeed, the interplay of *ẓāhir* and *bātin* is displayed through this sculpture and throughout the Centre.[1044]

Figure 9.26: Geometric patter lattice work
by Karl Schlamminger in the social hall foyer. Intertwined with the names of Allah, Muḥammad, and ʿAlī
Credit: Sahir Dewji

East of this space is the foyer of the prayer hall, occupying the eastern half of the building. On one of the main walls of this foyer rests a panel of marquetry (mahogany wooden tiles on Canadian maple wall). Five box-like shaped tiles are configured to illustrate a *kūfic* rendering of the names of the *ahl al-bayt*.[1045]

Figure 9.27: The names of the *ahl al-bayt* in Kufic calligraphy
Credit: © The Ismaili Canada

[1043] Refer to Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy,* trans. John W. Harvery (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), 13.
[1044] Here I am reminded of Qur'ān 57:3, "He is the First and the Last, the Evident and the Hidden."
[1045] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

From here, one walks towards a cloakroom where members of the congregation take off their shoes and coats. It is through this space that one is able to access the prayer hall – the largest space as well as the most private and intimate setting in the Centre. This space, the *jamā'atkhānā* proper is only accessible to Ismā'īlīs who have given their allegiance (*bay'a*) to the Imām (Karim 2015b).[1046] The prayer hall space consists of an anteroom and an inner sanctum. A screen fashioned from ribbons of steel, reminiscent of a *jālī* screen,[1047] serves as an ephemeral divider between the inner prayer hall and the anteroom. The anteroom is a subdued space that is part of the physical prayer hall, but also functions as a transitional area allowing for "increased communal interaction in the proximity of the prayer hall" (Simonowitz 2004, 211). In the center of the anteroom, directly above, is a layered corbelled ceiling made of plaster, with an embedded skylight that allows light straight in. The ceiling's design is an eight-sided figure that rotates and descends twice to create a three-dimensional effect.[1048] The carpeting in the anteroom and throughout the inner prayer hall carries the eight-sided geometric motif discussed earlier. This motif appears throughout the Centre, infusing layers of meaning and providing some sense of unification as well as omnipresence. "Due to the pervasive application of minimalist epigraphy, purely geometric patterns begin to take on the air of calligraphic texts. Covering many surfaces with abstract calligraphy leads the literate observer to look for the sign of the divine in every geometric pattern or form" (Simonowitz 2004, 191).

[1046] Due to the privacy and sanctity of this space, I was not permitted to take photographs during the guided tour.
[1047] A *jālī* is a pierced screen decorated calligraphy and/or geometric patterns. It is used as architectural design throughout South Asia, most often as windows and room dividers.
[1048] Tour Guide, Ismā'īlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

Figure 9.28: Prayer hall anteroom and *muqarnas* ceiling
Credit: © *The.Ismaili* website/ Shai Gil

The *jamāʿatkhānā* space is placed on the most elevated location of the entire site and is circular in form (Karim 2015b). "Although the round form might be considered quite unusual, Charles Correa thus sees it as a reference to the connection of religion to history and the majesty of creation" (Jodidio 2007, 204). The interior walls surrounding the entire prayer hall is made of Canadian maple and embossed with the name of 'Allah' throughout. These are set in straight and vertical arrangements offering a modernist approach to traditional calligraphic design.[1049] A distinct feature of the *jamāʿatkhānā* is the *pāt* (table), which tend to be low rectangular tables behind which office holders and representatives such as the *Mukhī* sit, and are arranged symmetrically throughout the space. At the very front are two lecterns placed in front of the other a few feet from the center of the *qibla* (direction of Mecca).[1050] The *qibla* axis of the *jamāʿatkhānā* is designated by a decorated *miḥrāb* (niche) in the wall.[1051] In this prayer hall, a translucent Onyx marks the *miḥrāb*.[1052] The most striking feature of this space is the crystalline dome with frosted glass. The outer surface of the dome appears flat,

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[1049] "The sacred art of calligraphy aids man to pierce through the veil of material existence so as to be able to gain access to that barakah that resides within the Divine Word and to 'taste' the reality of the spiritual world" (Nasr 1987, 19).

[1050] The rear lectern is taller and the forward lectern is low and requires one to sit or kneel. Each lectern is equipped with a reading lamp and a microphone.

[1051] According to the architect, the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto's physical orientation is determined by its surroundings. However, the prayer hall axis pivots to face Mecca. "This subtle but dramatic shift (clearly articulated in the floor plans and sections) serves to remind us that underlying the pragmatic world of our everyday lives, there exists a more sacred – and profound – geometry" (quoted in Jodidio 2007, 204).

[1052] For a discussion on ritual practices within the *jamātʿkhānā* space refer to Parin Dossa, "Ritual and Daily Life: Transmission and Interpretation of the Ismaili Tradition in Vancouver," PhD diss., (University of British Columbia, 1985), especially, Chapter 3.

while the aesthetic treatment of interior of the dome appears as a diamond generated by fractal geometry (Jodidio 2007). The architect has reinterpreted traditional notions of a dome and by playing with light, colour, and symmetry he has produced a unique glass dome that suffuses the sacred space with an abundance of natural light. The dome is essentially a grand skylight, white in color and translucent in nature.[1053] "[I]ts pyramid-shaped translucent cover lights up for the surrounding region, including the arterial Don Valley Parkway…Outsiders can see the brightly illuminated translucent shell of the pyramidal dome but its inner realm remains invisible and private" (Karim 2015b, 19, 25). The dome reaches a height of twenty-one metres and is constructed from 1,680 pieces of glass that is held together by a structural skeleton of steel. The dome contains five layers of glass (three layers on the outside and two layers inside) with compressed air in between to provide a controlled temperate climate inside the building. This keeps the glare out and also insulates the building against very harsh temperatures.[1054] The interplay of light and shadow, transparent and translucent, as well as the architectural features of the prayer hall all contribute to augmenting a cosmopolitan ethos that is reflected in the attempt to balance the material and the spiritual, the public and the private. The space is meant to invite and invoke a sense of mystery, wherein individual realities are embraced into something greater that transcends space, place, and time. The prayer hall, and one could include the entire ICT, evokes remembrance in the individual; actually it demands it, so that each human being remembers what (s)he already is. "The transcendent and the immanent are One, for God is both the Hidden (*bāṭin*) and the Manifest (*ẓāhir*), the Inward and the Outward" (Said and Funk 2003, 155). The symbolism of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* is continuously unveiled through the physical areas of the building as well as the materials and designs, which ultimately are sustained through the principle of *tawḥīd*.[1055]

[1053] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018. According to Fumihiko Maki, "[t]he metallic roof of the [Museum's] auditorium space will further accentuate the shape and materiality of a precious stone and is intended to establish a formal dialogue with the crystal roof of Correa's Ismaili Centre, adjacent to the Aga Khan Museum. The primary entrance and axis of the AKM is aligned with the Ismaili Centre, which provide a subtle relationship between the two buildings, emphasizing the unity of the complex" (quoted in Jodidio 2008, 55).
[1054] Ibid.
[1055] For an explanation of *tawḥīd* as the underlying principle of Unity that grounds all other Qur'ānic precepts, see Chapter 2.

Figure 9.29: Prayer hall and crystalline dome
Credit: © *The.Ismaili* website/ Shai Gil

Leaving the prayer hall, walking westwards to the ICT atrium, there is a set of stairs leading to the floor above. The second floor is home to administrative offices and a formal boardroom that opens onto a spacious stone terrace with views of the city and park below. Many of the regional boards are based in this space such as the regional Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board (ITREB),[1056] which is concerned with religious matters and education. Part of this department's focus is to foster a greater awareness about key concepts, such as 'cosmopolitan ethic' and 'pluralism,' for the *jamāʿat.*

> ITREB's role is to ensure that the Imām's guidance is understood, to ensure that the Imām's guidance is understood, to ensure that the *jamāʿat* reflects on the Imām's guidance. ITREB can't simply have a monolithic, one-dimensional interpretation. We have to setup fora where there is engagement with the Imām's guidance, and you enable the *murīds* to be able to arrive at a reflective understanding at their own level, which evolves and that's what I mean by ideal; there's an evolution in an individual through his/her life experiences, relationships, education etc…And so what we need to do is for them to have those touch points.[1057]

The most important educational resource for the *jamāʿat* is the actual *farmāns* of the Imām that provide immediate access to these key concepts. The Youth Program

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[1056] For a background on the Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Boards refer to Chapter 6.
[1057] Karim Jiwani, interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015.

Manager with the Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board (ITREB) for Canada, Aleem Karmali[1058] believes "the *jamāʿat* is listening to the *farmāns* and speeches." He further adds, "ITREB ensures that these are read out to the *jamāʿat* and many times we even play the videos of the Imām's speeches where he talks about these concepts. The community is being exposed to these ideals of pluralism and cosmopolitanism, and so I think the language filters down. Whether or not that makes people more pluralistic, I don't know."[1059]

The concepts of the Imām are very much embedded in the community's repertoire and programmatic endeavours, however there still remains a challenge of effective translation. As discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the institutions are heavily involved in taking Aga Khan IV's vision and making it available to the wider public; yet there still remains a difficulty in finding the right vocabulary to translate these ideals into a lived reality within the wider *jamāʿat.* Although the community has come a long way from earlier isolationist mentalities, there are still obstacles to overcome in order to successfully embrace a cosmopolitan ethos. The challenge of sincere engagement with difference rather than celebrating diversity is something the community is still continuing to grapple with. Part of this challenge is also about finding the appropriate tools and platforms by which to better articulate what the terms clearly mean in practice for the community. Words such as 'pluralism' and 'cosmopolitanism' have become buzzwords that get employed almost always by everyone and anyone in the community and institutions. They are able to repeat these words and can quote the Imām's speeches, but have these concepts been appropriated to a point where they have taken on a more meaningful dimension in terms of individual and communal worldview? A follow-up question to this would be: what does it mean to actually embody the cosmopolitan ethic within one's own community and

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[1058] Aleem Karmali is the Youth Program Manager with the Ismāʿīlī Ṭarīqa and Religious Education Board (ITREB) for Canada. His role entails developing religious education curriculum content primarily for Ismāʿīlī Post-Secondary students and Young Adults across Canada, as well as facilitating educational seminars and youth camps. He is also a documentary filmmaker, focusing on making films about Islam and Muslim societies with an aim to addressing misperceptions and negative stereotypes of Islam in the Western media. He completed the Graduate Program in Islamic Studies and Humanities at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies, has an MA in Visual Anthropology from Goldsmiths College, University of London, and a BA in Communication Studies and Sociology from Wilfrid Laurier University.

[1059] Interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015.

with other human beings? Of course, I cannot claim that each and every Canadian

Ismāʿīlī does or does not have an in-depth grasp on some of these ideals articulated by

the Imām. Be that as it may, many individuals I did speak with raised this concern. For

example, Aleem Karmali believes that more thinking needs to take place in regards to

the institution's approach.

> We tend to be a bit top-down. We speak the language really nicely but we don't always actually create spaces of opportunity for people to engage with difference. How often do South Asian, East African and Central Asian members of the *jamāʿat* sit down together and learn from each other; learn from experience? When was the last time a Ugandan refugee, in an institutional program, had the opportunity to sit with an Afghan refugee and discuss their experiences? There are so many possibilities of learning from one another in the *jamāʿat* and I mean we can let it happen naturally within the community, which is fine, and hopefully it does, but what can we do to also facilitate that and create the spaces for those interactions?[1060]

This difficulty is not simply limited to the concepts of the Imām; it also includes a

deeper understanding of the functionality of some of the institutional spaces of the

community. Here I am thinking of the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto and its mandate. Rizwan

Mawani tells me that the Canadian *jamāʿat* is very much enamoured by this building,

its beauty and the sacred dimension associated with it. He further adds,

> I think other than this amazing, beautiful building as a place to pray; most Ismāʿīlīs don't necessarily see it beyond that. I think the larger mandated vision may be initially lost to them. And this will take some time to do. We're very good at communicating this to wider leadership, to wider publics, to a wider society, where I don't think we've been very good at communicating the ideas is to the *jamāʿat* itself. So I think this will need to be worked on. But I think they're very proud of the centre, they're happy that it's here. It really for them is recognition that they've arrived and that they contribute to Canadian society and that they have a presence here.[1061]

What ITREB is faced with it is long term, meaningful impact because the very nature

of their task is not limited to simple cognitive objectives. "Most of our objectives are in

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[1060] Interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015. It is worth noting that some of the Ismāʿīlī Centre lectures – especially in London, UK – have pushing this more recently.
[1061] Rizwan Mawani, interview with author, at his home, Toronto, Ontario January 9, 2015.

the affective domain; Attitudinal" says Karim Jiwani of ITREB Canada,[1062] "and you

will know as an academic in the social sciences that measuring attitudinal changes let

alone faith related is something that is a humungous challenge."[1063] In a classroom

setting where the same participant has a certain number of contact hours, one hopes

there is more ability for attitudinal development.[1064] But even in this scenario, there are

other variables that affect the student's development outside the classroom. It is

difficult to provide an impact assessment in regards to value shifts among the

community, let alone students who attend religious education.

> [ITREB] does not have the tools to find a longitudinal medium through which to
> measure the impacts of values, ethics on individual lives. This is the biggest
> challenge: to show impact in some of our domains. ITREB can be a conduit, a
> touch point, and a resource on one's journey. But the individual, whether (s)he
> is living the value of cosmopolitanism, ITREB has very little influence or way
> of measuring it. And there's even more variables outside the *jamāʿatkhānā*
> engagement to account for.[1065]

This tension is almost impossible to do away with. The institutional bodies can only

offer resources to enable the individuals and communities to learn about the concepts

such as the cosmopolitan ethic. This is perhaps where the role of the Imām and his

position to the community becomes increasingly important. His words and perspectives

on topics such as ethics, pluralism, education etc., hold value in the hearts of his

murīds, one hopes. The values articulated by Aga Khan IV are then regurgitated

through the different programs, serving as medium to remind and hopefully amplify the

significance of the Imām's vision for his community.

[1062] Karim Jiwani has been working professionally with ITREB Canada for more than two decades. He is currently the team leader for Over 18 Religious Education & Engagement Team which involves academic oversight of programs targeted to the Post-Secondary & and Young Adults segments, national structured education programs such as the Foundations of Faith Program and training and orientation of critical Human Resources. Jiwani has a Masters of Education (M.A) degree from the University of London and completed Masters level courses in Islamic Studies at McGill University. He is also a graduate of the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies and has authored curriculum materials and articles for the IIS and has been a faculty member for their International training programs.

[1063] Interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015.

[1064] In the case of programming such as, seminars and lectures that are limited in time and where no real follow-up exists, there is no way of evaluating whether the concepts and ideals presented in that moment will be implemented in the participant's lived experience.

[1065] Karim Jiwani, interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015.

Outside the second floor offices and before one reaches the boardroom, there is a small comfortable seating area adorned with some more calligraphic paintings. Calligraphy as noted earlier is an important artistic expression "written by human hands" and "practiced consciously as a human emulation of the Divine Act" (Nasr 1987, 26).[1066] It helps to bridge the imagination of the visible world with the invisible Reality. One could argue that presence of these works of art even on the administrative floor act as subtle reminders that there is no need to fear the metaphysical. It is a reminder that the sacred need not be forgotten in the midst of the profane. From this transitional space, one is able to access the double doors that open the Council chambers. The formal boardroom is the official meeting space of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada, which oversees the governance and affairs of the Canadian Ismāʿīlī Community.[1067] The walls are white and the front wall is decorated with wooden paneling, which bears the Imām's crest, representing the office of Imāmate and its legitimate authority. Natural light illuminates this space through a skylight supported by tension bars.[1068] A set of doors within the chambers opens up to an adjacent terrace. It is made in two sections: the smaller section on the left is for more intimate gatherings and the larger section on the right over looking the Aga Khan Park. These sections are separated by large doors in the center of the terrace space made from a North American cherry tree. The floor of the terrace is composed of a stone called Kashmir gold from Southern India.[1069]

[1066] "Calligraphy derives its prestige from the Quran itself. Although the Arabic script existed in pre-Islamic times, it became a highly developed art form over a period of centuries in both sacred and secular contexts. As the vehicle for the word of God, Arabic script was employed in Qurans to permit the contemplation of divine beauty, and this formed the basis for a calligraphic aesthetic in multiple styles that extended in all languages that used the Arabic script (Persian, Turkish, Urdu). The messages conveyed by the texts spelled out in Arabic script were also vital to the meaning of the buildings they adorned." Carl W. Ernst, "Spiritual Life," in *A Companion to Muslim Cultures,* ed. Amyn B. Sajoo (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 57-75, quote at 69-70.

[1067] More information on the function of the National Councils of the Ismāʿīlī community see Chapter 6. For some background specific to the Council for Canada see Chapter 7.

[1068] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

[1069] Ibid.

Figure 9.30: Council chambers
the official meeting space of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada
Credit: Sahir Dewji

Aga Khan Park (AKP)[1070]

In Islam responsibility to nature is entrusted upon mankind through the *khalīfa* ideal,[1071] which entrusts human beings with the responsibility of safeguarding God's creation. This concept grounds the human relationship to the natural world.[1072] Nature is considered sacred and all natural phenomena are understood as Divine signs.

> Nature is not only a physical domain, a source of power and resource. It is above all the abode of spiritual presence and source for the understanding and contemplation of divine wisdom. We need nature not only to feed and shelter

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[1070] Canada will also be receiving a Mughal-style garden. The Aga Khan garden is set to open to the public in July 2018 at the University of Alberta's Botanic Garden. The Aga Khan garden is considered as a gift by Aga Khan IV to commemorate Canada's 150th anniversary of Confederation. The announcement of the creation of this garden on April 7, 2017 also coincided with the signing of a renewed Memorandum of Understanding that would ensure further collaboration between the University of Alberta and the Aga Khan University in Karachi, Pakistan. The first Memorandum of Understanding between the two universities was signed in 2006 and expanded in 2009 when Aga Khan IV received an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from the University of Alberta. See Danisha Bhaloo, "A new Islamic garden in Canada: A Reflection of Culture, Openness and Bridging together," *The Ismaili Canada* (Summer 2017): 9-11.

[1071] Refer to Chapter 6 where I discuss this ideal in relation to the built environment.

[1072] "Islam does not oppose nature to spirit or heaven to earth, because all created things are by definition *muslim*, in the sense that they live in submission to God…While human beings share with nonhuman creations in the common condition of submission, they are also endowed with special privilieges and responsibilities which reflect their actual capacities. The human being is challenged to perform the role of *khalīfa*, or vicegerent. They vicegerent of God fulfills *amāna*, the covenant, the primordial bond of trust and recognition with the Creator. The earth and its resources are placed in the care of human beings as custodians for their preservation, development, and enhancement." Abdul Aziz Said and Nathan C. Funk, "Peace in Islam: An Ecology of the Spirit," in *Islam and Ecology: A Bestowed Trust,* eds. Richard C. Foltz, Frederick M Denny and Azizan Baharuddin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 155-183, quote at 162.

our bodies, but also to nurture our souls, for nature complements the Quran itself as revelation (Nasr 2010, 81).

From this perspective, the natural environment is a mirror of heavenly perfection, which is connected to architecture and space wherein the constructed environment is conceived through a dynamic relationship between humans and place; humans are reflected in a particular space and this space is reflected in the human being. One notices symbols of nature in all iconic Muslim buildings, such as trees, flowers, plants and water. Islamic landscape and Islamic architecture cannot be thought of as independent, they exist through a dialectic relationship.

> The contemporary landscape contains, in more or less evident form, all traces of its evolution. It is constantly transformed according to new necessities, but at each stage the preceding stages are never completely erased. Thus, the landscape is palimpsest – a complete database of civilization. It represents human intervention on a large scale, while containing within it all changes occurring on the small scale as well. Any discourse on landscape simultaneously implies and includes a discourse on architecture (Petruccioli 2003, 499).

The whole area, on which the ICT is built, has a very interesting concentration of cultural assets catering to the spiritual world represented by the prayer hall, the artistic world represented by the AKM and the natural world represented by the Park; this is a rare occurrence in an urban setting.[1073] According to George Stockton[1074]

> The kind of human and cultural aspects along with the environmental aspects are totally intertwined and he [Aga Khan IV] is one of the first people of real significance to have articulated that in a very public way. There are powerful connections between all the elements that make up this site. For instance, there is a very nice garden that actually relates to the interior of the prayer space. I think there's a sequence, a series of running relationships all the way around the complex.[1075]

[1073] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

[1074] George Stockton is a landscape architect and Director of Moriyama & Teshima Planners Limited. Stockton's landscaping projects include university and corporate campuses and a major green roof for the new Canadian War Museum in Ottawa. He and his team worked closely with Vladimir Djurovic on the Aga Khan Park in Toronto, Ontario. The architectural firm Moriyama and Teshima Planners is the architect of record for the project, working closely with the chosen design architects of the different projects at the Wynford Drive site.

[1075] Interview with author, Toronto, Ontario, February 17, 2015.

Figure 9.31: The Aga Khan Park with view of the Ismāʿīlī Centre
Credit: Hussein Charania

The AKP is a meditative and serene environment where worldly contemplation meets spiritual reflection. It is a place of interaction in which visitors can connect, talk, and reflect. This place of connectivity "creates a sense of continuity between the two very different man-made structures of the complex" (Thawer 2010, 62). The AKP was inaugurated on May 25, 2015[1076] and was attended by Premier of Ontario Kathleen Wynn, Aga Khan IV and other government officials, including leaders of the Imāmate and *jamāʿatī* institutions. Also in attendance were Prince Amyn Aga Khan, former Governor General of Canada Adrienne Clarkson and other members of Aga Khan IV's family (Alimohamed 2015). At the AKP's inauguration, Aga Khan IV said,

> The Park and its Gardens can serve as a symbol of "connection" in other ways as well. Among them are rich connections across time linking us to the past. The Garden has for many centuries served as a central element in Muslim culture. The Holy Qur'an, itself, portrays the Garden as a central symbol of a spiritual ideal – a place where human creativity and Divine majesty are fused, where the ingenuity of humanity and the beauty of nature are productively connected. Gardens are a place where the ephemeral meets the eternal, and where the eternal meets the hand of man… And, of course, the Garden of ancient tradition, like the Garden here today, is a place where – whatever difficult moments may come our way – we can always find, in the flow of refreshing water, a reminder of Divine blessing. As we walk through this place we can feel a deep sense of connection with those who walked through similar

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[1076] On this day, Aga Khan IV and the Premier of Ontario also signed an Agreement of Cooperation. This Agreement supports further collaborations between Ontario and the Imāmate institutions on projects pertaining to the promotion of pluralism, diversity and socio-economic advancement (Alimohamed 2015).

gardens centuries ago. And, by renewing our connection with the past, we can also connect more effectively with one another – and, indeed, with those who will walk these paths in the future (2015b)

Gardens are an important feature of Islamic landscape understood as vibrant social spaces carrying practical and recreational functions (these are more or less apparent) as well as symbolic purposes. In respect to the later, Islamic gardens are considered as man-made manifestations of paradise gardens of the Qur'ān (Keshani 2012).[1077] The AKP incorporates the Persian *chahārbāgh* (four [part] garden) – a four quartered garden divided by interesting paths, usually water channels (Keshani 2012; Simonowitz 2004). This particular type of design can actually be traced back to pre-Islamic Persia, which was then transported to Central Asia and South Asia under Muslim rule. In fact, the *chahārbāgh* became a favourite of the Mughal dynasty.[1078]

The AKP is designed by Lebanese landscape architect Vladimir Djurovic,[1079] who intended to create a park that captured elements of traditional gardens while embracing the Canadian landscape.[1080] According to Djurovic,

> Our vision for the project is one that captures the essence of the Islamic garden and translates it into an expression that reflects its context and contemporary age. Embracing the five senses as the means to reach the soul, every space and every garden are imbued wit the delicate sensations that we seem to have lost in this fast-paced era. The ephemeral and the eternal are both essential to our composition of spaces. Shadows, light, petals, leaves and water in motion are contemplated by the solidarity and purity of created forms. All is not at once apparent; the garden reveals itself slowly to the visitor, who experiences hidden aspects with serendipity" (quoted in Jodidio 2008, 83 and 86).

[1077] The Qur'ān contains 166 references to gardens that fall under three categories: gardens of creation, gardens of the afterlife, and gardens of this world. See James L. Wescoat, Jr. "From the Gardens of the Qur'an to the 'Gardens' of Lahore," in *Islam and Ecology: A Bestowed Trust,* eds. Richard C. Foltz, Frederick M Denny and Azizan Baharuddin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 511-526, reference at 512-513.

[1078] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018. For a brief history of the Mughals refer to Chapter 5.

[1079] Vladimir Djurovic is a landscape architect based in Lebanon, Beirut. He was born to a Serbian father and a Lebanese mother. He received his Master's degree in Landscape Architecture from the University of Georgia in 1992 and launched his own Beirut-based firm in 1995. Djurovic won an international competition that landed him the task of designing the Aga Khan Park. One of his works, the Samir Kassir Square in Beirut received the Aga Khan Award for Architecture in 2007.

[1080] It is worth noting that, Djurovic was asked by Aga Khan IV to visit the Muslim world's formidable gardens, of which the gardens of Humayun's Tomb and the Taj Mahal had a lasting impression on him (Jodidio 2007).

Indeed, the Park caters to all of the fives senses of the human body. Beautiful colours of the garden activate the sense of sight. The sense of hearing comes from the sound of flowing waters, while the lavender that is grown all around the Park augments the sense of smell. The sense of taste is symbolically connected to the serviceberry trees from Saskatchewan, which provides berries that one can actually eat. Even one's sense of feel comes through one's footsteps on the pebbles that surround the water pools.[1081] Four infinity pools, which serve as structural elements, separate the *chahārbāgh* garden enhancing the symmetry of the entire space. A fifth pool, referred to as the 'water reflecting mirror' is located in the center and –as its names implies – functions as a mirror upon which the AKM is reflected as well as the ICT, depending on which side one views the reflection. These pools are special because they are lined by absolute black limestone from China, which provides the maximum contrast in terms of reflection, anchoring the two light buildings on each side.[1082] Here again, geometry plays an important role in the garden layout and instilling a sense of natural mystery. "The effect is much like a Persian carpet – intersecting shapes and repeating patterns travel in all directions, into the distance, evoking the infinity of the divine and of His creation" (Nathu 2014b, 27).

[1081] Tour Guide, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, January 17, 2018.

[1082] Ibid. An interesting fact: the height of the pools is exactly 190 millimetres. The story of how it came to be was recounted by the tour guide. He noted that Aga Khan IV kept visiting the site while under construction and one of the concerns that came up was around how high to make the waterfall level. So the architects and planners showed Aga Khan IV different types of projections on how it would look. And then he asks his brother, Prince Amyn Aga Khan, to come outside. The two brothers spoke among themselves, and then joined the rest of the team a few minutes later. Aga Khan IV informs the team that the height should be '190 millimeters'. He then laughed and said, 'people are going to ask you why? When they do, tell them the Imām said that.'

Figure 9.32: Infinity pools with a view of the Ismāʿīlī Centre in the distance
Credit: Hussein Charania

Institutions of the Imāmate: Revisiting Civil Society and Religion

In Chapter 5, I argued how Aga Khan IV, Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs employs a two-fold discursive approach to engage with the wider public. Engagement with public life is intertwined with the practice of the faith and is encouraged by Aga Khan IV. Over time the Ismāʿīlīs under the leadership of their Imāms have reformulated their relationship to modernity while still upholding sacred values of their tradition. Building on the thought of Aga Khan III and Aga Khan IV, I went on to describe in Chapter 6 how the institutional processes set forth by Aga Khan III enabled the Ismāʿīlīs to develop structured spaces for the governance of religious and social affairs. Indeed, the institutionalization of the community provided a structure and medium by which to better address religious and civil issues and to partner with governments and civil society organizations (Hirji 2011; Karim 2015a). Taking into consideration the above, I contend that the Ismāʿīlī community, together with the institutions of the Imāmate, is positioned to function as a public religion.

William R. Dickson's[1083] article "An American Sufism: The Naqshbandi-Haqqani Order as a Public Religion" (2014) uses José Casanova's theory of public religion to asses how a particular Ṣūfī order participates in American society as a public

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[1083] William Rory Dickson is a Visiting Assistant Professor of Islamic Religion and Culture at the University of Winnipeg. His research focuses both on lived Islam in North American contexts and on mystical elements of the Islamic intellectual tradition. Dickson has published articles in the *Journal of Contemporary Islam* and *Studies in Religion*. He has also published a monograph entitled *Living Sufism in North America between Tradition and Transformation* (2015).

religion. Dickson's application of Casanova's theory to his group of interest is useful in examining the Ismāʿīlī community's public profile in the Canadian context.[1084] One of the conditions for a religious community to be able to participate in the public sphere is its inherent experience and interpretation of public life (Casanova 1994; Dickson 2014). "Only those religions which either by doctrine or by cultural tradition have a public, communal identity will want to assume public roles and resist the pressure to become solely or even primarily private 'invisible' religions of individual salvation…this tendency will be the more pronounced the more such religions have a historical tradition of assuming prominent public roles" (Casanova 1994, 224). Similar to the Naqshbandīs described by Dickson, the Ismāʿīlīs exude through their historical experiences and theological interpretation a unique involvement in public life. Looking back to the Fāṭimids,[1085] for example, the Ismāʿīlī Imāms were both caliph and Imāms exemplifying their involvement in both worldly and religious affairs. This balance continued with the succession of Imāms to this day with Aga Khan IV who expresses the function of his office of Imāmate in terms of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*. Another historical example is seen through the re-emergence of the Imāms in the political scene and close ties with Qājār dynasty and the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfī order beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century.[1086] These socio-political roles continued with the Aga Khan Imāms in South Asia and became even more pronounced under Aga Khan III. He held prominent positions in public fields and was instrumental in social reform movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, affecting Muslims in the Indian Subcontinent. He contributed to Muslim causes such as socio-economic advancement and education in order to raise the intellectual and moral standards of the Muslim *umma*.[1087]

[1084] Another usefulness of Casanova's framework (1994) is his mapping of the Catholic experience in America and its evolution into a public religion from the 19th century onwards. Casanova illustrates how Catholicism's evolution into a public religion in the context of America is the result of processes that include migration, religious identity (ascribed and avowed), as well as citizenship. This evolutionary cycle is also true of the Ismāʿīlī community in Canada who has experienced, to some degree, a similar process. Perhaps one limitation to this model is the sheer fact that Ismāʿīlīs and other Muslim communities for the most part constitute a visible minority, and most of all Catholics did not have to endure an experience comparable to what happened with 9/11 and its aftermath. Taking this into consideration and the current state of affairs, one is compelled to ask whether Muslims are, today, in a different stage of Casanova's trajectory or whether it is a completely different scenario.
[1085] See Chapter 3.
[1086] See Chapter 3.
[1087] See Chapter 4.

More importantly the Ismāʿīlī worldview, influenced by an ethos of openness and fluidity, lends itself to an appreciation of religious pluralism that serves as an important requisite to participate in modern democratic societies according to Casanova (1994). Dickson argues that the Naqshbandī order "has developed a more pluralistic ethos than other Muslim groups" which "undoubtedly aids its venture into American public life" (2014, 416).[1088] I agree with Dickson that religious pluralism is an important basis to assume a public role. In fact, Ismāʿīlī experiences as well as the interpretation of the Imāms serve as resources for acting on pluralism and for living a cosmopolitan ethic. As I have demonstrated, the Imāms of the Ismāʿīlīs cultivated a high regard for learning and pragmatic governance beginning with the Fāṭimids. Their reign highlighted a pluralist ethos that upheld ideals of inclusivity, cross-cultural and religious engagement, and religious freedom.[1089] In addition, the current articulations of Ismāʿīlī thought expressed by Aga Khan IV point to an engagement with Islamic mysticism and philosophy as wells as the inherited tradition of *adab* and *akhlāq*.[1090] Apart from the rich intellectual tradition of the Ismāʿīlīs, their flexibility to adapt to the different contexts in which they emerged also contributed to the community's predisposition to pluralism. This factor is connected to another requisite of Casanova that facilitates religious communities to take on an active role in public life. He states, "[u]nder conditions of globalization religions will tend to assume public roles whenever their identity as universal transsocial religions is reinforced by their actual situation as transnational religious regimes" (Casanova 1994, 225). In the case of the Ismāʿīlīs, one finds throughout history an effort to engage with universal ideals (secular and religious) and to translate them into the vernacular, whether it was North Africa, Iran, India and East Africa. This process of convergence with the positive values of local societies in which the Ismāʿīlīs reside continues to this day as in the case of Canada.[1091] This is

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[1088] I disagree with Dickson's position on the Naqshbandīs as the foremost Muslim group that has developed "a more pluralistic ethos." As I have demonstrated in earlier chapters, the Ismāʿīlīs have had to adopt a cosmopolitan ethos beginning with the Fāṭimids that allowed them to formulate a pluralistic worldview in their interpretation of Islam and in their practical affairs. More importantly, the public role of Aga Khan IV in promoting pluralism is unparalleled in comparison to other Muslim religious figures.
[1089] See Chapter 3.
[1090] See Chapter 5; also refer to the thought of Aga Khan III in Chapter 4. For the convergence of Ṣūfī and Ismāʿīlī mystical thought see Chapter 3.
[1091] For a history of Ismāʿīlī settlement and institutional development in Canada refer to Chapter 7.

further exemplified through Aga Khan IV's interest in coalescing around the pursuit of 'the common good', which manifest through the personal endeavors of the community and their institutions. As Casanova proposes,

> [T]ransnational religions are in a particularly advantageous position to remind all individuals and all societies that under modern conditions of globalization, the 'common good' can increasingly be defined only in global, universal human terms, and that consequently, the public sphere of modern civil societies cannot have national or state boundaries… As long as they respect the ultimate right and duty of the individual conscience to make moral decisions, religions, by binging into the public sphere issues that liberal theories have decreed to be private affairs, remind individuals and modern societies that morality can only exist as an intersubjective normative structure and individual choices only attain a 'moral' dimension when they are guided or informed by intersubjective, interpersonal norms. Reduced to the private sphere of the individual self, morality must dissolve necessarily into arbitrary decisionism (Casanova 2001, 1049-1050).

Aga Khan IV and his institutions have taken on a public role to disseminate knowledge about Islam that is too often misunderstood, via the various partnerships and activities offered by the institutions in the public sphere.[1092] This last factor is interconnected to another of Casanova's points, wherein religions participate in civil society through organizations that offer social services in the areas of education, health and welfare (1994; 2003).

Historically, Muslim societies had a host of what are understood as civil society organizations. As discussed in Chapter 6, several Muslim organizations "are involved in civil pursuits that range from addressing mundane community needs to problems affecting all of humanity" (Karim 2014b, 105). One particular example is the Muslim civil society institution known as the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN), which is a group of agencies created, by Aga Khan IV in the early twentieth century, to improve the quality of life across the globe and that are inspired by religious tenets of service and social justice. "AKDN and Ismaili *jamati* institutions seek to emulate the progressive values of civil society in providing support for healthy societal development, they have also produced in Ismailis a sense of cosmopolitanism and

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[1092] See this chapter as well as Chapter 8.

global citizenship" (Karim 2015a, 256).[1093] Other affiliated institutions such as the Aga Khan Museum (AKM), the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT), and even the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP), situated in Canada, are important contributors to Canadian civil society albeit in different capacities. "These civil society institutions, each nuanced differently, have a cross cutting theme. Apart from their specific mandates, there is a broad aspiration to foster dialogue between diverse communities and ultimately fostering pluralism through the cosmopolitan."[1094]

The institutions explored in this chapter and the last appeal to cosmopolitan sensibilities of caring, affiliation, encounter, engagement and dialogue – to name but a few. The cosmopolitan ethic that resonates with the purpose of these institutions further facilitates their place in the public sphere.

> Each one of these centres is focused towards human development whether it is looking after the care of human beings, in terms of their healthcare, or looking after their educational development, social development, or development. Essentially these centres now become beacons; they become beacons of what it is possible to do in broader human society, not just under the Imāmate but also in broader human society where we celebrate our common humanity.[1095]

As such, the cosmopolitan ethic serves as an important value for theses institutions because the underlying premise is engagement through understanding and service. However, meaningful cosmopolitanism does not emerge from the institutions themselves, as I have previously explained. It is through hard work and creativity that takes place within the buildings that harbour the potential to bring people together, to converse and share experiences; to learn from one another.

> [These institutions] are beacons, they are like lights on a landscape, but they need nurturing and that's important. They cannot exist intact without any sense of what they represent and constant work. In fact, there's a Hiedeggerian notion that applies here. He talks about this idea of temple work: a temple only exists through the people's acknowledgement and use of it. This temple work, the constant re-visitation of the temple reinforces its identity as such but if people stop going that it befalls into ruin and I think that's exactly what it is. So these

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[1093] For more on the functionality of the AKDN and its contribution to Ismāʿīlī cosmopolitan identity see Chapter 6.

[1094] Karim Jiwani, interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015.

[1095] Nurdin Dhanani, interview with author, Vancouver, British Columbia, February 26, 2015.

buildings and this network; this consolidation has to happen in a way that is, relevant for the present and the future. [1096]

The buildings themselves also symbolize a sense of identity for the Ismāʿīlī community as Muslims and Canadians. As Ismāʿīlīs look at these places, they are able to reflect on the ways in which their religious world integrates nature, spirituality, and beauty. The institutional buildings and the AKP on Wynford Drive act as a mirror, in some way, reflecting what the Ismāʿīlīs represent but also projecting back onto the community to help enrich its understanding of who they are what they aspire to be. [1097] The GCP and AKM can be seen as the primary places of producing 'Canadianess,' which is part and partial of their institutional mandate. On the other hand, the ICT and AKP serve as alternative spaces that are community oriented within which to foster connectivity and contemplation as well as enriching one's own self-understanding.

What is most striking about this discussion of 'public religion,' in the present context, is the dimension of seclusion and publicness expressed by the two prominent institutions on Wynford Drive (AKM and ICT). Together the AKM and ICT herald a greater engagement in the Canadian public sphere, but one of them by its very nature is a place of public culture whilst the other is a community's private sanctum with aims of interfacing with the public (Karim 2013; 2015b). When it comes to the latter, the Ismāʿīlī community is almost caught in a conundrum:[1098] a traditionally private space is also conceived of as a platform for public engagement.

> The Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto was created within the expressed mission for this happen. And so in this sense you do have a kind of cosmopolitanism that is asserted in its very mandate. But this is the irony of the space. Ismāʿīlīs still struggle and grapple with why their space is private, why Muslims, of other communities and interpretations to not have access to their spaces during prayer times. And yet Ismāʿīlīs, as a community, situate and promote the Centre as a

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[1096] Zulfikar Hirji, interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario, February 3, 2015.
[1097] Tasnim Dharamsi, interview with author, via telephone, April 30, 2015.
[1098] As noted previously in this chapter, photography is not permitted in the ICT prayer hall. I put in a request for official photographs, approved by the Council and utilized by the Ismāʿīlī magazine. Unfortunately, I was not given access to these images. This is interesting since these photographs, by virtue of being published in the magazine is already in public domain. Some of the images of the prayer hall are also available on the community's official webpage (The.Ismaili) to view by virtually anyone who has Internet access. The images are also available on the architect of record's website, which I have used in this chapter. This raises important questions about the private-public divide and the contradicting views around this topic, especially in relation to the scenario I have just described.

space for public encounter. And so you have these two tensions encapsulated within the space.[1099]

To be sure, the ICT has an unprecedented outward visibility in the city of Toronto, yet internally it houses an inner sanctum that is only accessible by the *murīds* of the Imām, who guides them towards the *bāṭin* truths. But does this result in a paradox? Esoteric discourse and interpretation have historically been attached to private circles.[1100] Esoteric thought in the Ismāʿīlī tradition is not different and is shared with only those who have been invited into the Ismāʿīlī *ṭarīqa* (Karim 2013; 2015b). Ismāʿīlī spaces and other private Muslim spaces, such as the *khānqāh* (Persian) or *zāwiyah* (Arabic), specifically used by Ṣūfī brotherhoods, have always coexisted harmoniously with other public spaces in the Muslim world. In this sense, the ICT is designed with the same spirit offering both private and public dimensions for both particular and broad audiences. This reciprocity of *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* is reflected in Aga Khan IV's public articulations, which embody principles and ideals that are valued amongst his adherents. These universal principles that are derived from the *bāṭin* are expressed and communicated through Aga Khan IV's discourse of cosmopolitan ethics that appeal to broader human interests that reflective of the inner spirit of the Ismāʾīlī faith. The narratives of secular and religious ethics converge on issues of belonging, identity, solidarity, coexistence and peace – to name but a few – which take shape through the paradigm of a cosmopolitan ethic. Moreover, "the Imam appears to be engaging in a symbolic discourse through the media of design and architecture to express exoteric and esoteric concepts publicly" (Karim 2015b, 25). Without a doubt, this is the public face of the religion that sees expression through shared discourses and cross-cultural endeavours. I would also argue that Ismāʿīlī tradition itself carries both the public element of its religious faith and the very private element. There is a divide between

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[1099] Rizwan Mawani, interview with author, at his home, Toronto, Ontario, January 9, 2015.

[1100] Jacques Derrida has also noted the importance of the private nature of certain religious communication. "Referring to Judaic and Islamic views, Derrida emphasized that spiritual secrets are not for public display. Adherents' religious lives are to be private: communications received in religious sessions are not for broadcast in the public sphere" (Karim 2015b, 21). See also Jacques Derrida, "Above all, no journalists!" in *Religion and Media,* eds. Hent de Vries and Samuel Weber (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 56-93. It seems that only spiritual secrets (esoteric truths) are confined to the private sphere. This would imply that there is room for another form of discourse that is expressible in the public that may carry religious undertones. Would this be the place of universal precepts and ethical mores and practices captured in the discourse of cosmopolitan ethics?

these elements that must always be reconciled. So does this result in a paradox? Perhaps this is just another layer of *ẓāhir/bāṭīn* and public/private and universal/particular that must be consciously navigated since in the natural world there is no sense of concrete borders, just infinite realities.

Conclusion

The dual understanding of public and private bears on the relationship of *ẓāhir and bāṭin,* which manifests in inclusion and exclusion. "Frequent contact between various places of communal settlement and institutions reinforces the web of ties, with *jamatkhanas* and other Ismaili buildings becoming vital nodes in the community's spatial imaginaries" (Karim 2013, 164). The cases of the AKM and ICT problematize the duality of space that appears to be symbolic of spiritual landscape while also offering outreach to the wider public. Accordingly, it is more fruitful to approach this duality from two angles: 1) the overall site – a bird's eye view of the juxtaposed buildings and 2) the inner realms of public and private within each building. Such spatial arrangements point to a merging of the sacred and the profane, and yet a closer examination will demonstrate a mutual relation between the two without forsaking each other's spatial distinctness. However, the distinct characteristic of the sacred is only produced through ritual practices enacted by those who seek to invoke the Divine within the confines of place, space and time.

In placing the ICT and AKM across from one another, connected by nature (AKP), is Aga Khan IV trying to reorient our perceptions of the sacred and the profane? It is telling that the ICT, which houses the most private spaces of the Ismāʿīlī community, is nearby the AKM, which is the most public of places. These places need not be read as mutually exclusive; rather there is much to be said about the relationship that is harnessed. Is it not more beneficial to see these two sites as reinforcing the other? If one only looks at the way things appear to be, then one's perception of what is real is overlooked.

Leaving aside the nature and functionality of these spaces, one cannot forget the role of the individual (the user) who creates her own experience in these places. A case in point is the AKM. In whatever manner the space has been conceived of, ultimately

each visitor is able to experience something sacred or otherwise, based on their interaction and connection to the actual place and the contents within it. I would thus argue that these sites are not only cosmopolitan places but also express the cosmopolitan ethic. Moreover, the architectural rendering of these places tries to capture the cosmopolitan ethos, which manifests in the geometric designs and configuration. The architectural design of the AKM, for instance, pursues the cosmopolitan ethos – taking into consideration the visitor's experience, local and global ideas, unique programming and plural resources. The building and its spaces illustrate the value of connectivity while welcoming encounters of infinite beauty and inspiration. For each visible characteristic, there is a pull towards the idea of the hidden – something that appeals to more than just the sense of sight. If one takes the cosmopolitan ethos as a way of life, then this ethos is about transcending differences. It really is about recognizing that which is beyond one's limited perceptions of reality.

As I have tried to showcase, each place and its spatial arrangement, as well as the programing that takes shape within the spaces, are conceived of in a manner that balances the particular and the universal. They cater to individual experiences but also help to engage the individual on a more comprehensive level that elicits ideas of identity, solidarity, and belonging. "If future generations see this as a space where they can connect and have a dialogue, then that imprint will remain. So right now is the time to imprint those memories."[1101] Of course, the cosmopolitan spirit that is demanded by these places may be difficult to keep alive.[1102] As Zulfikar Hirji explains,

> It is important to use this space in the fullest way and not to imprint memories of alienation that would be hard to shift. So that's going to be very crucial. I think that that is going to be a very hard and difficult road to chart. I don't think it's an easy thing but it is an ideal worth striving for.[1103]

In ensuring a cosmopolitan ethos within these spaces, listening to competing narratives is essential. The mandate of the ICT, for example, secures a space for healthy dialogue and inherent in such an activity are conversations between people you may not always

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[1101] Zulfikar Hirji, interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario February 3, 2015.
[1102] Here I am thinking of discourses of power and order that come with the practice of space, wherein certain directives that arise from bureaucratic management stifle the growth of a cosmopolitan spirit.
[1103] Interview with author, Ismāʿīlī Centre, Toronto, Ontario February 3, 2015.

agree with. Conversations that only articulate one narrative (one that the ICT promotes) are not a dialogue; more importantly this is not reflective of the cosmopolitan spirit that invites engagement with difference in all its manifestations. Here I recall my own struggle with overly restrictive protocols around who is given opportunities to speak at the ICT. As a Ph.D. student who wanted to present on my current research on the cosmopolitan ethic as articulated by Aga Khan IV, I was funneled through a number of individuals who were unable to decipher whether such a presentation would be appropriate to host at the ICT. After months of email exchanges, I was given an opportunity to speak with the current President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Ontario. Of course, I was refused for several reasons, some of which included: 1) a fear that I may misinterpret the faith, and 2) the ICT's inability to approve my work without having the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies vetting my entire dissertation. Instead of providing an enabling environment for a healthy dialogue, the decision was made to forgo an opportunity for the community and its space to demonstrate its commitment to the cosmopolitan ethos.

It is unfortunate that often times these spaces only serve the purpose of disseminating the ideas of a certain elite – promoting a very institutionalized discourse that is sanitized. There is a tendency to not present the negative side of things. Aleem Karmali wonders if there will be an opportunity for the institutions to experiment with debates on current issues that may touch on important but difficult issues. He asks, "is there a possibility to hold a debate where, for example, we brought in individuals like the editor of the Globe and Mail, the editor of a right wing magazine, and perhaps an ethicist to debate the issues facing Muslims in the West – like the Charlie Hebdo controversy in Paris? Is it possible to have a public forum where we are facilitating engagement and dialogue around important current events?[1104] This question showcases the possibilities of 'thinking outside the box;' of finding creative ways to make the most of an environment that is mandated to act on its promise of pluralism. Perhaps there is merit in using this space as a launch pad, where the community can experiment and sort of incubate solutions to problems and concerns (societal and otherwise) in partnership with other communities. In order to herald a cosmopolitan ethic, more

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[1104] Interview with author, Edmonton, Alberta, March 12, 2015.

innovative and collaborative efforts will need to be put in place, which will allow for more room to negotiate between institutional hegemony and community aspirations. This has to happen in a way that is meaningful for people who use these spaces, and it has to happen in a way that does not alienate people in order that these spaces and those who use them remain true to the values of pluralism and a cosmopolitan ethic.

CONCLUSION

The chance that a culture has to put together this complex totality of all inventions of all orders, which we call a civilization, is a function of the number and diversity of the cultures with which it participates in the elaboration of a common strategy.

-Claude Lévi-Strauss[1105]

...diversity and variety constitute one of the most beautiful gifts of the Creator, and because a deep commitment to our own particularity is part of what it means to be human. Yes, we need to establish connecting bonds across cultures, but each culture must also honour a special sense of self.

-Aga Khan IV[1106]

Much of this study has been about relationships between communities and ideas, and in particular the possibility of religion as providing grit for mechanisms that encompass a sense of rights and duties inherent in the concept of a 'world citizen'. The cosmopolitan attitude expressed by the Shī'a Nizārī Ismā'īlī Muslims, under the guidance of Aga Khan IV, seeks to embrace a shared global ethic bound by a universal morality while allowing space for diverse particularistic identities. Similarly, the discussion of a cosmopolitan identity that is rooted in distinctions (Chapter 1), has to do with interactions and exchanges wherein cosmopolitan beings

> may continue to regard themselves as defined partly by their particular loves-their families, their religious, ethnic, or racial communities, or even their country. But they must also, and centrally, learn to recognize humanity wherever they encounter it, undeterred by traits that are strange to them, and be eager to understand humanity in all its strange guises. They must learn enough about the different to recognize common alms, aspirations, and values, and enough about these common ends to see how variously they are instantiated in the many cultures and their histories (Nussbaum 1996, 9).

Cosmopolitans are indeed rooted in their own religious, ethnic, and national realities yet these anchored elements need not be a hurdle towards broader commitments. Essential to this cosmopolitan outlook is a desire to engage with the near and the distant that is made possible through dialogue and negotiations.

[1105] "Race and History," in *Structural Anthropology,* vol. 2 (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 323-362.
[1106] "The Peterson Lecture." Atlanta, Georgia, April 18. *Aga Khan Development Network* website. http://www.akdn.org/speech/his-highness-aga-khan/annual-meeting-international-baccalaureate (accessed January 10, 2016).

In such a vision, religion and cosmopolitanism are not incompatible. Rather the former does a service to this ideology by infusing an ethical paradigm that is rooted in particular resources not far removed from the larger human experience. The Ismāʿīlīs are a poignant example of a religious community "negotiating their lives within a general set of principles, which at once call for loyalty to the country in which they are living, loyalty to their spiritual leader, the Aga Khan, their faith, and an appreciation of their responsibility towards the less fortunate of the world" (Matthews 2007, 108-109). The precepts of Islam and the interpretive tendency of the Ismāʿīlī Imām connecting *dīn* and *dunyā* situate the community in a circumstance that is cosmopolitan.

By connecting the past with the present, universal with the particular, Ismāʿīlī tradition and experience is evoked in order to interact with contemporary socio-cultural contexts. This spirit is also embodied in the very work of the Imāmate institutions, which act as mediums through which Aga Khan IV is able to translate his vision of a cosmopolitan ethic into a concrete program of action that serves civil society. The result is what Aga Khan IV calls the cosmopolitan ethic, which generates a shared ethical grounding inspired by religious tenets that are always in dialogue with the common good and that is conceived of through a narrative of secular ethics. The concern for the dignity of human life stems from the religious declaration that each being is created in the image of God – (s)he is a reflection of the One. On the other hand, the secular root of this ethic is inspired by Enlightenment conceptions of the dignity of human beings premised on notions of solidarity and reason (McLachlin 2003). What this reveals is that the language of a cosmopolitan ethic is echoed across sacred and profane regardless of particular identity markers. The strong emphasis of a cosmopolitan ethic articulated by Aga Khan IV is not at odds with the national (Canadian) orientation[1107] which is ultimately concerned with how one ought to engage

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[1107] Citizenship as I understand is about people contributing, in different ways, their time and efforts towards making the place (country) a better one than when you came to it. Such an attitude is not foreign to the development and expression of Ismāʿīlī identity. Refer to Chapter 7 regarding the Canadian experience of multiculturalism. The ethic of respect and tolerance starting with LaFontaine and Baldwin in 1840 has evolved into a model of citizenship that exemplifies negotiations of identities. Canada's present orientation is the result of confrontations and reconciliations, respect and tolerance, and exchanges and learnings. "[A] close examination of Canada's past can disclose both a strong foundation in the ethic of tolerance and inclusion, as well as the dark side of group belonging in the form of intolerant treatment. …as Canada has matured and grown as a nation, we have embraced and cultivated the first of these traditions in order to do a better job of confronting the second – we have learned to

with one another. Indeed, the findings of this study suggest that religion serves as moral source for cosmopolitanism.

Key Findings

The first section of this dissertation was dedicated to mapping the historical frontiers of the cosmopolitan ethic that finds relevance in the articulation of Aga Khan IV. Chapter 1 began the process of tracing the conceptualization of 'cosmopolitanism' starting with its progenitor, Diogenes. The term's early significance in the early Greek world was its declaration to defy particular memberships for the sake of solidarity among humanity. The term evolved into a political doctrine under the Romans in an attempt to introduce moral norms in polity based on a particular acceptance of human rationality. The significance of shared access to reason became the cornerstone of the Enlightenment's version of cosmopolitan right. Immanuel Kant would build on the Stoic conception of the term in order to formulate a cosmopolitan doctrine based on rights and laws. Although these endeavours were in the pursuit of implementing a framework for peace and coexistence among different nations and peoples, cosmopolitanism also saw periods of human subordination to colonial powers. The term was even employed to decry other communities such as the Jews. Be that as it may, cosmopolitanism as an ideal that could safeguard human relations was picked up in the twentieth century by a number of theorists. Their efforts were aimed at rescuing the term's ill-fated realities of the past in order to conceive of a layered understanding of commitments to nation-states and human relations.

Chapter 2 continued with a historical charting of the cosmopolitan spirit as it developed within Muslim civilization. The cosmopolitan ethos discussed here, was a way of life that was expressed through encounter and engagement most often manifested in intellectual pursuits. However, I argued that such an engagement was inspired by Qur'ānic precepts that served as the primary ethical source for cultivating relations. One particular virtue that is privileged through the cosmopolitan spirit is hospitality; a sacred gesture that is imbued in "the rich vocabulary of charity,

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value and institutionalize the ethic of respect for difference as a means of combating exclusionary thinking" (McLachlin 2003).

generosity, mercy and compassion which permeates the entire Qur'an" (Siddiqui 2015, 124-125). The practice of hospitality, rooted in the Abrahamic moral tradition, brought a much-needed ethical and empathetic imperative to the cosmopolitan attitude. This religio-cultural root is what formed the background for the parameters used by certain theorists in chapter 1, to enable the shift from ideology to ethical orientation with regards to the concept of cosmopolitanism. These chapters offered a glimpse into various moments of history in which universal ambitions – fraught with tensions, both in theory and practice – were put forward for enriching human solidarity and connectivity.

Chapter 3 provided the historical background and theological development of the Ismāʿīlī community. I aimed to showcase how the 1400 years of theological thinking concretized a cosmopolitan spirit that continues in the community's interpretive tendency. I also situated the previous discussion on the cosmopolitan morale, evidenced in the Qur'ānic precepts, within Ismāʿīlī thought. I situated the contours of this reading within a broader esoteric tradition influenced by a context in which Ṣūfī approaches to Islam and Shīʿī thought coalesced. This intermingling impacted the trajectory of Ismāʿīlī approaches to religious and worldly affairs as articulated by Aga Khan III and Aga Khan IV. The flexibility and openness exemplified during this period is intrinsic to the cosmopolitan spirit that played out in the form of socio-cultural exchanges. Moreover, this history shed light on a past that is sacralized within Ismāʾīlī identity and the adaptations that arose through the community's modern developments. Building on the historical outline, Chapters 4 and 5 explored how two Ismāʿīlī Imāms of the modern period, Aga Khan III and Aga Khan IV, continued to express the cosmopolitan spirit, albeit in different ways, in response to their contemporary contexts. These chapters mapped a historical evolution of a community's interaction and response to changing times and places, which does not forsake Islamic values but rather affirms them through a (re)articulation of traditional teachings.

In the case of Aga Khan III, I demonstrated that a cosmopolitan vision was indeed expressed by this Imām through two themes: 1) his religio-political thought, which was shaped by the contemporary reformist movements in the Indian subcontinent

as well as British (Western) secular practices; 2) Aga Khan III's esoteric interpretation of Islam, inspired by both Ismāʿīlī and Ṣūfī sources contributed to the cosmopolitan spirit witnessed earlier. Aga Khan III's socio-political career brought about an interesting engagement with modernity – a more visible role of the Imām in public affairs. As such, Aga Khan III would take full advantage of the imperial infrastructure in British India to begin an institutionalizational undertaking thereby beginning a process of transformation of the Ismāʿīlī community that would provide a public face for the community via its institutions. It is also during Aga Khan III's leadership that key concepts of service, love, and monorealism were concretized into the contemporary Ismāʿīlī worldview, which continues to hold a prominent place in the contemporary Ismāʿīlī psyche. It is in part due to the historical experiences set against varied social contexts that a cosmopolitan spirit continued to evolve.

Aga Khan IV, grandson of Aga Khan III and successor to the Imāmate, continued to evoke a 'this-worldly approach' that started with the Muslim reform movements of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Not only is the cosmopolitan ethos reflected in his upbringing (merging east and west), but is also traceable in his two-fold discursive approach that stresses the inseparability of *dīn* and *dunyā* (faith and world). Although this understanding is not novel to Islam, as shown through the previous chapters, its application by Aga Khan IV brought a new dimension to this practice. I argued how the dual nature of *dīn* and *dunyā* blended well with the current discussions on cosmopolitanism. "Islam does not oppose the spiritual to the material, but rather underscores the spiritual as the context of the material" (Said and Funk 2003, 176). Based on this perspective, Aga Khan IV is able to draw upon a rich array of Muslim sources (*adab* and *akhlāq*) that carry similar interests and goals invoked by terms such as 'pluralism' and 'cosmopolitanism.' The principles are the same but their narratives stem from different sources. Inherent in both positions is the constant effort to balance the so-called dualities that affect human relations that can be traced back to the earliest of human civilizations. Aga Khan IV's discourse mobilizes secular rhetoric as well as religiously inspired moral discourses, which allow his message to permeate the socio-political concerns of societies.

There is a visible attempt on the side of the Ismaili imamate to bring more normative elements into the functions of the institutions. The most vivid example of it can be seen in what the Aga Khan has described as cosmopolitan ethic, which stands both as a rival to political secular cosmopolitanism and allows the AKDN to serve as a bridge for connecting identity with citizenship in a globalized world (Poor 2014, 228).

The chapter inferred a desire of a spiritual leader to figure out a way to situate an ideal that transcends both time and place within a contemporary discourse and vocabulary. So although Aga Khan IV's perspective is firstly rooted within Islamic discourse, its relevance extends to all contexts where moral sensibility and human responsibility are part of the social imaginary of lived realties. To be sure, the speeches and personal endeavours I analyzed will leave a legacy that will outlive Aga Khan IV.

My analysis also put forward a pragmatic sensibility to Aga Khan IV's approach that speaks to the *jamā'at'*s own cultural diversity. Anchoring the Ismāʿīlī worldview in religious and socio-ethical values, such as pluralism, safeguards the diversities of the community and also offers a medium by which Ismāʿīlīs are able to adapt themselves in various contemporary contexts. Nevertheless, I raised critical hurdles that face the community's ability to live up to the ideals expressed by Aga Khan IV. There still exist pockets of isolationist mentalities and issues of centralized directives that need to be grappled with. Be that as it may, Aga Khan's IV advice to cultivate a cosmopolitan ethic is still a powerful rhetoric that does manifest itself in the community's activities which was expressed in the interviews I conducted.

The demonstration of the community's pursuit to translate the cosmopolitan ethic into action preoccupies Part III of this dissertation. I began by tracing the institutionalization processes, which I demonstrated were in part the result of socio-historical factors. "The seeming paradox between the strong Ismaili leanings towards the esoteric aspects of Islam and a very public effort to implement Qur'anic values through socio-economic development is explained by the continual striving to maintain a balance between the spiritual and material dimensions of human existence" (Karim 2011a, 288). As such, Chapter 6 also engaged with the cosmopolitan dimension of the burgeoning institutions that serve the community and wider public. This history provided a basis to position the endeavours of the institutions I examined in Chapters 8

and 9 within a broader ethico-civil mandate. Participation in these institutions is also in part a form of cosmopolitanism that connects (particular) Ismāʿīlī communities with a (universal) global Ismāʿīlī community. The salient theme behind the work of the institutions is the quality of life of every human being (spiritual and material). I showed how Aga Khan IV's interpretation of Islam and emphasis on the inseparability of *dīn* and *dunyā* serve as the catalyst for engaging in welfare and development projects. This characteristic allows Aga Khan IV to translate his message of a cosmopolitan ethic into a concrete program of action spearheaded by his transnational development network. Another underlying component of the cosmopolitan ethic embodied within the institutions' function is the principle of service that was concretized by Aga Khan III and epitomized by Aga Khan IV as the underlying force of his institutions (AKDN and *jamāʿatī*).

Chapter 7 went on to map the settlement and institutional development of the Ismāʿīlīs in Canada. I sought to piece together many articles that have offered fragments of the settlement story into a single coherent narrative. In this attempt, I also relied on the community's own narrative (oral and written) that would enrich the work of previous studies. I charted new territory in presenting, perhaps the first, institutional history of the Ismāʿīlīs in Canada. Although a complete institutional history is yet to be explored in scholarship, I provided an initial attempt to document this story, leaning on interviews and communal publications. I demonstrated how the cosmopolitan spirit of Ismāʿīlī identity allowed the early settlers to immerse themselves into the particularities of the new environment. This narrative is indeed relevant to the main topic of 'cosmopolitan ethics.' In some ways, the Canadian socio-political context conjures a history of encounter, contention, engagement and fluidity that reaches far back as the tenth century.

> The many freedoms that Canadian society offers to Ismailis operate in dialectical interaction with the community's systems of religious belief and social propriety. Members of the *jamat* come into contact with a range of ideas that contend with their heritage. In some ways this situation is reminiscent of the community's historical encounters with external influences which sometimes led to a re-examination of Ismaili traditions, as in the period preceding the establishment of the Ismaili state in North Africa in the 10th century (Karim 2011a, 288).

The Canadian Ismāʿīlīs enacted this cosmopolitan spirit, first and foremost, through their adherence to their Imām and his guidance. The religious edicts and speeches of their Imām are the main source for their way of life in Canada and elsewhere in the world. And intrinsic to Aga Khan IV's vision is a cosmopolitan spirit that is central to the Ismāʿīlī Muslim tradition.

The positive Canadian Ismāʿīlī experience presented opportunities for collaborative efforts between the Imāmate and the Canadian state on converging issues, contributing to an expansion of Imāmate institutions. The final two chapters of Part III illustrated how Aga Khan IV's cosmopolitan vision is refracted into the built environment of his institutions via architectural design, spatial arrangement, and programmatic features of some of these Canadian based institutions. I examined three important sites in Toronto and Ottawa – The Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP), The Aga Khan Museum (AKM), the Ismāʿīlī Centre Toronto (ICT) along with the Aga Khan Park (AKP) that connects the AKM and the ICT. I argued that the cosmopolitan ethic is embedded in the built environment itself, from the architectural precision to the conceptualization of the different spaces. I showed how the architecture of these sites serves as an instrument of knowledge that symbolically houses the ideals of the Imām and his community's identity. "Architecture in Isma'ilism functions simultaneously as a building, as a text, as a metaphor, as a community, as an individual, and as cosmos" (Simonowitz 2004, 486). Moreover, I demonstrated how these sites helped to reinforce and disseminate Aga Khan IV's vision through the functionality of the different spaces within and their use by different actors. Together these features prove successful in articulating an Ismāʿīlī worldview that is meaningful not only to them but to multiple audiences, which depends on the way one 'reads' the space and experiences it. The institutional sites, discussed in Chapters 8 and 9, and the community's understanding of them are constructed through an authoritative discourse (Imām) and a variety of social practices that augment Aga Khan IV's articulation of a cosmopolitan ethic. Indeed, the Imām and his community "have worked to shape subtly a broader visual discourse that entails fine tuning and re-transmitting a more amorphous, conceptual vocabulary. Their intertextual campaign is more universal…" (Simonowitz 2004, 495-496).

Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

While I have attempted to write an accurate and detailed narrative of a cosmopolitan ethic evoked by Aga Khan IV, including its manifestation within the Imāmate institutions and the Ismāʿīlī community, the project by no means illustrates an exhaustive survey of the subject at hand. This work hence is an exploratory study on the theoretical underpinnings of the cosmopolitan ideal that have influenced the current rhetoric of Aga Khan IV and the perspective of the institutions that represent the Imāmate. An inevitable challenge of such a project is an unintentional neglect of finer details in order to capture the larger picture and connections.

One of the first difficulties I encountered during my research was in regards to my fieldwork itself. My initial attempt to get interviews with *jamāʾatī* leaders was difficult. Although one would suspect that being an insider who has volunteered in many of the programmatic areas of the *jamāʿatī* institutions would provide easy access, the contrary is true. After being vetted by the Senior Communications Officer based at the Secretariat of the Imāmate in Aiglemont, the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies (IIS), and the Communication Coordinators of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada, I received institutional backing that provided me with credibility to speak with past and present leaders. This initial delay and inaccessibility to potential interviewees also affected the amount of time in the field, which was already limited due to the length of my doctoral program. With that taken care of I was able to gain access to different individuals in Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario. That being said, hesitation on what information could be parted was always a concern. However, some individuals were willing to be more candid while others were more wary of their position in relation to the institution. More often than not, previous office holders were willing to offer more in terms of constructive critique.[1108] On the other hand, representatives of the Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) institutions, the Global Centre for Pluralism (GCP), and the Aga Khan Museum (AKM) were a little more receptive to assisting me in my research. I personally wrote to many of the Board of Directors of these institutions who responded with encouragement and support. Although this work looked at these non-

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[1108] Of course this was not true of every single interview I conducted.

jamā'atī institutions, I was unable to examine and discuss the programmatic endeavours of the Aga Khan Foundation Canada (AKFC) based at another significant site in Ottawa, Ontario – the Delegation of the Ismā'īlī Imāmate.[1109]

During my fieldwork I interviewed representatives in leadership positions (past and present) as well as Ismā'īlī scholars from five cities (Calgary, Edmonton, Ottawa, Toronto and Vancouver). I recognize that the views expressed by my respondents including my own, are situationally specific and do not necessarily hold true for every single Ismā'īlī experience. That being said, I tried to balance the oral stories with community publications (newsletters and magazines) that offered an institutional evolution of the community spread across different volumes. Throughout my research I was able to acquire a collection starting from the very first newsletter to the most current magazine. Be that as it may, there were gaps in this personal collection and some of the earlier newsletters I depended on tended to be more Ontario focused. Nevertheless, I hold that these findings can be representative of the Canadian experience as a whole because these institutions are very much dictated by a centralized authority that transcends space and time.

When it came to the early settlement of the Ismā'īlīs my data was skewed to a particular experience – Ismā'īlī *Khojas* from East Africa. Historically, this group made up the largest contingency of Ismā'īlīs to arrive in Canada, but more recently the demographics of the community are evolving with the arrival of more Ismā'īlīs from South Asia, Central Asia, and to some extent the Middle East. The settlement narrative would have benefitted from voices of Iranian Ismā'īlīs, for example, who began to arrive in Canada in the eighties. In addition, the stories of the Afghan refugees and their experiences would have added a whole other perspective. Nuancing these perspectives alongside the dominant *Khoja* narrative would have shed light on questions around the politics of representation that I raised in Chapters 5 and 6. The history of Ismā'īlī settlement in Canada points to a need for a larger project – an oral history of the

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[1109] I think a whole study on the AKFC's history, evolution and significance as a civil society institution in Canada can contribute more to an understanding of a post-secular society highlighting the interface of public and private, religious and secular.

community that captures the efforts of various key individuals who contributed to community's early formation in a new world.[1110]

With regards to the institutional development, the early *Khojas* who settled in Canada were involved in spearheading the institutionalization of the community under the Imām in East Africa. As such, their narrative of the institutional beginnings in Canada is most telling. Nevertheless, a richer account of the institutional evolution from the nineties onwards would have benefited from non-*Khoja* interviews, which I suspect would have been scarce. A more in-depth institutional ethnography would be able to capture how certain communal tensions play out within the institutional space. Such a study can further illuminate on how institutional discourses, from different ethno-cultural backgrounds, confirm or contrast the ideals laid out by the Imām and raise issues of internal challenges that institutional representatives must face with respect to interpretation and messaging. Another limitation is in regards to the interviews I conducted. I was unable to uncover other Muslim groups' understanding of the Imāmate institutions in Canada. For example, capturing what the Aga Khan Museum (AKM) symbolizes for the wider *umma* would be a meaningful exercise in order to position the Museum as a place of interest and importance for Canadian Muslims and their efforts towards disseminating a more nuanced reality of Islam in the West in response to the popular 'Islamophobic' misconceptions. Perhaps another study on non-Ismāʿīlī perspectives on the high-profile visibility of these institutions and the Ismāʿīlī community would not only surface tensions but more importantly, such a study could provide insight into challenge areas that could be given attention to in order to find a more fruitful partnership amongst the different communities moving forward.

An important part of my study was an analysis of Aga Khan IV's discourses pertaining to pluralism and cosmopolitan ethics. I referred only to the public speeches of Aga Khan IV that were directly relevant to my topic. I did not receive permission to

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[1110] Collecting such an oral history is more significant than it has ever been. In fact, during my fieldwork I came across names of many early pioneering figures that have since passed. As time keeps moving forward, I fear the Ismāʿīlīs in Canada will lose out on an important moment in their long history especially since such a project has not been undertaken before. In some case, some of the older member of the community expressed their disappointment that no one thought to record their stories. In some instances, individuals who have served at the leadership capacity in the early years have a trove of archival information that deserves to be shared. The challenge however, revolves around what documents they are willing to share from those archives.

analyze the *farmāns* of Aga Khan IV, which are reserved only for the Ismāʿīlīs. Nevertheless, I believe that Chapter 5 provided an opening for further analyses of Aga Khan IV's public discourse, which warrants more attention in contemporary Muslim studies.[1111] A more focused study on tracing the development of particular concepts (i.e.: pluralism, tolerance, development, or cosmopolitanism) throughout Aga Khan IV's Imāmate would allow for a greater understanding on the evolution of his thought. It would also provide insight into the different influences and shifts in language or goals since becoming the Imām in 1957.

Another challenge for the researcher interested in writing about the Ismāʿīlī community and its institutions is access to resources and concerns of transparency. As mentioned previously, I had to go through a vetting process in order to approach potential interviewees. In another case, I requested data pertaining to community demographics to include as a primary source of reference, which was never granted. I was fortunate to glean from earlier scholarly articles and old communal publications (newsletters and magazines) that tended to contain quite a bit of data. In addition, some of my interviewees connected me with individuals who were willing to share information from their personal archives. On that note, I think many members of the community, more often than not the leaders of the community (past and present) – still have a sense of nervousness in terms of what they should be talking about and what they should not. Although there has been progression in the area of transparency, it is not happening at the rate it should be. As I concluded in Chapter 9, the community is extremely image-conscious. Based on my experiences in the community, it is my

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[1111] Some analysis of Aga Khan IV's discourses appears in Daryoush Mohammad Poor's *Authority Without Territory: The Aga Khan Development Network and the Ismaili Imamate* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). There are also other contemporary articles that look at Aga Khan IV's discourses and policies in connection to the Imāmate institutions. A few examples include: Brook Bolander English and the transnational Ismaili Muslim community: Identity, the Aga Khan, and infrastructure," *Language in Society* (2016): 1-22 and her "Scaling value: transnationalism and the Aga Khan's English as a 'second language' policy," *Language Policy* (2017): 1-19; Sahir Dewji, "The Aga Khan's Discourse of Applied Pluralism: Converging the 'religious' and the 'secular'," *Studies in Religion* Online First (2017): https://doi.org/10.1177/0008429817713738; Karim H. Karim, "Aga Khan Development Network: Shia Ismaili Islam," in *Global Religious Movements Across Borders: Sacred Service*, eds. Stephen M. Cherry and Helen R. Ebaugh (Burlington, VT: Ashagate, 2014), 143-160; Karim H. Karim, "A Muslim Modernity: Ismaili Engagements with Western Societies," in *Routledge Handbook of Islam in the West*, ed. Roberto Tottoli (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2015), 244-258 and "Speaking to Post-secular Society: The Aga Khan's Public Discourse," in *The Relevance of Islamic Identity in Canada: Culture, Politics, and Self*, ed. Nurjehan Aziz (Toronto: Mawenzi House, 2015), 97-107.

conjecture that the image the community seems to portray is that of a community that 'hides' its problems. There is no forum in place for difficult conversations and healthy debates. With respect to the communal publications, my close examination of the evolution of the newsletters to the present magazines points to a progression towards centralization and professionalism that comes with more censorship; yet another example of the obsession with the 'imagined sense of self.' There is a clear shift from a more transparent publication that shared more information about institutional news, to a magazine that dubs as complementary reader to what usually gets posted on the official institution websites.[1112] A number of interesting issues could be addressed from a study on the evolutionary process of Ismāʿīlī publications, taking into account a number of factors around the sharing of information, the representation (and lack) of voices, tension points such as inter-generational articulations, and issues of self-(re)presentation.

Finally, I have tried to treat a number of themes in this dissertation, some in a more cursory way than others. One such theme that could have received more attention was gender. The topic of gender does come up scantly through some of the theoretical approaches to cosmopolitanism in Chapters 1 and 2, as well as in relation to space and place in Chapters 8 and 9. I am also aware that the majority of the individuals I interviewed were men. However, I did manage to speak with some powerful women during my fieldwork. Although there are women represented in leadership roles, there is not enough representation at the upper tier of the hierarchy especially in the *jamāʿatī* institutions.[1113] More attention could have been given to balancing the representation of genders in my fieldwork. Although gender is built into the vision and programmatic structures of these institutions, there has not been much work that offers a gender analysis of Imāmate institutions. More research needs to be done around female representation in the institutions and perhaps offer a comparison between *jamāʿatī* and AKDN institutions.

[1112] Of course not all contemporary magazine publications act as a regurgitation of the official webpages. There are a few cases where one comes across some compelling articles.

[1113] Interestingly, the President of the Ismāʿīlī Council for Ontario is one of the only few women to hold such a high position. I made several attempts to hold an interview with her but her schedule did not permit enough time. Moreover, a woman currently holds the role of Vice President of the Ismāʾīlī Council for Canada.

Final Thoughts

Overall, this dissertation is one of the first comprehensive studies on the conceptualization of a cosmopolitan ethic, as it is articulated by Aga Khan IV and embodied in the nature and functions of the institutions of Imāmate in the contemporary world.[1114] It is also one of the first attempts to consolidate a cohesive historical narrative of the Ismāʿīlī community's institutional development in Canada. As such, my research has contributed to the field of Ismāʿīlī Studies and more broadly to contemporary Islam in Canada. To be sure, the institutions of Imāmate (religious and secular) do not tell a whole story and likewise a narrative of the community itself captures a different perspective. Although my research is more focused on the vision of a 'cosmopolitan ethic' and how this is played out conceptually and refracted onto the institutions, my approach aimed to balance theory and lived reality, albeit from a leadership perspective.[1115] My writing captured the many cognate themes of the cosmopolitan by privileging moments of encounter and engagement through the mapping of networks. Attention was also paid to the construction of identity (Self and Other, religious and secular). Most of all, this study was about relations; the heartbeat of the cosmopolitan ethic. This entails recognizing the ethical relationships that one has to Others as well as personal corresponding commitments – whatever those may be.

A fundamental concern in this research with regards to the Ismāʿīlī community that remains unanswered revolves around the relationship of spiritual guidance and the cosmopolitan spirit. Do these go hand in hand or are they at odds? Considering what this dissertation has aimed to present, this is perhaps the wrong question to be asking. Intrinsic to this deep-seated concern is a choice of perspective and approach. When it

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[1114] As I prepare to submit this dissertation a new publication by M. Ali Lakhani entitled *Faith and Ethics: The Vision of the Ismaili Imamat* has become available. This monograph attempts to communicate how the ideas and actions of Aga Khan IV provide an Islamic response to the challenges that face Muslims in the modern era. It also claims to be the first book to provide an extensive survey of Aga Khan IV's aspirations, showing how the values of integrity and dignity are at the forefront of his work, with the traditional Muslim concepts of cosmopolitanism and social justice guiding this response.

[1115] I acknowledge the limitation in tying to capture all meanings of the interplay between the community and its institutions by one single analogy. However, I argue that the cosmopolitan ethic is an over arching theme that sits well with the two-fold approach *dīn* and *dunyā* of the Imām, which shapes the worldview of the community and the institutions.

comes to the Ismāʿīlīs and the Imām, I do not think it is possible to start with the cosmopolitan ethic without having a very clear understanding of what an Ismāʿīlī understands to be the concept of Imām. If one accepts the premise that the Imām defines, for the community, the contours of the cosmopolitan ethic then that would necessitate a particular understanding of the Imām and the notion of Imāmate. Once this is made clear follow-up questions pursue: how does one respond to any claim made by the Imām? Does one respond to the Imām's claim of the 'cosmopolitan ethic' at the level of daily practice? Or does one respond in an abstract way or in an esoteric way? Essentially, one's understanding of what Aga Khan IV represents for her will govern how one responds to defining the concept (cosmopolitan ethic). And from this, engagement with the concept being laid out by Aga Khan IV will therefore proceed. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Shīʿī Ismāʿīlī tradition understands the Imām as the legitimate spiritual leader who guides the believers in both spiritual and worldly affairs. Therein lies a profound set of beliefs, and when those beliefs interact with one's responsibility to understand and unpack ideas expressed by the Imām, there exists many levels of meaning making. That being said, I have demonstrated that there is more to the ideal than a simple formula for good life. Indeed part of it concerns the common good but there is also an aspirational feature that has to do with how the ideal connects to a whole set of other ideas and concepts. Taking too literal of an approach, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, would miss the point.

This raises important questions about the ideal and its connection to the notion of a living guide: Did the previous Imām deal with this idea of the 'cosmopolitan'? On what terms? As I have demonstrated in Chapter 4, the previous Imām may not have used the notion of a 'cosmopolitan ethic', nevertheless there are values and attitudes enmeshed in this ideal that were addressed through different iterations. In other words, is the 'cosmopolitan ethic' a vocabulary for something more profound? Does this contemporary term invoke some kind of *sophia perennis* (perennial wisdom)? The findings of this study seem to suggest that the concept points to something greater. An underlying reality of the cosmopolitan ethic – expressed by Aga Khan IV (Chapter 5) and supported by the Qurʾānic precepts (Chapter 2) – is this recognition that God created all human beings from a single soul. Thereupon, each being is, in a sense, each

other's Other. We are the 'Self' and the 'Other'. As such, one's understanding of how to achieve a good life may just be another example of a higher presence in that individual's life. "Indeed, it is only by grasping the principle of immanence, without severing, its connection to transcendence, that Muslims, nay all human beings, can live up to their responsibility as khalifatullah, as God's vicegerents on earth" (Zaidi 2011, 156-157). Is this the cosmopolitan spirit that has been passed down over the centuries? What are the immediate and long-term implications of this? What really matters here? When one thinks of concepts, such as respect, pluralism, kindness, hospitality etc., what are they trying to convey? Are these simply transient ideals? I would think that each chapter has conveyed that in actuality there is something more that is taking place; that the cosmopolitan ethic signals a broader set of ideals and concepts. There are of course a number of ways each person will choose to answer these recurring questions. Nevertheless, one is compelled to come back to what constitutes an Ismāʿīlī's conception of the cosmopolitan ethic and how this is related to her understanding of the Imām, religion, scripture, institutions, communities, humanity etc. I do not think these can be answered in a short hand fashion since each individual defines these sets of relations for herself, but most will agree with me, I hope, that there is a kind of dialogue between all these conceptions, which will direct a certain engagement one chooses to have in this world.

The cosmopolitan ethic as I have tried to show is not simply an abstract ideal. It is activated in different periods, at different moments, and through different mediums. An openness to take on new approaches and adapt to the necessities of contemporary demands while remaining firm to a community's religio-ethical heritage is a manifestation, if anything, of the cosmopolitan ethic. For instance, the cosmopolitan ethic is reflected in the community's early search for appropriate burial grounds. It is also reflected in the spirit of volunteerism exemplified by the community and in the mandates of the institutional structures. The cosmopolitan ethic is an orientation that demands reflection and engagement with the divine through our own selves and through our own ways of existing in the world. Such an orientation bestows on communities an ability to (re)imagine the possibilities for enhancing relations between the Other and Self, religious and secular, universal and particular. It is a continual

process towards a sustainable and balanced development for engagement and partnerships among different peoples in order to advance the quality of life of every person. It is my hope that such an orientation can help to engage differences that go beyond the global and local or universal and particular. "To enact this kind of cosmopolitanism, we will need to continue to foster the kinds of negotiations, dialogues and responsibilities that have been reviewed here, to open ourselves to alternative forms of geographic reason, and to actively take up the ethical challenges arising from our 'throwntogetherness' with others" (Popke 2007, 515). The thoughts presented here are just a step towards that reality.

APPENDIX A

His Highness Prince Karim Aga Khan IV
Table of Honours 1957-2017[1116]

Country	Titles & State Decorations	Honourary Degrees	Civic Honours	Honourary Fellowships & Executive Appointments	Awards	Keynote Addresses	Commemorative Stamps Issues
Afghanistan						2	
Bahrain	1						
Bangladesh						1	1
Canada	2	7	2	1	2	11	
China						1	
Comoros	1						
Denmark					1		
Egypt		1		1		4	1
France	2			3	7	12	
Germany					2	5	
Greece						1	
India					1	3	2
Indonesia							1
Iran	3						
Ireland		1			1		
Italy	2		1	2	1		
Ivory Coast	1		1				
Jordan						1	
Kazakhstan					2		
Kenya	1		1	1		4	1
Kyrgyzstan	1	1			1	4	
Lebanon		1					
Madagascar	1		1				1
Malaysia							1
Mali	1	1	2				
Mauritania	1						
Monaco					1		
Morocco	1						1
Mozambique							1
Netherlands						1	
Niger							1
Norway						1	
Pakistan	2	2	2	4	1	12	6
Philippines						1	
Portugal	4	2	1	1	1	5	2
Qatar							1

[1116] The table is a modified version of the original by Mr. Azeem Maherali. It is reproduced here with permission from the author.

Country	Titles & State Decorations	Honourary Degrees	Civic Honours	Honourary Fellowships & Executive Appointments	Awards	Keynote Addresses	Commemorative Stamps Issues
Scotland					1		
Senegal	1						
South Africa						1	
Spain	1		2		2		1
Switzerland					1	2	
Syria			1				1
Tajikistan	1	1				2	
Tanzania			1			1	2
Turkey							1
UAE							1
Uganda	1						1
UK	2	3		2	8	15	
Upper Volta	1						
USA		4	1	2	9	19	
Uzbekistan			1			1	1
Zanzibar	1					1	
Total	**32**	**24**	**17**	**17**	**24**	**111**	**28**

APPENDIX B

The Aga Khan Development Network:
An Ethical Framework[1117]

The AKDN Mandate

The Aga Khan Development Network (link is external) is a contemporary endeavour of the Ismaili Imamat (link is external) to realise the social conscience of Islam through institutional action. It brings together, under one coherent aegis, institutions and programmes whose combined mandate is to help relieve society of ignorance, disease and deprivation without regard to the faiths or national origins of people whom they serve. In societies where Muslims have a significant presence, its mandate extends to efforts to revitalise and broaden the understanding of cultural heritage in the full richness of its diversity, as the quality of life in its fullest sense extends beyond physical well-being. The primary areas of concern are the poorest regions of Asia and Africa. The institutions of the Network derive their impetus from the ethics of Islam which bridge the two realms of the faith, din and dunya, the spiritual and the material. The central emphasis of Islam's ethical ideal is enablement of each person to live up to his exalted status as vicegerent of God on earth, in whom God has breathed His own spirit and to whom He has made whatever is in the heavens and the earth, an object of trust and quest.

Dīn and *Dunyā*

A person's ultimate worth depends on how he or she responds to these Divine favours. *Din* is the spiritual relationship of willing submission of a reasoning creature to his Lord who creates, sustains and guides. For the truly discerning, the earthly life, *dunya*, is a gift to cherish inasmuch as it is a bridge to, and preparation for, the life to come. Otherwise it is an enticement, distracting man from service of God which is the true purpose of life. Service of God is not only worship, but also service to humanity, and abiding by the duty of trust towards the rest of creation. Righteousness, says the Quran, is not only fulfilling one's religious obligations. Without social responsibility, religiosity is a show of conceit. Islam is, therefore, both *din* and *dunya*, spirit and matter, distinct but linked, neither to be forsaken.

The Guidance of the Imām

The challenge of choice is moral and individual, but meaningful in a social context. For while personal morality is a paramount demand of the faith, Islam envisions a social order which is sustained by the expectation of each individual's morally just conduct towards others. The function of ethics is to foster self-realisation through giving of one's self, for the common good, in response to God's benevolent majesty.
By grounding societal values in the principle of human moral responsibility to the Divine, Islam lifts the sense of public and social order to a transcendent level. The lasting legacy of the Prophet Muḥammad is the strong suffusion of the mundane, of daily life, with the sense of the spiritual. This prophetic example remains a source of emulation for Muslims everywhere, in

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[1117] Copyright ©: Prepared for the Aga Khan Development Network, *The Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies*. London, 2001. Complete text available at http://iis.ac.uk/aga-khan-development-network-akdn-ethical-framework.

every age. Within Shī'a Islam, it is the mandate of each hereditary Imam from the Prophet's progeny, as the legatee of the Prophet's authority, to seek to realise that paradigm through an institutional and social order which befits the circumstances of time and place. In a world of flux, the Imam gives leadership in the maintenance of balance between the spiritual and the material in the harmonious context of the ethics of the faith, of which he is the guardian.

Ethical Foundations of AKDN Institutions

Notionally, the AKDN seeks the ideal of social action, of communitarian strategy, to realise the social vision of Islam. Although the outcome of its action is pragmatic, the motivation for it is spiritual, a universal ethic whose purpose is to elicit the noble that inheres in each man and woman. The abiding traits which define this ethic, inform the principles and philosophies of AKDN institutions: their collective focus on respect for human dignity and relief to humanity; the reach of their mandates beyond boundaries of creed, colour, race and nationality; their combined endeavour towards empowering individuals, male and female, to become self-reliant and able to help those weaker than themselves; their policy of nurturing and harnessing a culture of philanthropy and voluntary sharing of time and talent; the transparency of their governance based on the values of trust, probity, equity and accountability; and their overall aim generally to seek to engender, or contribute to other efforts which seek to engender, a fraternal ethos of enlightenment, peace, "large-hearted toleration", mutual aid and understanding.

What are the abiding traits of Islam's ethical ideal which inform the AKDN mandate?

Ethic of Inclusiveness

Islam's is an inclusive vision of society. The divine spark that bestows individuality also bonds individuals in a common humanity. Humankind, says the Quran, has been created from a single soul, as male and female, communities and nations, so that people may know one another. It invites people of all faiths to a common platform, to vie for goodness. The Prophet sought to harness individual and group differences and talents to serve common needs of different religious groups, among whom he encouraged a spirit of harmony and toleration as constituents of a larger community of his time.

Ethic of Education and Research

The Prophet and Hazrat 'Alī

The key to the nature of society that Islam espouses is an enlightened mind, symbolised in the Quran's metaphor of creation, including one's self, as an object of rational quest. The very first revelation to the Prophet is a command to read. Those who believe and have knowledge are the exalted ones. Such cannot be equated with those who are ignorant. "My Lord! Increase me in knowledge", is a cherished prayer it urges upon the believers, men and women alike. Learning ennobles, whatever its source, even if that be distant China, and is obligatory upon every Muslim man and woman, the Prophet is reported to have said. "One's greatest ornament is erudition", and "the most self-sustaining wealth is the intellect" which "gives one mastery over one's destiny", are among the sayings attributed to Hazrat Ali, the first Shia Imam. "Knowledge is a shield against the blows of time", wrote Nasir-i Khusraw, an eleventh century Iranian poet-philosopher. But the person of knowledge and wisdom carries the greater obligation of sharing it. The Prophet likens the knowledge which is kept from others to a girdle of fire round one's neck. "One dies not", said Hazrat Ali, "who gives life to learning".

Early Muslim Scholars

The teachings of Islam were a powerful impulse for a spiritually liberated people. It spurred them on to new waves of adventure in the realms of the spirit and the intellect, among whose symbols were the universities of al-Azhar and *dar al-'ilm* in Fatimid Ismaili Cairo and their illustrious counterparts in Baghdad, Cordova, Bukhara, Samarqand and other Muslim centres. Reflecting the spirit of the culture which honoured the pursuit of knowledge, Al-Kindi, a ninth century philosopher and student of Greek philosophy, saw no shame in acknowledging and assimilating the truth, whatever its source. Truth, he wrote, never abases. It only elevates its seeker. As a result, sciences flourished in their different domains: mathematics, astronomy, botany, medicine, optics, pharmacology, zoology and geography. In his History of Science, George Sarton traces, from 750 onwards, an unbroken stretch of six centuries of Muslim pre-eminence in the world of science.

The spirit of inquiry

Scientific research was considered a meritorious duty. It was the response of the faithful to the persistent call of the Quran to ponder creation in order to understand God's greatness. This attitude helped to cultivate an open yet inquiring bent of mind. Ancient sages were esteemed but their legacy was critically appraised. Ar-Razi (d. 925), philosopher and medical scientist, while in admiration of Galen, wrote: "But all this reverence will not and should not prevent me from doubting what is erroneous in his theories". Ibn Haytham (Al-Hazen), al-Biruni and Ibn Sina (Avicenna), in challenging the long held view of Euclid and Ptolemy that the eye sent out visual rays to the object of vision, laid the foundations for modern optics.

Research was recognised as a way of intellectual growth, an ethical duty since the human intellect is a divine gift to be cherished and cultivated. "Accept whatever adds to your wisdom, regardless of the nature of its source", is a well-attested Prophetic tradition. "Wisdom sustains the intellect" whose "natural disposition is to learn from experience", are among the sayings of Hazrat Ali. Jurists and mystics, from the classical Middle Ages to the 20th century, from al-Ghazali, Ibn Khallikan and Sanai to Shaykh Shalut and Mohammad Iqbal, have upheld and celebrated the never-ending duty of the mind to push the frontiers of its gaze to ever expanding horizons to capture glimpses of a flawless, continuing creation.

Ethic of Compassion and Sharing

A truly enlightened society urges the care of the weak and restraint in their sway by the rich and powerful. Scriptural tradition regards wealth as a blessing, and its honest creation one's duty for it can aid the general welfare of society. "When the prayer is finished, scatter in the land and seek God's bounty, and remember God frequently; haply you will prosper". But when misused or hoarded, wealth is a derisory pittance, an illusory source of power. The pious are the socially conscious who recognise in their wealth a right for the indigent and the deprived whom they help for the sake of God alone, without any desire for recompense or thankfulness from those whom they help. Charity is not just sharing one's material wealth. Generosity with one's intellectual, spiritual, material or physical wherewithal is highly commended. When withheld, such gifts are a futile burden, "a twisted collar tied to the miser's neck". "One who is more blessed by God", goes an Alid tradition, "is needed more for people". The ethic of voluntary service is, thus, a strongly marked trait of Muslim tradition, celebrated in the example of the *Ansar*, the Helpers, the honourable title for those citizens of Medina who gave succour to Muhammad and his fellow fugitives when they had to emigrate from Makkah to escape persecution.

Ethic of Self-reliance

The poor, the deprived and those at the margin of existence have a moral right to society's compassion, the tradition reminds frequently. But Muslim ethic discourages a culture of dependency since it undermines one's dignity, preservation of which is emphatically urged in Muslim scripture. "Man shall have only that for which he labours", says the Quran. That encouragement to self-help is reinforced in Prophetic traditions: "Man cannot exist without constant effort". "The effort is from me, its fulfilment comes from God". From the time of the Prophet, therefore, the greater emphasis of the charitable effort has been to help the needy to become self-reliant. It has been narrated, for instance, that the Prophet would rather that a mendicant was helped to equip himself for gathering and selling wood to earn sustenance. During his tenure as the last of the four rightly-guided caliphs, Hazrat Ali helped, for instance, to fund a self-help scheme, voluntarily proposed by a group of residents of an area, to improve its irrigation potential. He preferred that people should prosper, he explained, to their remaining economically weak.

Ethic of Respect for Life and Health Care

As the care of the poor, so that of the sick and disabled is a frequently articulated duty. Good health, like knowledge, is a divine gift, says the Quran, which forcefully urges the sanctity of human life, equating the saving of one life to the saving of the entirety of humanity. "God has sent down a treatment for every ailment", is an oft-quoted saying of the Prophet. People achieve happiness because of the gift of reason, of which medicine is a salient fruit, so wrote a tenth century physician al-Majusi in the introduction to his canon. Learning medicine, according to Muslim jurists, is a "duty of sufficiency", which is incumbent upon, not every individual, but a sufficient number of people to serve the health needs of a community. Under Muslim patronage medicine made far reaching strides. Encyclopaedic treatises on medicine, particularly of Ibn Sina (Avicenna in Latin) and ar-Razi enjoyed a pre-eminent status in the medical literature of learned societies as far apart as Central Asia and Europe. Hospitals flourished as did mobile dispensaries, which were, not uncommonly, staffed by both male and female health personnel. The science of medicine was supported by meticulous research. In the late 14th century, when the great plague, the Black Death, struck Europe and Asia, Muslim physicians rejected the widely entrenched superstition that the scourge was a divine retribution. Explaining their scientific hypothesis of contagion, Ibn al-Khatib, an eminent statesman and physician of Granada, wrote that the existence of contagion was established by experience, study of the evidence of the senses, by trustworthy reports of transmission, by the spread of it by persons, by infection of a healthy sea-port by an arrival from an infected land, by the immunity of isolated individuals. "It must be a principle that a proof taken from the tradition has to undergo modification when in manifest contradiction with the evidence of the perception of the senses".

Ethic of Sound Mind

An equal, if not greater, emphasis was placed on mental heath since preservation of sound mind is among the foundational principles of Islam's ethical code. The principle was seriously applied in practice. In designating a ward of the Mansuria Hospital, built in Cairo in 1284, for mental patients, its endowment deed stipulated: "The foremost attention is to be paid to those who have suffered loss of mind and hence loss of honour". The principle has had a wider application in tradition. Any substance abuse which interferes with the normal functioning of the mind is a greater violation of the ethical code for it amounts to self-inflicted loss of personal

dignity and of the ability to fulfil one's responsibility to oneself, to one's family and to society. "Do not be cast into ruin by your hands", is a recurring admonition.

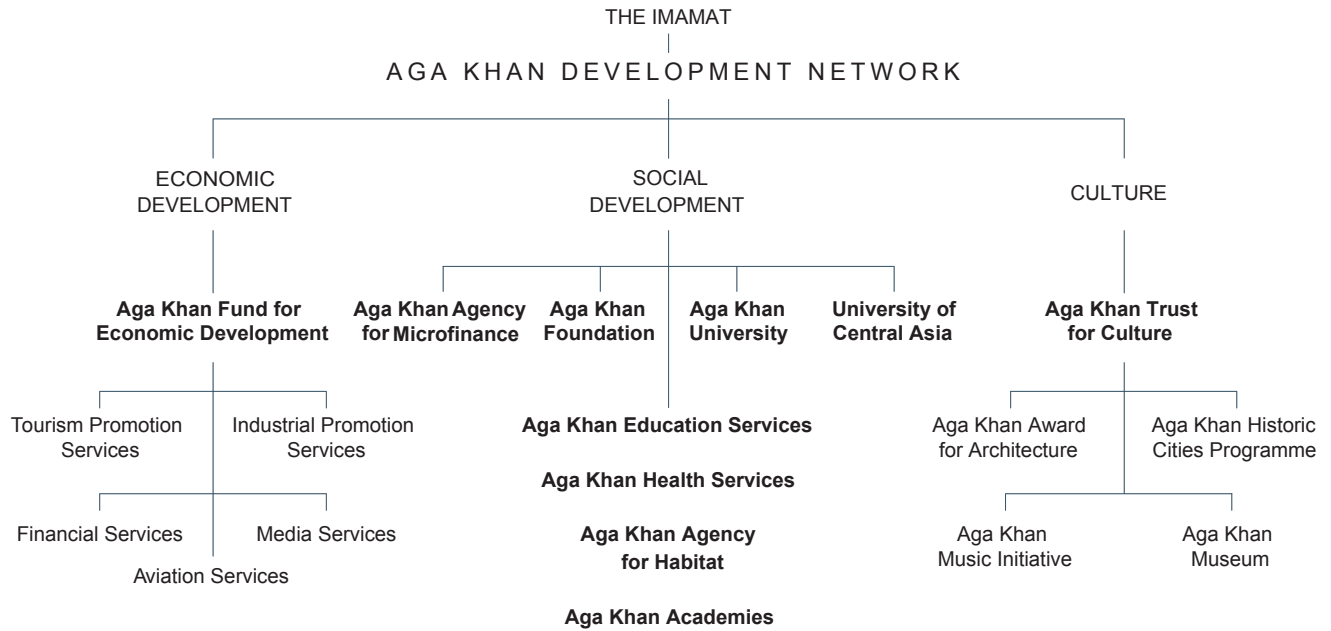## Ethic of Sustainable Environment: Physical, Social and Cultural

Care of the environment, in its comprehensive meaning, is a duty of trusteeship which humankind owes by virtue of its vicegerency over creation. Each generation of people are described as both "viceroys and successors in the earth", stewards over its resources for the benefit of all living beings. Profligacy, wastage and acts that corrupt the balanced order of nature, which is a sign of divine beneficence, earn a severe reproach. The evil that people do "vanishes as jetsam and what profits men abides in the earth." Hence, those who create wealth in its diverse forms, intellectual and spiritual, cultural and material, are raised to a position of honour, but only if they recognise and respect the element of trust in what they create. To squander in vanity or to withhold in jealousy what they are able to create, amounts to usurping the rights of those, including the generations yet to be born, who need the fruits of their talents. Each generation is, thus, ethic bound to leave behind a wholesome, sustainable social and physical environment.

Ethic of Governance

Those who control and administer resources for the benefit of others are bound by the duty of trusteeship. In Shia Islam, this duty is owed to the Imam. The Muslim tradition of religious law, thus, firmly grounds the ethic of governance in the principles of trust, probity, equity and accountability. The scripture, for instance, sternly warns corruptly inclined citizens and authorities against collusion to defraud others. Guardians of orphans and the weak are similarly warned not to compromise their fiduciary obligations, and to keep away from their wards' property "except to improve it". The tradition, hence, obliges administrators of a charitable foundation not only to maintain, but to seek to enhance, the value of its corpus and maximise its yield in order to sustain its charitable commitments.

APPENDIX C

Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN) Organizational Chart[1118]

THE IMAMAT

A G A   K H A N   D E V E L O P M E N T   N E T W O R K

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

CULTURE

Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development

Aga Khan Agency for Microfinance

Aga Khan Foundation

Aga Khan University

University of Central Asia

Aga Khan Trust for Culture

Tourism Promotion Services

Industrial Promotion Services

Aga Khan Education Services

Aga Khan Health Services

Financial Services

Media Services

Aga Khan Agency for Habitat

Aviation Services

Aga Khan Academies

Aga Khan Award for Architecture

Aga Khan Historic Cities Programme

Aga Khan Music Initiative

Aga Khan Museum

[1118] Reproduced from the *Aga Khan Development Network* website, available at
http://www.akdn.org/about-us/organisation-information

Institutions of the Imāmate

Economic Development   Social Development   Culture

Aga Khan Development Network (AKDN)

Dunyā (Development Institutions)

Global Centre for Pluralism

The Imāmate
Root / Anchor

Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies

Leaders International Forum

Dīn (Religious Institutions)

Department of Jamāʿatī Institutions (DJI)

ITREB   National Councils

Administrative Structure of the Ismāʿīlī Community[1119]


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                        ┌──────────┐
                        │ Aga Khan │
                        └──────────┘

  ┌────────────┐                    ┌────────────────────────┐
  │ Executive  │                    │ Supreme Council for Africa │
  │ Council    │                    │ (headquarters in Nairobi)  │
  └────────────┘                    └────────────────────────┘

  ┌──────────────────────┐          ┌────────────────────────┐
  │ Educ.  Health  Ismailia │        │ Territorial Council for Tanzania │
  │ Adm.   Adm.    Assoc.   │        │ (headquarters in Dar es Salaam/ │
  └──────────────────────┘          │ includes Territorial Tribunals) │
                                     └────────────────────────┘

                                     ┌────────────────────────┐
                                     │ Provincial Councils     │
                                     │ (Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, │
                                     │ Mbeya, Moshi, Mwanza, Tabora │
                                     │ and Tanga/includes Provincial │
                                     │ Tribunals)              │
                                     └────────────────────────┘

                            ┌────────────┐      ┌────────────┐
                            │ Committees │      │ Mukhis &   │
                            │            │      │ Kamadias   │
                            └────────────┘      └────────────┘

                        ┌────────────────────┐
                        │ Ismāʿīlī Community  │
                        └────────────────────┘
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●────────▶ Reports, Finance (dasond, voluntary offerings, gifts)

────────▶ Resolutions, money for schools, bursaries, medical facilities

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[1119] This is duplicated from Shirin Remtulla Walji, "A History of The Ismaili Community in Tanzania," (PhD diss., The University of Wisconsin, 1974), 121. The chart is based on the 1962 Ismāʿīlī Constitution; refer to *The Constitution of the Shia Imami Ismailis in Africa* (Nairobi, 1962).

Condensed Timeline of Ismāʿīlī Canadians[1120]

Period	Event
1962	• 30 Ismāʿīlīs arrive in Vancouver.
1971	• First jamāʿatkhānā in Toronto: St. Maria Public School on Broadway at Eglinton & Yonge. • First jamāʿatkhānā in Vancouver at Edmonds in Burnaby. • First jamāʿatkhānā in Calgary in the social hall of the first Muslim *masjid* that was reconstructed from a church.
1972	• First jamāʿatkhānā in Edmonton on 114th and 105 Avenue. • First jamāʿatkhānā in Winnipeg in St. Mathew's church basement. • Establishment of the first Council in Canada – the Council for Greater Vancouver.
1973	• First jamāʿatkhānā in Quebec in a Convent at Sherbrooke and Atwater. • First jamāʿatkhānā in Saskatoon at the Colonial Hotel on 8th Street. • Establishment of Shia Imāmī Ismāʿīlī Councils in Canada: Ismāʿīlī Council for Canada with Headquarters in Vancouver, Regional Council for Eastern Canada covering Ontario and Maritimes, Regional Council for Western Canada covering BC and Manitoba. • Aid Fund committee set up to assist *jamāʿat.* • Supreme council for Canada, US and Western Europe established under the chairmanship of Sr. Eboo Pirbhai
1974	• First jamāʿatkhānā in Halifax, a rented room on weekends at the Universalist Unitarian Church.
1975	• First rented space for jamāʿatkhānā in Ottawa on Cody Street.
1976	• First jamāʿatkhānā in Regina on Wells Street.
1977	• Industrial Promotion Services (IPS) is established in Canada as a venture capital company.
1978	• First built-to-suit office space converted into a jamāʿatkhānā in Winnipeg. • Aga Khan IV visits the Canadian *jamāʿat* for the first time.
1979	• IPS Canada established in Toronto. • Agreement between AKU and McMaster University to establish School of Nursing program.
1980	• AKFC established with headquarters in Vancouver. • Aga Khan IV pledges $1M to McGill University's Institute of Islamic Studies.
1982	• Global *jamāʿat* Silver Jubilee of Aga Khan IV • Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies (IIS) and McGill University offer 2-year program leading to MA in Islamic Studies.
1983	• Aga Khan IV visits Canada *jamāʿat* (end of Silver Jubilee celebrations).
1985	• Opening of Ismāʿīlī Centre Burnaby.
1992	• Aga Khan IV visits Canadian *jamāʿat.*

[1120] This table is ameliorated from the original. Some of the information is duplicated from Rizwan Mawani, "Muslim Spaces of Worship," *The Ismaili Canada,* (Summer 2014): 28-29 and "Timeline Canada 1978-2015," *The Ismaili Canada,* (Summer 2015): 24-27.

1994	• Focus Humanitarian Assistance is established to provide crisis response and relief globally
2005	• Aga Khan IV named Honorary Companion of the Order of Canada • Aga Khan IV grants *dīdār* to the Canadian *jamāʿat.*
2006	• Inauguration of the Global Centre for Pluralism in Ottawa.
2007	• Global *jamāʿat* commemorates Aga Khan IV's Golden Jubilee.
2008	• Aga Khan IV visits the Canadian *jamāʿat* to celebrate his Golden Jubilee. • Opening of the Delegation of the Ismāʿīlī Imāmate in Ottawa.
2010	• Aga Khan IV formally granted Honorary Canadian Citizenship.
2012	• Province of Alberta and Aga Khan IV sign Agreement of Cooperation.
2014	• Opening of Ismāʿīlī Centre and Aga Khan Museum in Toronto.
2015	• Opening of Aga Khan Park in Toronto.
2017	• Opening of Global Centre for Pluralism in Ottawa. • Aga Khan IV grants *dīdār* to the Ontario and Quebec *jamāʿats.*

APPENDIX G

Letter of Thanks from the Honourable Pauline M. Gibbon[1121]

OFFICE OF
THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR
QUEEN'S PARK, TORONTO
M7A 1A1

TEL (416) 965-2009

January 3, 1979.

It was with the greatest pleasure that I accepted an invitation to attend a dinner given in honour of the Aga Khan and the Begum Salimah when they visited Toronto recently. The Aga Khan's reputation as a fine spiritual and secular leader of the Ismaili Community had preceded him, and I looked forward very much to meeting this traditional leader of an ancient sect, who was also so much a man of our time.

The reality was truly as impressive as was anticipated. The Aga Khan and his Begum were the most charming dinner companions, and we were able to talk on so many subjects of mutual interest. For the people of the Ismaili Community, however, this was much more than a happy social occasion; the joy which they felt in his presence was so obvious. I do hope that we may expect another visit before too long – not only from my point of view, of welcoming a distinguished and charming guest to this Province, but also – and of far greater consequence – that such visits are of paramount importance to the new Canadians who are his followers.

Pauline M. McGibbon,
Lieutenant-Governor.

[1121] Reproduced from *Canadian Ismaili* Special Eastern Canada Issue (March 1979): 1.

APPENDIX H

Council for Canada and its Constituents[1122]
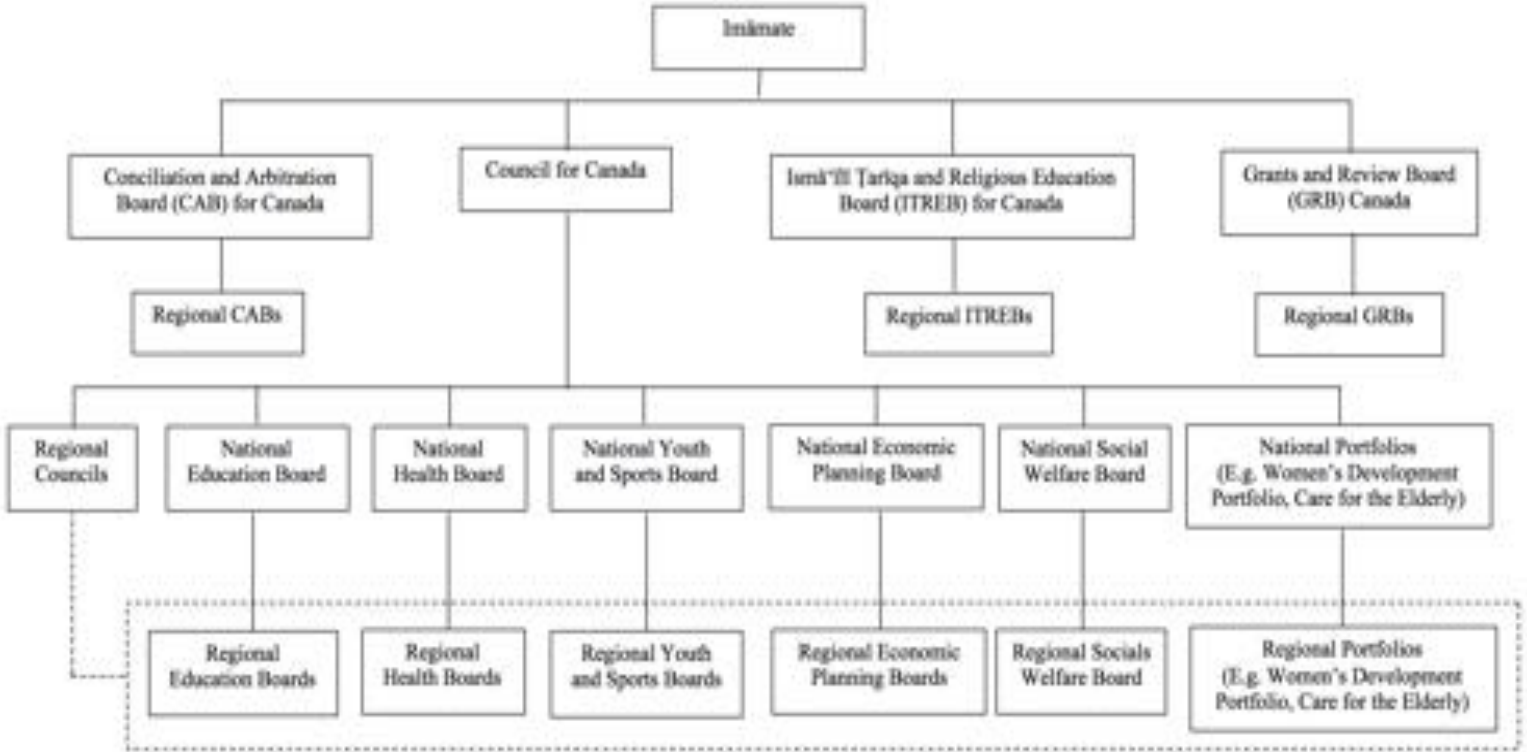
[1122] This chart is based on information provided in Farzana Logan's, "Conversation with President Malik Talib," *The Ismaili Canada* (Summer 2015): 48-55.

APPENDIX I

IBIC Cover Letter

... HE AGA KHAN ... SUPREME
... UNCIL FOR EUROPE, CANADA AND U.S.A.

Home de Lassy,
95170 Lausanne
France
Tel. : 471.02.07
Cable: AGAKHAN LASST

CIRCULAR NO. ...   ...th September, 1974.

Dear Sirs,

Re: ISMAILI PUBLICATIONS

At the last session of this Council, discussions were held on the implementation of the directives contained in this Council's circular number 3/74 dated 17th April, 1974, in the above connection.

We are now writing again to provide additional clarification regarding proposed publications. It is important that in each area the respective National Council should assume ultimate responsibility for all communal publications, and should ensure that no publications appear before appropriate authorisation has been obtained. In this connection, it would be advisable for each National Council concerned to specify the number of publications which it feels would adequately cater for the needs of the Jamat, and then with due expediency either appoint or approve the necessary editorial boards. It would seem logical for there to be at least one publication per each Regional Council. However, an excessive number of publications should be avoided, with the emphasis being on quality rather than on quantity.

With regard to the nature and contents of such publications, we quote hereunder for your ready reference the relevant sections from this Council's earlier circular No. 3/74:-

> "Such a publication would incorporate items of information of a general nature and of interest to the Jamat, including employment opportunities, commercial, industrial, social and educational activities of the Jamat, news about the implementation of Jamati programmes, decisions of various Councils and Conferences which are not of a confidential nature, etc. Such publications would, however, avoid dealing with topics that are either political, controversial or offensive in any manner, and would leave the treatment of religious subjects to the respective Ismailia Associations, which are best qualified for that purpose".

536

Date Received 25.10.7.
Hon. Secretary
Action Taken CC 415/76
Date Replied
A. NGAKHAV LAKHT

16th October 1976

Dear President and Members,

Ismaili Periodicals

At the last session of this Council, the efforts of various Jamati institutions in the publication of periodicals of a valid standard were noted with appreciation. Furthermore, it was resolved that efforts should be made towards ensuring that Ismaili periodicals, through a pooling of available resources and avoidance of duplication, achieve the desired standard and level of readership. For this purpose, the following guidelines were agreed upon :

(1) In each area of jurisdiction of a National Council, only one periodical of a social-economic-general interest nature should be published, under the supervision of the National Council.

(2) In each area of jurisdiction of a National Council, only one periodical of a religious nature should be published by the relevant Ismailia Association, under the supervision of the National Council.

(3) The National Council may authorise Regional Councils to publish periodically brief Newsletters containing local material of interest to the Jamat.

(4) The function of all periodicals should be the dissemination of information relevant to the interest and wellbeing of the Jamat.

(5) Ismaili periodicals should refrain from the publication of material that could arouse controversy through criticism and unnecessary dialectics.

(6) Each National Council is to assume final responsibility for all material appearing in Ismaili periodicals in its area of jurisdiction.

(7) Copies of all periodicals and Newsletters should be regularly submitted to the Supreme Council for record purposes.

I shall be grateful for your kind action in acquainting relevant Jamati institutions in your area of jurisdiction with the above guidelines, and in arranging the publication of periodicals and Newsletters as stipulated therein.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(SIR) EBOO PIRBHAI
PRESIDENT

Distribution : All National Councils
              All Ismailia Associations
Copies   : Members of the Supreme Council

537

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