

論文の英文要旨	
論文 題目	Anthropological Approach to the Sayyads of North Indian Muslim Society
氏名	Sachiyo KOMAKI

Reverence for the Prophet Muhammad is expressed in various ways, both collectively and individually, in all Muslim societies throughout the ages. Faith and ritual that perceive the legacy of the Prophet, in other words his 'words and deeds,' 'relics' and 'descendants,' as the vehicle for baraka (God's blessing) are seen in every area of Muslim society, regardless of differences in historical and geographical conditions.

This thesis focuses on the Sayyads, a Muslim category who claim that they are descendants of the Prophet, and aims to clarify from an anthropological perspective the position held in a North Indian Muslim society by them, as well as the role expected of them, and how they fulfil it. More precisely, it describes and analyzes cases concerning ritual and social relationships, involving status, occupations and gifts, between various categories or groups in the town of C, a pseudonym for a local town with a Muslim majority in Western Uttar Pradesh. In the process, by critically examining the debate on 'Muslim caste,' which is held to be an issue peculiar to South Asia, and drawing upon the results of the Muslim 'saints' debate centered on North Africa, it demonstrates the importance of considering what rank and sainthood mean to Muslims through of its study of the Sayyads.

Needless to say, the hierarchical ideology of caste and the egalitarian ethos of Islam are mutually incompatible. However, anthropological and sociological studies of South Asia have reported that Muslim society, like Hindu society, is composed of numerous endogamous groups, each with its own status and occupations in a society. Indeed, Muslim societies in South Asia have many similarities with Hindu societies in the same area. However, scholarly emphasis so far may well have tended to be too much placed on aspects of particularity of Muslim societies which have been influenced by Hindu caste practices. Might it not be said that from the task for the anthropological study of Islam proposed by Eickelman, understanding the world religion of Islam as a universal ideological force and at the same time a rich local expression, it is the rich local expression which has received all the attention?

To put it another way, the rich local expression of Islam in South Asia was perceived as something non-Islamic, and appropriate attention was not paid to the universal ideological force behind it. This universal ideological force is reverence for the Prophet and, by extension, the social attitude which gives preferential treatment to his 'descendants,' namely the Sayyads. The subject of this paper is the unravelling of the connection between various caste-like practices of Muslim society in North India which are considered to be non-Islamic and the universal ideological force embodied by the Sayyads. Hence, after raising the above issues in the introductory first chapter, the argument unfolds as follows.

Chapter 2 explains the historical, geographical and politico-economic background of the town

of C, the site of my field study, as well as the spatial organization of the town, the composition of its residents and the relationship between the town and villages, and through this demonstrates that the Sayyads, who belong to a particular family lineage, occupy a dominant and central position in the political and economic domain as well as in the spatial arrangement of the town.

From Chapter 3 the thesis is organized in two parts; the three chapters up to Chapter 5 are included in Part I 'Some aspects of the zat/biradari relationship.' Chapter 3 demonstrates that the Muslim society of C is divided into an upper and a lower section: the category of the upper three ranks (the zat) who stress their 'foreign origins,' and the nineteen lower ranking occupational groups (the biradari) who are held to be indigenous Indians who converted to Islam long ago. While this reveals a hierarchical Muslim society with the Sayyads at its top, or a Muslim society which ranks its fellows, it will also be pointed out how the fundamental sense of equality among Muslims is maintained by the borrowing from Hindu society of 'Untouchables' who follow unclean occupations such as sweeping.

Chapter 4 deals with discourse and social customs involving the zat/biradari ranking and disparity. The Muslim society of C is ideologically divided into two strata by a series of dichotomous folk terms which corresponds to the zat/biradari division, and this division is realized by both zat Muslims and biradari Muslims establishing and maintaining its boundaries. The major processes are: ① residential patterns which tend to be divided according to religion, occupation and group; ② the paucity of social intercourse such as reciprocal visits or invitations, attendance and commensality at ceremonies such as weddings and festivals; and ③ the matrimonial restrictions which are the most important apparatus in maintaining boundaries.

Although zat Muslims and biradari Muslims are thus divided in various aspects of social life, Chapter 5 relates some strategies employed by biradari Muslims who have acquired economic power to rise in zat/biradari ranking (ritual ranking) by imitating various practices of zat Muslims. Here it deserves our attention that the Sayyads are the exception in that they are not the target of such 'upwardly mobility.'

The afore-mentioned hierarchical relationship between zat Muslims and biradari Muslims is explained from the perspective of the former as an expression in Islamic idioms of 'proximity' to the Prophet Muhammad, or 'the order of conversion,' and that the social gulf between the two is to protect the lineage and prestige of zat Muslims. The logic of this ranking, based on this 'distance' from the Prophet or the length of faith, stresses a ritual ranking and is characterized by the way in which it does not reflect actual politico-economic rankings. The most striking expression of the logic of this ranking stressing ritual status is the exchange of gifts and service involving the highest ranks of Sayyads and in particular its asymmetrical nature. This is from where the strict boundaries arise between Sayyads and non-Sayyads, rather than the distinction between zat and biradari.

Thus, in Chapters 6 to 8, or 'Part II Sayyads: The Ideal and Practice of Honorable Lineages,' the role that is expected of the Sayyads, as well as how they fulfil it, will be clarified based on the example of the Rizvi, a family which claims descent from the 8th Imam of the Shia sect, and a renowned family in C as 'descendants of a saint,' 'landlords' and 'a family of mayors.'

Chapter 6 details how the Iranian ancestors of the Rizvi family somehow established themselves on their arrival in C and came to accumulate religious, political and economic power.

Chapter 7 refers to the matrimonial patterns of the Rizvi family to find out to what extent they have preserved the high status of the Sayyads and the bloodline stretching back to the Prophet which ensures their distinction. These reveal cousin marriages including the marriage to a paternal cousin (so-called Father's Brother's Daughter Marriage), an adherence to endogamous marriage among Sayyads through advertisements for a bride or bridegroom in newspapers or magazines, and furthermore a view of marriage whereby in a marriage with a non-Sayyad zat Muslim it was acceptable for a non-Sayyad woman to marry into the Sayyads (hypergamy) but inauspicious for a Sayyad woman to marry out (hypogamy).

Chapter 8 deals with the exchange of gifts and services between the Rizvi and some specialists each providing particular social or religious services. The Rizvi see 'helping' and 'giving' as a Sayyad duty and have the ideal of being a unilateral donor both in daily life and at important occasions such as weddings and festivals. It is worthy of special note that, despite being descended from a saint, they avoid making a living from sainthood (they refuse to perform the saintly task of 'interceding' with God in return for money or goods).

The obligation to be a unilateral donor which is a distinctive feature of the Sayyads is also seen in the religious act of almsgiving. The Sayyads are always the giver of alms (zakat), not the receiver. This is because theoretically they are bound to the Prophet by their 'honorable lineage,' possessing baraka by virtue of their birth, and so should be economically blessed. Needy Sayyads who have met with misfortune accept money and goods under the guise of 'gifts'; however since helping a 'descendant' of Allah's beloved Prophet is an act which will please Him the Sayyads do not feel indebted with regard to such gifts. On the contrary, it is seen as a good deed for which the donor can expect to be rewarded by God either in this world or the next. In addition, the term used for this 'gift' is the Arabic word 'hadiya,' a word which is also used in North India to mean the price of a Quran.

Based on the above examples, Chapter 9 concludes that the Sayyads are the holders of a honorable lineage stretching back to the Prophet who, even though they may be subordinate in politico-economic terms, are accorded a superior ritual status to the other Muslim categories/groups and, while not being religious specialists such as saints, are endowed with certain religious functions as a matter of birth, and are a distinctive Muslim category which may not receive specific gifts but rather is ideally a unilateral donor.

Reverence for the Prophet Muhammad is one of the factors integrating the Muslim community. The attitude of veneration found in almost every Muslim society towards the Sayyads is a universal phenomenon, and certainly not a local one. The expression of 'proximity' to the Prophet and methods to 'approach' the Prophet take various forms in each Muslim society; therefore one may say that in North Indian Muslim society they find expression in the hierarchical composition with the Sayyads at its top and in the relationship among the Sayyads involving marriage and gifts. This perspective not only provides a hint as to why 'the legacy of the Prophet,' that is, his 'words and deeds,' 'relics' and 'descendants,' are recognized throughout the Muslim areas, or why they are in circulation, but would also seem to be an important point suggesting why the existence of 'the legacy of the Prophet' is becoming an element joining Muslim societies into the Muslim community.