

IQBAL REVIEW

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Editor

Muhammad Suheyl Umar

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FRONTISPIECE

One hundred years ago, in 1888, Thomas Walker Arnold took up his appointment as teacher of philosophy in the Anglo-Mohammadan College at Aligarh, where he came under the College, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. On the latter's death in 1898 Arnold moved to Lahore as Professor of Philosophy at the renowned Government College. It was there that he came into contact with the student Iqbal and, as Iqbal acknowledged, had a profound influence on the course of the latter's education and thinking.

At this Sir Thomas Arnold Day conference we will be examining the close and enduring relationship between Arnold and Iqbal, the development of Arnolds own thinking and career both at Aligarh and at Lahore, and the role of both these institutions in the context of the development of education in India.

Arnold was a man of many interests, but especially of religion, art and oriental philosophy. His own background in England as the son of an ironmonger was not that of the usual administrators and colonialists of the British Raj; and perhaps for that reason he was able to identify more readily with the Muslims of India, even to the extent of dressing in Muslim costume when teaching at Aligarh.

After his return from India in 1904 he became the Sub-Librarian of the India Office Library from 1904 to 1921, and took on the responsibility of the welfare of Indian Students in England. He was also teaching Arabic at University College, London, where Iqbal deputized for him for about six months (1907-08). In 1921 he was appointed to the Chair of Arabic at what is now the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and was knighted for his services to the Indian Students Department.

FOREWORD

Dr. S. A. DURRANI

I wish to start by offering, on behalf of the Iqbal Academy (UK), our sincere thanks and appreciation to the Iqbal Academy Pakistan for very kindly agreeing to publish, in Iqbal Review, the Proceedings of our 'Sir Thomas Arnold Day' conference, held at the University of Birmingham, England, on Saturday, 19 November 1988. These are the second of our Proceedings carried in the Iqbal Review, the first being those of our International Seminar on 'Iqbal and Mysticism', held on 7 November 1987 (also at the University of Birmingham), and published in the Winter 1988 Issue of this Journal (Volume 29, No. 3, Oct.-Dec. 1988, pp. 1-126). We are most grateful to the Director, Iqbal Academy Pakistan, as well as the Editor and the Associate Editor of Iqbal Review for their hospitality - which puts into effect a part of the 'concordat' between the Pakistan and UK Iqbal Academies that was drawn-up in April 1988 at Lahore during my visit to the formers Head Office.

Secondly, a few words about the Sir Thomas Arnold Day itself. The event was made possible almost entirely by the fact that Iqbal Academy (UK) is fortunate to have as a member of its Management Committee, Dr Lawrence H. Barfield, who is the maternal grandson of Iqbal's illustrious mentor and lifelong friend, Sir Thomas Arnold. Some of the background of how I first became acquainted with the fact of this family connection will be found in my article (contained in these Proceedings) entitled 'Sir Thomas Arnold and Iqbal'. I have been very fortunate in being able to count Lawrence as a valued and close friend over the years, who has been ever willing to help in my researches into the life of Iqbal (especially in Europe). It was our ability to draw upon the invaluable store of material, both in terms of family recollections and archival material and in the form of personal relics, memorabilia, and publications of that great savant of Islam - as well as benefactor and friend of Iqbal -, that first gave me the idea that, of all the Iqbal Academies in the world, ours (i.e. Iqbal Academy (UK)) was the one most suited - and privileged - to hold a function to honour Sir Thomas Arnold and to highlight his relationship with Iqbal. When, therefore, Lawrence Barfield reminded us early in 1988 that was the centenary year of his grandfather's arrival in India (to teach at the Muhammadan Anglo

Oriental College at Aligarh - now the Muslim University Aligarh), we at the Iqbal Academy were spurred into action, and readily agreed to hold a commemorative function to mark that occasion. The results - and details - of that activity will be found in the following pages.

It may be worth mentioning here that, in addition to preparing these Proceedings, we have also made a video recording of the whole function, including that of the books and memorabilia comprising the exhibition that accompanied the speeches, so that a complete audio-visual record has been preserved of this, possibly unique, event which is of considerable significance not only to Iqbal' but also to the world of Islam in general. (For the record: a video recording of our 1987 'Iqbal and Mysticism' seminar was also made.)

It remains for me only to thank all the speakers who read papers at the Arnold Day; the families of Arnold and Lawrence Barfield (and both of them personally) for putting together the memorabilia of Sir Thomas for the exhibition - and indeed for gracing the occasion with their presence in such strength, viz. comprising members of Arnold's 3rd to 5th generations; the well known Pakistani painter, Shaikh M. Saeed, for producing, and presenting to the Academy, two portraits of Sir Thomas Arnold; and Mr. Salimuddin Qureshi of India Office Library, London, for bringing supplementary archival material to our exhibition. And lastly, but by no means least, I must express my sincere thanks to my old friend from our Cambridge days, His Excellency the Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr. Shaharyar M. Khan. As I have said elsewhere in the pages that follow, it was the second successive November that Shaharyar Khan had honoured Iqbal Academy (UK) by presiding over our Annual Function. We are most grateful to him for his support and encouragement - which gains an extra dimension when it is remembered that Shaharyar Khan's illustrious maternal grandfather, Nawab Hameedullah Khan of Bhopal, was a great devotee of Iqbal, who helped him in many ways, especially during the poet's last - and protracted - illness. We hope that this association between the Ambassador of Pakistan and Iqbal Academy (UK) will continue in the years to come."

Perhaps I might conclude by adding just a few lines about these Proceedings themselves. The first point to be made is that they reflect what actually happened during the Iqbal Academy (UK)'s Sir Thomas Arnold Day Conference: we have not attempted to make a comprehensive coverage of all Professor Arnold's achievements and activities during a very fruitful life.

These have been adequately covered in the obituary published by Sir Thomas's friend, Sir Marc Aurel Stein ('Thomas Walker Arnold, 1864-1930', in Proceedings of the British Academy, XVI (1930), to which the interested reader is referred. Secondly, I have added some editorial comments and footnotes to some of the speeches reproduced in the following pages. This applies, in particular, to the Presidential Address made by H.E. the Ambassador of Pakistan, which had to be transcribed from a tape recording (for which I wish to thank Eileen Shinn, the Academy's secretarial assistant, for successfully accomplishing an arduous task). Some footnotes have also been added to the paper by the Barfield brothers.

NOTES & REFERENCES

Postscript. It is a pleasure to add that Mr Shaharyar Muhammad Khan did, indeed, continue the tradition to a third successive November, when, on 22nd November 1989, he was the Guest of Honour at the Iqbal Day, jointly organized by the Iqbal Academy (UK) and the Cambridge University Students' Society, and held at Trinity College, Cambridge (Iqbal's old college). The ceremony was presided over by the Master of Trinity - the Nobel Laureate, Sir Andrew Huxley, FRS. - S.A.D.

MAIN PUBLICATIONS OF THOMAS WALKER ARNOLD- (1864 - 1930)

1. 1896 The Preaching of Islam, London, Constable.
 2. 1898 (Translation from the Italian) The Little Flowers of Saint Francis, London, J.M. Dent.
 3. 1913 With A. Grohmann, Editors of The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden, Brill.
 4. 1913 Denkmaler Islamischer Buchkunst. In: T.W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, eds. The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden, Brill.
 5. 1921 With L. Binyon. The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls, Oxford, University Press.
 6. 1922 With R.A. Nicholson. Editors of A Volume of Oriental Studies Presented to Edward G. Browne on his 60th Birthday, Cambridge Martin, ed. The Western
 7. 1922 Europe and Islam. In: F.R. M rimed Western Races and the World, The unity series (Rep 1968 Freeport, New York, Books for Libraries Press.)
 8. (Reprinted 1924 The Caliphate, Oxford, Clarendon 1965 - London, Routledge and Kegan Pual.
 9. 1924 Survivals of Sassanian and Manichaeian Art. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
 10. 1926 The King and the Dervish, Vienna. Printed for the author 1926 With F.R. Martin. Miniatures from the Period of
 11. the Poems of Sultan Ahmad Jalair, Timur in a MS of Vienna. Printed for the authors.
- In:
12. 1926 Arab travellers and l merchants, 1 of the Middle A.P. Newton, ed. Ages, New York, pp. 88-103.
 13. 1928 The Islamic Faith, London, Ernest Been.

14. 1928 *Painting in Islam. A Study of the Place of Pictorial Art in Muslim Culture*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
15. 1929 With. A. Grohmann. *The Islamic e Book, A Contribution to its Art and History from the VII-XVIII Century*, Paris, The Pegasus Press; New York, Harcourt, Brace & co.
16. 1929 *Bihzad and his Paintings in the Zafar-namah MS.*, London, Quaritch.
17. 1931 *Islamic- art and its influence on painting in Europe*. In: T.W. Arnold and A. Guillaume, eds. *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
18. 1931 T.W. Arnold and A. Guillaume, eds. *The Legacy of Islam*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
19. 1932 *The Old and new Testaments in Muslim Religious Art*. London, British Academy.
20. 1936 J.V.S. Wilkinson, ed. *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures*, London: Oxford, J. Johnson.
21. 1937 With J.V.S. Wilkinson. *Chronicle of Akbar the Great: a Description of a Manuscript of the Akbar-nama illustrated by the Court Painters*. Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club.
22. (date?) *Muslim Civilisation during the Abbasid Period*. In: *Cambridge Mediaeval History*
23. (date?) With F.R. Martin. *The Nizami Ms. Illuminated by Bihzad, Mirak and Qasim Ali*, London, The British Museum.



SIR THOMAS ARNOLD AND IQBAL

DR. SAEED A. DURRANI

Chairman, Iqbal Academy (UK)

Your Excellency, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are gathered together here today to commemorate that great Orientalist, Sir Thomas Walker Arnold - who made lasting contributions to East-West relations and understanding. He was steeped in the history of Islam, its philosophy, and its cultural manifestations - especially art and painting: for instance, he was one of the first to introduce the genre of Persian miniature to the West in the early 1920s. Professor Arnold was also one of the first Westerners to bring a sympathetic as well as a penetrating comprehension to bear upon all that Islam and its followers, all over the world and through the ages, had accomplished.

Dr Christian Troll will, later today, cover more extensively those aspects of Thomas Arnold's life which are specifically related to his services to Islam, when he gives his lecture on 'Sir Thomas Arnold as a Student of Islam'. Sir Thomas's personal life will be reviewed by his two grandsons, Mr. Arnold Barfield and Dr Lawrence Barfield, whom we are very fortunate and proud to have presented here with us today. The task given to me is simply to bring out the special relationship between Sir Thomas Arnold and Iqbal. This I shall try to do in a few moments' time.

Since, however, I am the first speaker at today's seminar, perhaps it would be useful to present a very brief sketch of Sir Thomas's life and career at the outset. These have been encapsulated by Dr. Barfield in a few paragraphs printed in the leaflet that all of you have received. Perhaps you would permit me to read some of these lines to refresh your memory.

One hundred years ago, in 1888, Thomas Walker Arnold took up his appointment as teacher of philosophy in the Anglo Muhammadan College at Aligarh, where he came under the influence of the great Indian Muslim reformer and founder of the College, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. On his death in 1898 Arnold moved to Lahore as Professor of Philosophy at the renowned Government College. It was there that he came into contact with the student,

Iqbal and, as Iqbal acknowledged, Arnold had a profound influence on the course of the latter's education and thinking.

Arnold was a man of many interests, but especially of religion, art and oriental philosophy. His own background in England as the son of an ironmonger was not that of the usual administrators and colon iwasalistsabtel of the e British Raj; and perhaps for that reason he identify more readily with the Muslims of Iennditeacha, evening to at the extent of dressing in Muslim costume when Aligarh.

After his return from India in 1904 he became the Sub-Librarian of the India Office Library from 1921, and took on the responsibility of the welfare of Indian students in England. He was also teaching Arabic at University College, London, where Iqbal deputized for him for about six months (1907-08)¹. In 1921 he was appointed to the Chair of Arabic at what is now the School knighted of Oriental and African Studies, London, and was for his services to the Indian Students Department.”

Now most students of Urdu literature in general, and of Iqbal's poetry in particular, first come across the name of Thomas Arnold in a Preface written by that great savant of Urdu language and literature, and the founder of the first great Urdu magazine “Makhzan” (indeed, the English word ‘magazine’ and the French word ‘magasin’ are derived from the Arabic word ‘makhzan’: literally, treasure-house), which was founded - apparently with the active encouragement of Professor Arnold himself - at an Lahore in 1901 - namely Shaikh Sir Abdul Qadir, later a Judge (d, Lahore if my memory serves me right, a Chief Justice) of High Court. The Preface in question is that written by Abdul Qadir to Iqbal's first book of Urdu in verse entitled In this *Bang-i-Dara* (i.e. the Call of the Caravan), publish in 1924. In this Preface Sir Abdul Qadir wrote as follows:

“After his early education up to the stage of F.A., (roughly equivalent to A-level in England) [at the Scotch Mission College at Sialkot] Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal had to come to Lahore to read for his B.A. He was interested in reading philosophy; and amongst his teachers at [the Government College] Lahore he found a most kindly mentor, who, in view of Iqbal's predilection for philosophy, taught him with especial attention and care. Professor Arnold, who is now Sir Thomas Arnold and lives in England, is a man of extraordinary ability. He is an excellent writer, and is well versed

in the modern methods of research and quest for knowledge. He desired to give of his own taste and methods to his pupil; and he succeeded in this to a large extent. Earlier, during his time at Aligarh College as a professor, he had succeeded in strengthening the literary and intellectual taste of his friend and colleague, Maulana Shibli. Now he found here another gem, and he determined to polish it up. And the friendship and affection that was established between the teacher and the taught, finally took the pupil to England in the wake of his teacher. There these bonds were further strengthened, and exist to this day. Arnold is pleased that his exertions bore fruit, and his disciple is now able to bring credit to his own [i.e. Arnold's] name in the world of knowledge; and Iqbal acknowledges the fact that the foundations which were laid at Sialkot by Syed Mir Hasan, and which were solidified by contacts with the court-poet Dagh, were finally built upon to completion by the kindly guidance of Arnold.”

Incidentally, it is an intriguing sidelight to note a strange coincidence in the lives of two of Sir Thomas Arnold's greatest pupils or colleagues, mentioned by Sir Abdul Qadir in the above extract. At Aligarh, Sir Thomas polished into a brilliant gem that innately talented scholar, Maulana Shibli Nu'mani, who has written one of the greatest histories of Persian poetry, entitled “Sh'er ul 'Ajam”, published in several volumes around the turn of the last century. At the Government College, Lahore, Arnold had a similar effect on the young Iqbal. And the strange coincidence is that both their names are romantically linked with a beautiful young Indian Muslim girl, of noble extraction, who was one of the first Indian ladies to receive European education in England, namely Atiya Fyzee. She came from a Nawab family mid-western India near Bombay, and was studying at London during the time that Iqbal was at Cambridge and then in London, namely 1905-1908. Shibli has written several Persian ghazals or lyrics about her, and Iqbal corresponded with her from 1907 to 1931 (these letters were published by Atiya Begum herself, in 1947). My own interpretation is that the great religious divine, Shibli, fell in love with the young Atiya Fyzee – or at least with her image – while she fell in love with Iqbal and wanted him to marry her. Be that as it may, this is not the time or the place to analyze the intriguing psychological puzzle as to why two of Sir Thomas Arnold's best known pupils (or colleagues) should fall for the same lady – and I intend to say nothing further on this fascinating subject at present, for I do not believe

it casts any great light on Professor Arnold's methods of research into the history of Islam! (Though whether this coincidence tells us something about Sir Thomas's aesthetic faculties, which were highly refined, is another matter.)

To go back to Sir Abdul Qadir's Preface to the *Bang-i-Dara*: the writer continues, a little later in the Preface, to narrate the following fascinating incident:

During 1905-1908, there commenced a second phase of Iqbal's poetry. This is the period that he spent in Europe. Although his stay there he found relatively little time for poetry, and the number of poems that he wrote there is quite small, yet one can see a special colour given to them by his experiences and observations in Europe [at Cambridge, London and Heidelberg/Munich]. During this period that he spent in Europe. Although during his stay there he found relatively little time for poetry, and the number of poems that he wrote there is quite small, yet one can see a special colour given to them by his experiences and observations in Europe [at Cambridge, London and Heidelberg./Munich]. During this period, two major changes took place in his thinking. For two out of these three years (1905-1908), I too happened to live in England, and had frequent opportunities of meeting Iqbal. One day, Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal said to me that he had firmly decided to give up poetry. He would take an oath that he would never write poetry any more, and the time saved from that occupation he would devote to some more useful task. I said to him that his poetry was not of a type that ought to be abandoned; rather, his poetry possessed such effectiveness that there was a possibility that it might be able to offer a cure for the ills afflicting our forlorn nation and our unfortunate country. For this reason, it would not be right to render such a useful and God-given force inoperative. Shaikh Sahib (Iqbal) was partly convinced, and partly not convinced, by my argument; so it was agreed that the final decision should be left to Professor Arnold's opinion on the subject: if he agreed with me, then Shaikh Sahib should relinquish his idea of abandoning poetry; but if Arnold Sahib agreed with Iqbal, then the decision to give up poetry should be adhered to. I believe that it was a great good fortune for the world of learning that Arnold Sahib agreed with my point of view, and so it was decided that it was not correct for Iqbal to abandon poetry-writing: for the time that he devoted to this occupation was useful for both himself and for his nation and country."

As the well-known Iqbal scholar, Dr Ashiq Hussain Batalvi, noted in an early article on Arnold (written in 1956, and based largely on the very comprehensive appreciation of Sir Thomas Arnold published in 1932 by his life-long friend, Sir Marc Aurel Stein, in the Proc. Brit. Acad., Vol. Xvi), which Dr Batalvi has very kindly just sent me: "In the light of the incident quoted above [from Sir Abdul Qadir's Preface] one can see what a great burden of gratitude we owe to Arnold, under which our head must remain bowed for ever. If, God forbid, Arnold had advised Iqbal to give up poetry, no-one today would have heard of Iqbal's name."

I mentioned a little earlier that most students of Iqbal know something about Sir Thomas Arnold because of Sir Abdul Qadir's Preface to Bang-i-Dara. Indeed, if I may interject here a sentence or two about my own experience: When I first met Dr Lawrence Barfield, here at the University of Birmingham, where he teaches in the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology and I in the Department of Physics, some fifteen or eighteen years ago, he said to me - on my telling him that I came from Lahore in Pakistan - that his own maternal grandfather had, he believed, also taught at Lahore at the beginning of this century. With great modesty - an endearing characteristic of Lawrence's, most probably inherited from his illustrious maternal grandfather - Dr Barfield went on to say: "But I don't suppose you would have heard of him." When I he said he was called asked him to tell me his name anyway, "But Sir Thomas Arnold Thomas Arnold. I immediately exclaimed, is fantastically well known in India and Thomas' Arnold Anyone who And knows anything about Iqbal, knows thereupon I proceeded to tell him about Sir Abdul Qadir's Preface to the Bang-i-Dara - and indeed the two extracts to that I hhBarave st read out are the translated it was thisadiscuspon about Sir Thomas July 1973. In some ways, researches into the life of Arnold that put me on the road of my in my book of that Iqbal in Europe, which are collected together Pakistan, at Lahore in title (published in Urdu2 by Iqbal Academy.

Hence, today's function is a fitting climax of that first 1985). some fifteen years ago. discussion between Lawrence and myself Going back to Arnold's influence on Iqbal and the early

ht processes: As Sir Abdul Qadir

development of the Tatter's thoug P it was Thomas

has stated, and is attested from other sources, Philosophy at Arnold who first aroused Iqbal's interest in reading

the Government College, Lahore, where Arnold was the Professor of Philosophy from February 1898 to February 1904. and subsequently

then

took his M.A. degree in that subject in 1899,

joined the staff of that College (in 1903) as an Assistant Professor to teach English and Philosophy. A few years earlier (in 1899), Professor Arnold, who was simultaneously the a Principal of

the Readership

nearby Oriental College, Lahore, had got where he

McLeod Readership in Arabic) at the latter College, Iqbal

he

Here, amongst other things, served for about three years.

wrote, and published in 1903, his first book entitled 'Science of Economics') - a book which is largely derivative

("The English works on the subject. In its Preface

of the then-prevalent remarks I wish to Iqbal states: "Before closing these prefatory Mr Arnold Sahib,

thank my respected and revered teacher, urged Arnold to Sahib, me write Professor Government College, Lahore, who this book, and to whose fruitful association these pages are owed."

It is also documented (see the book Letters from India by Anna B. Stratton, London 1908, p. 131, based on the correspondence of her husband - who died very young -, namely Professor Alfred Stratton, Professor of Sanskrit at the Oriental College and simultaneously the Registrar, University of the Punjab), it was Professor Arnold who -persuaded Iqbal to go to Cambridge (Arnold's old University) for higher studies in Philosophy in 1905 (soon after Arnold had returned to England in 1904): for originally Iqbal had been considering going to the USA for this purpose, where Professor Stratton, a Canadian by birth, had himself been educated.

In this context, it may be of interest to quote a few lines from the poem Iqbal wrote at that time, which is included in his above-mentioned first book of Urdu poetry, *Bang-i-Dara*. This poem is entitled (VJ'JL' - i.e. 'Cry of Separation' (in memory of Arnold). The following lines, out of a poem consisting of five-stanzas, will give the flavour of the poem and of Iqbal's thoughts at the time.

Urdu Poem by IQBAL
Cry of Separation
(in memory of Arnold)

1. He shifted his dwelling place to the West at last Alas! The land of the East he did not find agreeable My heart today has understood the truth

That the light of the day of separation is darker than the darkest night.

“Since it has received the searing wound of separation of a loved one like a snuffed out candle my glance lies asleep within my eyes.”

3. The atom of my heart was about to become bright as Sun

My broken mirror was about to reflect the entire universe

The tree of my ambitions was about to flourish Alas! No-one will know what I was about to become from naught.

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“The cloud of blessing passed by my garden and
flew away hopes, and left.”

A little it rained on the blossoms of my h

5. restless hshand will hatter the untie the knot of Fate

I shall shatter of the Punjab and become
free

My wondering eyes look at thy portrait

But alas! He who would like to hear your speech remains unsatisfied.

“The mouth of a picture has no power of speech

The speech of a picture is naught but complete silence.”

So finally Iqbal reached Cambridge in September
enrolled

the behest or with the encouragement of Arnold, and Atiya
in Trinity College, Cambridge. In her book 'Iqbal' (1947), Begum narrates
several occasions when Iqbal r viwesited

Professor Arnold in London or when Arnold guests.
together in Cambridge while

hyperbolic styleasshesmen onsshowe in June Indeed, in her rather hype
held in London to visit

1907 Arnold persuaded Iqbal during a party there. Germany to decipher
a rare Arabic ~ ~n n~ tQtsend Shtheree "Professor Arnold said, 'Iqbal,

you are the right man for this responsible in comparison When snIw al
demurred by saying that he was a mere

his teacher, Arnold replied; 'I am sure that in this case, the pupil All
this was expressed with so much will surpass his teacher.'

that it constituted a perfect finesse and in such courteous language
specimen of the art of verbal duelling between intellectual and cultivated
people." of

Iqbal completed his studies at Cambridge in the spring
degree, by dissertation, in June 1907.

1907, and took a B.A. no programme for the degree of

Since, as I discovered in 1977, at any other British
Ph.D. was offered at Cambridge - or probably

e university - at that time (the first Ph.D.

the University of Mun gh being issued after 1921), Iqbal went
for that purpose.

It is a long story, which I do not have the time to go into at this
moment; but as I fully explain in my book (Iqbal in Europe, Lahore 1985),
Iqbal obtained his Ph.D. in November 1907 on the basis of the same

dissertation that he had prepared and submitted at Cambridge earlier in that year, namely 'Development of Metaphysics in Persia'. Now I had read somewhere in Professor Annemarie Schimmel's writings (probably in her book Gabriel's Wing, 1963) that his thesis supervisor (or Doktorvater) at the University of Munich, Professor Fritz Hommel, was a specialist in Semitic/Hebrew studies. Since Sir Thomas was also a scholar of a semitic language, viz. Arabic, it had appeared probable to me that it was Arnold who might have recommended Iqbal to Professor Hommel at Munich - and I have said so in the Preface to my book. My belief had also been strengthened by the observation that Iqbal had dedicated the published version of his dissertation (viz., Development of Metaphysics in Persia, Luzac & Co., London 1908) - though not the original dissertation preserved in the Munich University Library - to Sir Thomas Arnold. This dedication reads as follows:

DEDICATION

To

Professor T.W. ARNOLD M.A. My dear MR. ARNOLD,

This little book is the first-fruit of that literary and philosophical training which I have been receiving from you for the last ten years, and as an expression of gratitude I beg to dedicate it to your name. You have always judged me liberally; I hope you will judge these pages in the same spirit.

Your affectionate pupil.
IQBAL

My speculations in the Preface (published in 1985) were fully vindicated last year - i.e. in October 1987 - when I discovered

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the file on S.M. Iqbal at the University Archives of the Maximilians-Universität,

Munich. There lay, for all these 80 yeen ars,

a fascinating collection of intellectual notes and Philosophical Faculty of what the various professors of this university. Professor Rommel was that the subject matter of

thesis, the main thrust of which is In Persia Iqbal's thesis - namely and Manic seen through the centuries from Greek, Christian

of Islamic dominance - was outside the area of his own competence, which was near-Eastern sees it clearly emerged, who however, that fortunately there existed

could attest to the value and originality of Professor's Pro-essore of Iqbal's former teacher, Professor had Arabic at the University of London, whose letter Iqbal forwarded to Professor Hommel. In this letter Professor Arnold says:

Whitehall, India Office, Oct. 2nd 1907 • I have read Prof. Muhammad Iqbal's (sic) dissertation interest. So the Development of Metaphysics in Persia" with much

as I am aware, it is the first attempt that has been made to trace the continuous development of ancient Iranian and so bring out the have survived in Muhammadan philosophy phases of Muslim thought. distinctively Persian character of many

phases and "The writer has made use of much material hitherto to unpublished a little known in Europe, and his

contribution to the history of Muhammadan philosophy.

T.W. Arnold, Prof. of Arabic

University of London.

So Professor Hommel concludes in October 1907 that he is fully satisfied that the thesis is the Faculty after an oral recommended for acceptance by

examination for the Ph.D. degree. a future

The file then goes to Professor von Hertling, Chancellor of Germany, and at that time Professor von Hof (Catholic)

von Hertling

-- „o T'nivP,TSitV o of Munich.

remarks that: “I have inspected Professor Iqbal’s thesis with interest. It represents itself as the work of a man with an extensive education. Here ends what I can say about it.” (He then explains that his own knowledge of the subject is confined to medieval Latin sources, whereas Iqbal has made extensive use of Persian and Arabic sources, of which he knows nothing): He goes on to say: “However, since a favourable judgement by a competent source [viz., Professor Arnold] is lying before us, I will support the

Proposal of my colleague Hommel to admit the author to the oral Ph.D. examination.”

So, once again, it is Thomas Arnold whose recommendation saves the day for Iqbal in view of the lack of expertise in his chosen field then prevailing at the University of Munich. Other professors concurred with Professors Hommel and von Herding - and finally Iqbal got his Ph.D. degree from Munich (although it is a separate and fascinating story how the German Professors -decided to give Iqbal oral examinations in Arabic and English philologies, with philosophy merely a minor subject, in view of their reluctance to examine him in the philosophy and

metaphysics of Persia, where they felt themselves to be on shaky ground!).

Incidentally, Iqbal had been invited by Professor Arnold to deputize for him in teaching Arabic at the University of London during his own absence in Egypt for several months in 1907-08. Iqbal had thus emphasized to Munich University that he must return to London by 10th November. It was in view of this fact that his oral examination was fixed hurriedly for 4th November 1907. Eventually Iqbal left for London on 5th November 1907, where he took over from Professor Arnold as the Professor of

Arabic (his duties there being to give two lectures a week until the late spring/early summer of 1908)³.

No wonder, under these circumstances, that Iqbal felt sufficiently grateful to Professor Arnold to dedicate his first book to be published in Europe to Professor T.W. Arnold, as stated above.

But it was not just a perfunctory dedication. Iqbal felt genuinely close to Sir Thomas. He wrote several letters to

IQBAL REVIEW

his family after his return to Lahore. One of and addressed to Nancy Arnold B

Pre

Professor Arnold and

these, rfoed s mother), January in 1911, London, who was then Thomas's is on mother),

display here in the Exhibition of about

Sir 'T13homyears old, is

memorabilia. In this letter he refers to her father u ~er "my humanity"

,

busy looking after the welfare of younger

in Professor who "very s Indian students in England,

(by which he means playfully, "so do act a good Arnold's charge), and adds, and the poor mortal Iqbal who is prophet between his Divinity

anxious to know all about him. I am sure he will not restraint due revelations to y course. you, which you will communicate to me from e

~~ he original of this letter is currently Ad oon loan f Quaid-e-Azam Lawrence Barfield Professor

in a letter Ahmed

Atiya Fyzee, dated

Islamabad.) to Miss Fyzee's cousins,

30th March 1910, Iqbal says (in referring he later became,

Sir Akbar Hydari,

Mr & Mrs Akbar Hydari; was - according at that time the Finance Minister of

Hyderabad to Atiya - respect for both of them.

Theirs "I have immense Tthe first being the Theirs is s the Sto: second real home that I~at,eduseen - ring his Lahore first being days, Arnold's." It was not for nothing

Arnold was called "the Saint" in his circle of friends. Thomas

Iqbal never forgot the great formative influence that Professor Arnold had on his mental and intellectual development. Indeed when Iqbal wrote:~jjd.)""6 53,1 J)

(My intellect was developed by

the lectures of

western philosophers

the company of (But) my heart was illumined by

visionaries (or 'seers') had for he fulfilled both

he probably Thomas Arnold in mind - for her, but he also possessed these roles:

the he was a western p but letter of these roles: the 'inner eye'. This is borne out by the Thomas condolence that Iqbal wrote on the

Arnold's death on 9th June 1930, to his widow Lady Arnold. T(The homas original of this rare and valuable letter is on display in our

SIR THOMAS ARNOLD AND IQBAL

Exhibition in an adjoining room, along with Sir Thomas's other memorabilia, which all of you are invited to view at the end of the speeches.) May I read it out in full?

DR. SIR MUHAMMAD IQBAL,

M.L.C. LAHORE. BARRISTER-AT-LAW

16th July 1930

My dear Lady Arnold,

It is impossible for me to tell you and Nancy of the terrible shock which came to us all when the news of the untimely death of Sir Thomas Arnold arrived in India. As you know he was loved by his pupils and all those who came into contact with him otherwise. I know words expressive of grief can bring but little consolation to you, but I assure you that your grief is shared by people in England, India and all those countries where his work as a great Orientalist was known. Indeed his death is a great loss to British scholarship as well as to the world of Islam whose thought and literature he served with unabated zeal till the last moment of his earthly life. To me his loss is personal, for it was his contact that formed my soul and put it on the road to knowledge. No doubt from our point of view that luminous flame of life is now extinguished, but it is my firm conviction that to those who, like

him, devote their life to love and service death means only 'more light'.

I earnestly pray that God may grant eternal peace to his loving soul and may give you and Nancy fortitude enough to bear with patience the loss caused by his untimely death.

Yours Sincerely,

Muhammad Iqbal

What a forceful sentence!: "To me his loss is personal, for it was his contact that formed my soul and put it on the road to knowledge", - can one pay a greater tribute to a teacher, or to any human being? And for Iqbal, himself one of the greatest visionaries of our time, and the Poet-Philosopher of the East, to say: "... it was his contact that formed my soul, and put it on the road to knowledge", demonstrates without the shadow of a doubt what a

great scholar and teacher

and Sir will therefore Thomas Arnold

stop here. I do not think I

need to say any more a

Thank you very much, Ladies and Gentlemen, for your attention.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. It now appears, from letters of Arnold, written from Egypt to his family and shown to me by Dr Lawrence Barfield,

that this period spanned only three months from November 1907 to the end of January 1908. -(S.A.D.)

2. tr'~,1~ 'cJWr

3. As explained in the first footnote above, these probably lasted only until February 1908.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

STUDENTS (Government College Lahore.)

Valedictory Verses

Presented to the Honourable and Exalted Mr Arnold Sahib, Professor
Government College, Lahore

by Master Shugan Chand, English Teacher,
Oriental College, Lahore.

1. Sad appear today the trees of the garden Their branches are bent, their
fruits fast dying.

2. People's hearts are full of grief at your parting Their tempers are out
of sorts at your going.

3. On hearing of your intent to return home all those are grief-stricken
Whose hearts have been the abode of your exalted qualities.

4. The Sun and Moon are also journeying from the East to the West
For they, too, have heard of your wish to go West.

5. The world offers you the souvenir of "Peace be with you" When it
sees you going from India to England.

6. The fame of your art and knowledge has spread to the skies Both
angels and humans are convinced of your greatness.

7. To offer as a sacrifice to you have brought The Seven Seas all their
pearls collected together.

8. It is your light that is reflected by the Sun and the Moon From your
lofty brow shines the grandeur of God,

7. He wishes to scatter at your feet All the wealth that is carried by King
Karoun.

8. The Oriental College is greatly indebted to you For you have been the
gardener of this great garden.

9. When he heard that T.W. Arnold is returning to Blighty Constantly in prayer is this broken-hearted poet, Ajiz.

10. May you reach home safe and sound And may you be blessed by God with an auspicious son!

11. May you and the Mem Sahib and the Miss Sahib Stay happy in this world and have life everlasting!

Your most obedient servant and well wisher
Shugan Chand English Teacher
Oriental College Lahore.

Footnote: This valedictory poem, presented by Master Shugan Chand to Professor Thomas Arnold at the farewell ceremony held at the Oriental College, Lahore, on 16 February 1904, has been translated by Dr S.A. Durrani. The translation was recited by the great-grandson of Sir Thomas, Master Sebastian Barfield (then aged 15), at the Arnold

Day Conference. - Ed.

VALEDICTORY POEM (16 FEBRUARY 1904)

Master Shugan Chand
(Oriental College, Lahore)

میرزا شاد علی صاحب
آج کچھ گلین نظر آتے ہیں گلشن کے بیچ + میں خمیہ جھکی شاخیں گلے پر درہ تیر
آپ کی وقت سے غم آردہ میں آؤنگو دل + آپ کی دوری میں انکی طبابت تشر
آپ کا غم و دل بستر پریشان ہو گئے + جسکے دل میں آپ کے خلق حمید کا تھا
غم مغرباً پکا معلوم انکو ہو گیا + شرق سے میں رہے مغرب سے یہ غم تو
میں بی و دیو کا تھے پیش کرتا ہوں ہلکا + آپ کو اب ہند سے اعلیٰ جانا دیکھ
آپ کے علم و ہنر کی دہر سے اعلیٰ پر + آپ کی عظمت کا قابل میں ملک و سر
آپ پر ایسا کہ جسے لگا ہوا ہے آج + ہفت قلم ہیں جیسا کہ کلمہ کمال
آپ ہیں نور کی شمس قمر ہیں ہے جہلک + آپ کی بیانی میں خدا ہی صمد و گر
آرہ سے آپ کے قدموں پر کر دیں نشا + جوئے پیرتا ہر فاروق اپنے ریحال آرد
اور نیک ملک آرد آپ کی منزلوں سے + اہ چلے ہیں آپ ہیں نور حسن کا گونر

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS (1904)

M. Abdul Hakim Ikhlas Khani
(Oriental College, Lahore)

بخدمتِ بزرگوارِ مدرسہ لائبریری و کتب خانہ لاہور
بخدمتِ بزرگوارِ مدرسہ لائبریری و کتب خانہ لاہور

بمقرب تشریف بری جناب والا بطن مالوف جنرل ملازمت ہندوستان بدین
شرقی کالج لاہور بقتضائے نیاز سندی کہ نسبت بجناب والا در اول ایشان جاگیر
است انہما تانسف مینائید ❖

بہر وی کہ از جناب جناب والا اصلاح حال و استحکام کارخانہ مشرقی کالج وقتاً فوقتاً بظاہر آید
در اول ہوا خواہان جمعی نقش نشدہ کہ نامت العرم چونندان از امید توان داشت و یا از ہمدہ
شکر گذاریش بر بدن لامر سے سل الحصول توان شمر دے اگر ہوسے من گروہ بمانے۔
د تو را تم بہر یک و اتانے۔ بیارم گوہر شکر تو سفتن۔ سہروسے ترا حسان تو گفتن۔
اگر چہ عقیدہ بون مشرقی کالج محتاج بیان نیست لیکن در نظر بعضے زبانے روزگار کہ طبع
ایشان آشنائے انصاف واقع شدہ تاویز صرف تا قدر والی مینویز جناب لایہ بر این تامل ہے و حج
ساعو کثیر الشان فوج بولش را سپاہ شہوت رسانیدہ و ادہنر پوری و ادندہ این کار تو ہدیہ و ان خیرین کنندہ
اگر چہ مشرقی کالج بہت کذائی و حیثیت مجموعی خود و نظر بہر سندان آفاق خصوصیتی
دارد لیکن تا وقتیکہ کہ نسبت نارا امید بذرسان و کارکنان کالج با بسیاری تعیین سرمایہ نشین
سرسز کردہ نشود این کالج و قفے معتد بہ و تقوی سے کامل حاصل نخواہد کرد ❖

شمارا بخدا امید سپاریم و بے دعا دست می برداریم کہ خداوند کریم جناب والا را سعہ
سیم صاحبہ و بس صاحبہ بخیر و عافیت بوطن مالوف رسانیدہ ہموارہ و رکشف حمایت
خوبیش داشته از حوادث دوران محفوظ و مامون و اراد و با فرود ختمن چرخ نولد
فرزند و بلند مشکوے معلی را منور گرداناد ❖

شتمسک محمد عبدالمجید خلیفہ ثانی پرنسپل کالج لاہور۔ ویلیو یونیورسٹی (پنجاب)

SIR THOMAS W. ARNOLD AS'A STUDENT OF ISLAM'

DR. CHRISTIAN W. TROLL

In an essay written five years ago William Montgomery Watt, the well-known Scottish student of Islam, wrote: 'One of the features of our contemporary world is that personal friendship between Muslims and Christians have become possible and even frequent. More than a century ago when Sir William Muir in India was working on the life of Muhammad he was helped by an Indian scholar, but one has the impression that this did not develop into a personal friendship. Some of the great Islamists of the earlier part of this century had Muslim friends - Ignaz Goldziher, Sir H.A.R. Gibb and above all Louis Massignon, who regarded his recovery of his Christian faith as due in large part to the faith of a Muslim friend.'¹⁴

Watt might well have added to the list of the great three the name of another outstanding scholar, Sir Thomas Walker Arnold (1864-1930) whose perceptive and revolutionary study of Muslim history, culture and faith from its inception has been conspicuously marked by friendships and cordial relations throughout with Muslim believers and Muslim scholars of Islam. And Arnold's remarkable achievements as teacher, author and co-founder of important institutions or undertakings in Islamic studies such as the Encyclopaedia of Islam and the School of Oriental [and African] Studies, London, hardly need to be specially mentioned here.

May I state at the same time, in a preliminary way, my agreement with much that Edward Said in his incisive work *Orientalism*, ten years ago, established as to the essential characteristics of Western study of Islam in general: its powerful structural coherence, its embeddedness in the imperial-colonial structures of Western dominance, its undeniable role as the intellectual side of world-wide Western outreach and conquest and its explicit and implicit 'dogma's as they were conditioned and defined by the peculiar function that orientalist scholarship fulfilled in the given imperial context. And yet, Said's insights do not allow us (and I take it that Said would not like us) to leave untold those outstanding human qualities, scholarly achievements and even prophetic attitudes and insights which are marked by a timeless

quality and whereby orientalists have transcended the conditions of a particular socio-political constellation, i.e. the last phase of world-wide Western and British imperialism.^[2]

Arnold, as a citizen of Great Britain, grew up, was shaped and contributed to as a student of Islam in the British Empire. Nevertheless, much in personal fields of special study, many of scholarly insights and depicted by Said, statements transcended the peculiar effected changes in paradigm and continues to invite and challenge students of Islam today, what ever their religious, cultural and political background and conditioning may be. Already in their obituary on Arnold in 1930, H.A.R. Gibb and Theodore Morison noted: The effect of his teaching, if not its deliberate object, was to awaken and encourage in others that same inward study of Islam which he exemplified in his own work. For dogmatic judgements he always had a word of humorous but devastating application criticism, and nothing repelled him more than the application of a purely scholastic casuistry, uninformed by any touch of human sympathy, to any problem of life or religion.^[3]

I shall try, then, to sketch here in a rough outline the portrait of Arnold as a student of Islam, in other words of Arnold's approach to and conception of Islam's place in a plural world. His early youth and his years as an undergraduate in Cambridge (up to 1888) show him particularly eager and capable in the study of languages, the classical languages Urdu and a Greek and Latin, elements of Sanscrit, Arabic, Persian, Urdu and a host of contemporary European languages (complete command of French, German and Italian, reading knowledge of Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese and Russian) 'all of which', as his close friend Sir Aurel Stein pointed out in his obituary, help to account for the amazing range of historical sources he was able to draw upon in some of his works.^[4]

Aurel Stein rightly singles out a significant Arnold's marked childhood interest in the history of empire and navy as well as his love of the culture and, especially, the pictorial art of the European Renaissance, and, last but not least, his fascination with St. Francis of Assisi, the Little Flowers of whom he translated during his student years. To quote Aurel Stein again...this translated translation, a little classic in style and language, was more than an early exhibition of remarkable literary skill. The choice of its text serves admirably to illustrate those features in Arnold's character which

filled his life with brightness and endeared him to all in the East and in the West who were brought into closer contact with him. Predominant among them were feelings of sympathetic interest and intuitive comprehension for others, of charity combined with rare clearness of vision of human rights and wrongs. Ready at all times to respond to whatever true joys life could offer and to encourage others to share them, he yet appeared to his friends like a modern disciple of St. Francis. Not without reason, later in India, would those gathered in Lahore in a familiar circle round him, call him the 'saint.'^[5]

It was Theodore Beck, through Professor (later Sir) Walter Raleigh, who called Arnold to the staff of the Anglo-Muhammadan College in Aligarh. Starting in 1888 Arnold was to spend almost ten years there. The aim of Aligarh College was to produce a class of Indian Muslims fully equipped to play a leading role in the administration and, increasingly, rule of India, trained to be gentlemen of the kind educated in British Public Schools and at Oxbridge. They were to be at home in the best of their own Muslim culture enriched and interpreted in the light of the values of the West.

In no time young Arnold made friends with leading Muslims there, especially with Shibli Nu'mani (1857-1914), seven years his elder. As David Lelyveld in his remarkable study on Aligarh's First Generation has shown recently - and this fact would seem to be significant precisely for assessing Arnold's preferences - Shibli differed from Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) in his 'underlying assumptions' and 'in the ultimate implications' of his thought, in that he stressed the traditional values of Islam, i.e. no attack on taqlid (i.e. the accepting without question the authority of earlier Muslim jurists in matters of Muslim law); the validity of hadis (Traditions); the leading role of the consensus of the 'ulama.^[6] Yet Sir Syed and Arnold, Lelyveld points out, saw Shibli's values as representing interests of 'old', traditional learning. Although I doubt whether Lelyveld is right in portraying Sir Syed and Arnold as fully agreeing on basic assumptions, Arnold did promote with Shibli and a number of other young Aligarhians, precisely the element of Urdu and other traditional ideals against a superficial infatuation with certain trappings of Western civilisation naively exalted by Sir Syed and others.

At the same time Arnold gave Shibli private lessons in French to enable him to make use of the important contributions by French scholars in editing and commenting on pivotal and hitherto unpublished sources of classical

Islamic history. Thus Shibli and Arnold must indeed be viewed as spokesmen for an opposing sub current at Aligarh. By arguing that English education would be a hollow thing without 'a high national ideal' and that Muslims must have, confidence in 'the grandeur of Islam both of the past and present' both Arnold and Shibli served to confer - as Lelyveld rightly stresses - 'some measure of legitimacy on Aligarh's claim to be a Muslim college as well as a college for Muslims.'^[7]

Arnold's classic study on the spread of Islam and the Muslim missionary activity throughout the ages and continents, *The Preaching of Islam*^[8] was very largely the fruit of his Aligarh years. Its most striking characteristic, in Morison's and Gibb's words, is 'the fact that it is fundamentally a book about Moslems, rather than a book about Islam... the warmth of its tone is dictated by friendship with and esteem for the members of the Muslim community.'^[9] The third edition of *The Preaching of Islam*, published shortly after his death in 1930, carries a tribute by R.A. Nicholson, the outstanding scholar of Sufism, to the person and scholar Arnold, Nicholson endorses Aurel Stein's marvel at Arnold's outstanding feat of collecting and critically using so huge an array of multifarious literary materials at Aligarh, far removed from great libraries and engaged in the daily teaching and administrative work of the college.

Although Arnold, in his own words, 'endeavoured to be strictly impartial, that does not mean,' Nicholson comments, 'that his narrative is strictly impersonal. As from Arabia it carries us in succession through Western Asia, Spain, Persia, India, China and Malaya, we feel beneath its calm surface the depth and force of the convictions which animate it.' The whole book, Nicholson further remarks, 'notwithstanding its historical form and scientific method, is in a sense Arnold's protest against the unfairness and prejudice displayed by the many who have imagined and continue to imagine Islam to have been propagated by the sword alone.'^[10] Nicholson does however also suggest critically that Arnold may well have gone too far, underrating the excesses of Muslim missionary zeal and of the use of force to effect conversions, at least here and there. The numerous reviews of this important work by many of the most famous contemporary scholars of Islam, all praise the unique combination in it of comprehensive information, painstaking research and fine literary presentation in treating a 'peculiarly complicated and contentious subject' (Stanley Lane Poole). Duncan Black

Macdonald summed up the unanimous praise stating that the work 'marks a definite stage in the development of our knowledge of Islam.'^[11]

Arnold's work *The Caliphate*, first published in 1924, the very year when Turkey abolished it, grew out of lectures delivered at the University of London and was based on the researches of a number of orientalisks of continental Europe. The book nevertheless, in Gibb's and Morison's judgement, occupies 'a place apart, as an objective investigation into a historical problem' and 'by the breadth of its survey... forms an outstanding contribution to the political history of Islam.'^[12] No less an authority than Arnold J. Toynbee commented in highly laudatory terms: 'Sir Thomas Arnold's work is so compact that any attempt to give an adequate account of its contents would transform this review into a second-hand paraphrase of the original.' Toynbee singled out two aspects of the work as a particularly original and convincing contribution, viz. the 'formidably documented and powerfully reasoned refutation of the legend that the Ottoman Sultan Selim I caused al-Mutawakkil, the last of the shadowy Abbasid Caliphs at Cairo, to invest him formally with the Caliphate when he conquered Egypt in 1517, and the depiction of the profound transformation of the institution from 875 to 1258, the year of the pervasively devastating Mongol invasion.'^[13]

In the light of Arnold's life-long vivid interest in the pictorial arts in general it is not surprising that, especially during the later phase of his scholarly career, he made a number of substantial contributions to the study of Muslim art. The most outstanding of these is the large and beautifully produced volume *Painting in Islam* (1928) and the Schweich lectures of the British Academy, held during the same year and posthumously published by H.A.R. Gibb in 1932. In the former work Arnold attempted more than an analytical presentation of Islamic painting in its historical sequence: The purpose of the book is rather to indicate the place of painting in the culture of the Islamic world, both in relation to those theological circles who condemned the practice of it, and to those persons who, disregarding the prohibitions of religion, consulted their own taste in encouraging it.'^[14]

'At the back of Arnold's aesthetic appreciation', Gibb and Morison aptly remarked, 'lay a scholar's grasp of social and historical factors which affected the history of Islamic art.'^[15] Arnold showed a special awareness of the size and nature of the Muslim orthodox rejection of sculpture and painting as means of emphasising dogmatic truths or of instructing the unlettered in the

mysteries of the faith.¹¹⁶ 'A pathetic attractiveness attaches to an art', Arnold remarked with regard to the survivals of Sassanian and Manichaean art in Persian painting, 'that has succeeded in keeping itself alive and in exerting an influence, through centuries of neglect, and despite all the destructive forces of war and conquest and the fanaticism of hostile theologians. To every student of art, whatever may be his special interest, it is encouraging to recognise the vitality of the artistic impulse, in forms however remote and unfamiliar, and the survival of the love of artistic expression over the hostile forces of destruction.'¹¹⁷

Concluding his Schweich lectures, Arnold comes back to the same point: 'The interest ... of these pictures consists largely in the evidence they afford of the refusal of artistic tradition to give way before the attacks of ecclesiastical authorities, and the insight they give into the psychology of the Muslim peoples in the various historical periods in which they make their appearance.'¹¹⁸ What, ultimately, attracted Arnold to his persistent endeavour to collect, appreciate and publish Muslim pictorial art was to provide evidence that 'the art of every nation and of every age is of interest as an expression of human personality.'¹¹⁹ Speaks the life-long admirer of the Italian Renaissance and the committed humanist.

However, in order to discern Arnold's view of Islam specifically as religious faith and institution we must turn to his remarkable six penny booklet *The Islamic Faith*¹²⁰ which - written in 1928, towards the end of his life - combines, in Morison's and Gibb's words, 'the most exact scholarship with real insight and understanding.'¹²¹ Let me highlight here just a few notable points made in this pithy, sympathetic and yet not uncritical survey. Right on the second page Arnold corrects the then prevalent 'misleading' way 'to call the Muslim faith Muhammadanism, as though the adherents of it considered Muhammad to be the founder of it ... The name which the Muhammadan world gives to its own faith is Islam - that is, resignation to the will of God.'¹²²

At the same time Arnold knows from his life amidst Muslim friends and communities (especially in Aligarh and Lahore) how 'important for a study of the faith of Islam ... is an appreciation of the attitude of his followers towards him and the place which he has filled in the minds of Muslims in succeeding ages.' This is so because 'Muhammad... becomes the pattern for the devout

life and the exemplar of all virtues, and innumerable anecdotes of his speech and behaviour on all possible occasions were recorded.¹²³

In presenting the essence of Islamic ethics Arnold opposes from Qur'anic evidence (Q 33:35) the 'very common error in European writings on Islam' that maintains that Muslims believe that women have no souls. To the Qur'anic evidence he adds the fact that in Islamic history 'women saints have filled an important place ... and there have been men saints who have, sat at the feet of women saints and have humbly accepted them as their guides in the devout life.'¹²⁴

At a time when under the impact of Ignaz Goldziher's studies on the reliability of hadis even some Muslim scholars of Islam tended to adopt an on-the-whole rather negative view of hadis, Arnold makes it a point to stress 'the fact that they [i.e. the hadis] are accepted as genuine by the theologians of Islam, gives them an importance in the formation of Islamic doctrine and observance which cannot be exaggerated.'¹²⁵

Arnold's familiarity with the lived faith of Islam shows again when, in discussing Islam's teaching on God, he stresses 'the abiding place that the thought of God occupies in the mind of the devout Muslim, 'who is used to filling to pauses in ordinary conversation by the mentioning of God, as the daily speech of Muslims clearly shows. Arnold here also mentions the Muslim rosary 'common from one end of the Muslim world to the other.'¹²⁶

Islam's doctrine of Predestination, Arnold points out, 'is not a doctrine of fatalism, as though the affairs of the world were the result Of a fortuitous concomitation of atoms, but a recognition of the all-embracing activity of the wise and loving Creator.'¹²⁷ Equally remarkable for his day and age is Arnold's depiction of Muslims' life of prayer and devotion, as his account is pervasively marked by a feel for the spirit of Muslim worship and the conviction that this aspect of Muslim life carries lessons for all other believers.

Furthermore, Arnold does not fall into the trap of assimilating unduly his understanding of the faith of Islam to that of the Christian faith which, to some extent at least, separates the realm of religion from that of political society. 'No correct conception of Islam is possible', he writes, 'if it is regarded merely as a body of religious doctrine..., for the circumstances of its origin made it not merely a religion but also an organized political society.

In Medina Muhammad was accepted not merely as the teacher of a creed, but also as the founder of a state.^{128]}Hence, for a proper understanding of the faith of Islam it is important to recognise the place of law in the Islamic system, the Sacred Law of Islam in fact claiming 'to be all-embracing' and concerning itself 'with every department of the life of the believer'.^{129]}

Arnold does not play down the fact that - as he sees it - 'the rapid success of the victorious armies of the first two generations of the faithful and the divine command in the Qur'an (8:39; 9:29) ... bequeathed to later generations the aggressive ambition of making Islam the dominant power in the world and of creating a world-wide empire.'^{130]}However, he presents also the other side of the same coin: the same umma urges every Muslim to 'consider himself to be a member of an ideal society, which is bound ultimately to overcome all hostile forces and make the law of God prevail in the world ...'^{131]}and which acts as 'a constant stimulus' to practise the brotherhood of all Muslim believers (49:10), an ideal succeeding 'in breaking down the barriers of race and country'.³¹ The theorists of Muslim political Law never contemplated, Arnold adds in view of present-day problems, 'the possibility of Muslims having to live under an alien rule.'^{132]}

The limits of time do not allow us here to comment in more detail on Arnold's emphasis on the peaceful methods of Muslim missionary activity through the ages nor on his description of the mystical dimension of Islam which, as he states with - in his day - rare insight 'can be shown to be a natural growth out of the teaching of the Qur'an.'^{133]}

Finally, when commenting on modern developments in Islam, Arnold singles out Sir Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938) who 'in spite of his learning and his wide reading, is no mere echo of other men's ideas but is distinctly an original thinker.' In his 'passionate devotion to the person of Muhammad whom he reverences above all as the Prophet of action', Iqbal sees, - so avers Arnold - 'that the regeneration of the Muslim world will be obtained through vigorous expression of personality and by self-affirmation and self-development.'^{134]}

Allow me to conclude these few observations with a comment on Sir T.W. Arnold's prophetically relevant characterization of the relationship between 'Europe and Islam', as he entitled an essay written in 1922 from which we quote. Arnold there pleads for 'the recognition of common

elements in Christianity and Islam', first in the sphere of the devout life, but, secondly, also on the needed 'emphasis on the fact that the Christian and the Muslim world are both heirs to the same civilization, viz. of ancient Greece and Rome who bequeathed their legacy to both the Christian and Muslim worlds. Arnold concludes this truly ecumenical essay with the plea: 'We must dismiss from our minds the old distinction between East and West. It is a distinction largely based upon ignorance and is now [1922!] out of date, in view of our larger knowledge of the vast complexity which our ignorance used to conceal from us under that easy generalization - the East. Whatever barriers previously existed are now rapidly being broken down, not only those of actual transit which are causing geographical spaces to shrink, but by more rapid and widely diffused communication of ideas... If we are to live in harmony and co-operation with our Muslim fellow subjects [today Arnold would say our Muslim fellow citizens' or, simply 'with one another'] we must come to realize how much more numerous are the points of likeness than those we have hitherto recognized.'^[35]

I am convinced that Sir Muhammad Iqbal would have heartily endorsed this plea of his respected friend and thus we have here a fine summary of what this [Iqbal] Academy tries to practice and to project.

NOTES & REFERENCES

* This is the text of a talk given on the occasion of the 'Sir Thomas Arnold Day' organized by the IQBAL ACADEMY (UK) on Saturday 19 November 1988.

^[1]In: Dennis MacEoin and Ahmad al-Shahi(eds.), *Islam in the Modern World* (London: Croom Helm, 1938), p. 1

^[2]Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), *passim*. See especially the entry 'Orientalism' in the Index of this work.

^[3]Theodore Morison and H.A.R. Gibb, 'Sir Thomas Arnold' in *The Journal of the Central Asian Society* (Oct. 1930), p. 400

^[4]Aurel Stein, 'Thomas Walker Arnold. 1846-1930' in *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London, 1930), p. 7

^[5]*Ibid.*

^[6]David Lelyveld, *Aligarh's First Generation. Muslim Solidarity in British India* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), pp. 244f. and passim.

^[7]Lelyveld, op. cit., pp. 247f.; 248f

^[8]First published in parts in Urdu versions. First published in English in London, 1896; rev. 2nd ed., London, 1913; 3rd. unchanged ed. (posthumously), London, 1930; rpt. Lahore: Ashraf, 1961.

^[9]Morison and Gibb, op. cit., p. 399

^[10]Cf. *The Preaching of Islam*, 3rd. ed. (London, 1930), p. xiv

^[11]Cf. the typescript with extracts from numerous reviews of the work preserved among the unpublished papers of Arnold in SOAS, London.

^[12]Gibb and Morison, op. cit., pp. 399-400

^[13]BSOAS, III (1925), p. 824

^[14]*Painting in Islam* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), Preface.

^[15]Morison and Gibb, op. cit., p. 400

^[16]T.W. Arnold, *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art* [*The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1928*], p. 1

^[17]T.W. Arnold, *Survivals of Sassanian and Manichaeic Art in Persian Painting* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924), p. 23

^[18]*The Old and New Testaments*, p. 47

^[19]*Survivals*, p. 23

^[20]London: Ernst Benn, 1928. pp. 78. Pott. 4 to.

^[21]Morison and Gibb, op. cit., p. 399

^[22]*The Islamic Faith*, p. 6

^[23]*Ibid.*, pp. 8; 9

^[24]*Ibid.* p. 15

^[25]*Ibid.*, p. 17

^[26]*Ibid.*, p. 19

^[27]*Ibid.*, p. 24

^[28]Ibid., p. 38

^[29]Cf. Ibid., p. 41

^[30]Ibid., p. 39

^[31]Ibid., p. 47

^[32]Ibid., p. 50

^[33]Ibid., p. 57

^[34]Ibid., p. 77

^[35]‘Europe and Islam’ in F.R. Martin (ed.), *Western Races and the World* [The Unity Series. v], first publ. 1922; rpt. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968, p. 159

PHOTOGRAPHS





SIR THOMAS ARNOLD: THE FAMILY PERSPECTIVE

MR. ARNOLD R. BARFIELD &
DR. LAWRENCE H. BARFIELD

As surviving descendants of T.W. Arnold, we have few family records or memories of him which could be used to write a full biography of our grandfather, and the most informative account of his life must remain his obituary written for the British Academy, by his dearest friend, the Hungarian-born explorer of Central Asia, Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1932).^[1] Still, we can piece together, from family and other sources, some observations which do provide additional information about his private thoughts, beliefs and political views.

One of us (Arnold) was seven years old when Sir Thomas died in 1930; the other (Lawrence) was not yet born. Arnold, however, still retains a clear impression of him, perhaps not truly ‘memory’, as a kindly, whiskery person, who, when he stayed in his house, was to be visited in a book-lined study. When his grandfather died he was very upset, and our father, later, often expressed surprise at the extent of his grief. So it can be concluded that, even though mentally an academic of distinction, he was able, and wished, to make a relationship with a child.

Looking back, he was obviously ‘different’ from most of his contemporaries, and we can perhaps find other clues to the origins of his attitude to Islam if we look at some of these differences.

He was brought up in an age where children were expected to be ‘seen but not heard’. He was different for, as Arnold’s own small experience of him suggests, he seems to have rejected this axiom. This is evidence of an openness of mind and interest in others, especially the young, which characterized his life.

Apart from this direct memory, we in the family have a few sparse reminiscences retold to us by our mother (Nancy), and two bundles of letters written by Sir Thomas to his wife in England; one series over a four-month period between October 1896 and February 1897 from Aligarh, while his

wife was in England for the birth of their daughter, Nancy, and a second series written from Cairo in 1908.^[2] Another fascinating collection of letters, written to Sir Thomas from a number of famous people, including among others T.E. Lawrence, the Dalai Lama and the explorer Young husband, had been kept by him. Unfortunately, these are no longer in existence as the result of the action of an over-zealous charlady who, noting that the letters seemed rather old, threw them away in the 1950s.

Thomas Walker Arnold was born in Devonport in the County of Devon in 1864. Census returns show that his father and grandfather were ironmongers on Fore Street, the main thoroughfare leading down to the port. The shop was large, employing at the time of the 1851 census seven men, and its main function probably would have been the supply of equipment to sailors and the Navy.

We know that Thomas Arnold had an early desire to become a sailor and that he maintained a lifelong interest in the British Navy and its history (Stein, 1932).^[3]

The family were strict non-conformists, as far back as the 18th century, but Thomas broke with the family tradition even to the extent of cutting off communication with his brothers and parents on account of, what he regarded as, the intolerance of their religious views.

He afterwards kept a personal distant: from religion, while at the same time being academically totally absorbed by it, becoming not only interested in Islam, but also in all kinds of religious sects, both eastern and western. It was this wider interest which led him, while he was in Lahore,^[4] to undertake a translation of *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis* from the Italian, published in 1898, for a series being edited by his old school-friend Israel Gollancz. His own personal beliefs, however, were never clearly defined, although they appear to have been close to those of the Ethical Church, in which he had considerable interest.

His interest in other religions started while he was an undergraduate at Cambridge when he wrote an essay on 'Muhammadanism', which was the seed from which his leading work, *The Preaching of Islam* grew. It all fits into the picture of a radical and 'different' household to observe that his wife May Arnold was herself a woman of independent ideas, who by no means

fitted into the too-familiar character of the typical English memsahib in India, keeping apart from 'the natives' and haughty with servants.

We have less evidence of his political views; and certainly politics were never of major interest to him, even though his position in India as intermediary between the British and Muslim cultures must have required considerable skills of diplomacy. He was, moreover, the first president of the 'Anjuman Urdu' and a member of several Islamic Societies.

His middle class background, in 'trade', may have been a factor in helping him to identify with the Muslims, and he certainly embraced enthusiastically the ideals of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, founder of the Aligarh College, which were: to promote the advancement of Muslim culture and 'regenerate a fallen people'.

His independence of mind in spiritual matters seems to have been a difference between himself and his intellectual and academic colleagues in England; and at least by the time he reached the Indian Sub-continent he seems to have stood apart from the formal religious communities to which most of the other representatives of the colonial power belonged or, paid lip service.

While, to this day, a high proportion of English children are given at least formal entry to Christianity by baptism, and this must have been almost universal in Sir Thomas's youth, there is no record that his daughter, Nancy, our mother, born in 1896, ever underwent this experience; nor, indeed, did she choose it for any of her sons.

On the contrary, Sir Thomas was careful to prevent his daughter being influenced too early in life by formal religious teaching. At the age of four, Nancy's mother was struck down by typhoid, and for four months they were separated. Nancy was looked after in the home of the Principal of the American Presbyterian College at Lahore,^[5] clearly a very religious establishment. When they were re-united, Nancy's mother records, the Principal and his wife had 'kindly respected our wish that nothing should be said to Nancy on religious topics, and she has apparently returned to us with as free and unprejudiced a mind as ever.'^[6]

Later in her record of Nancy's upbringing, her mother notes how she was much impressed by seeing a congregation at prayer in the Badshahi

Musjid^[7] on the last Friday of Ramadan. She said, 'I wish I could do that with a lot of other little children'. Her mother writes: 'I feel her loneliness dreadfully. I know how happy she would be going to Sunday school with the other children, but for her peace in after life I and Toni feel it must be denied her now. Things that we no longer believe must surely be wrong to teach to her'.

But Nancy's upbringing was not free of moral education. From at least the age of four, Sir Thomas read to her every morning some passage from a religious or secular anthology. These were likely to have emphasized the importance of loving others, doing good works in life, but not for hope of reward. There were also readings of poems, especially those about duty to others, and, at another level, the wonders of nature.^[8]

This independence in ethical thought was evidently reflected in T.W. Arnold's choice of wife. May Hickson came from a family of equally independent ideas. Her parents mixed with people of advanced, radical views, and were friendly with some of the leading radicals of their time, including Charles Bradlaugh, the first independent radical member of the British Parliament, and with Mrs. Annie Besant, one of the first British agitators for women's rights. Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant lived openly together, though not married, at the time a very shocking practice, for this was the heyday of Victorian England, when British industry and the British Empire seemed to be the leaders of the world; and when, partly in consequence, there was, at least among the professional and upper classes, great emphasis on conformity around the existing social system and especially around the established Church of England, and its values.

In this his wife was also clearly of the same mind; for in a farewell letter to the Arnold from the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh, written six years after they had left the college and were heading for England, the students write that 'Mrs. Arnold always evinced the liveliest interest in the welfare of the College and the community, and particularly in the advancement and education community who belong to her own sex'.

And in another address from members of the College Club, they remember 'how completely Mrs. Arnold identified herself with the whole "Aligarh Movement", how she 'heartily shared and seconded her husband's

efforts in the cause of the Indian Mussalmans and how 'her reception of the servants⁸ will always be remembered with appreciation and gratitude'.

Thomas Arnold first became interested in Oriental languages under the influence of Professors Cowell and Robertson Smith while a student at Cambridge between 1883 and 1887. His wide study of non-course subjects, especially languages, which included not only Sanskrit and Arabic but also Provençal, put his studies for his Classical Tripos under somewhat of a strain, so that he eventually only obtained a third class degree. It was directly from Cambridge, however, that he was recruited, by his college^[9] friend Walter Raleigh (later Sir Walter Raleigh) to the staff of the Anglo-Mohammedan College at Aligarh, as a lecturer in Philosophy, in 1888 - exactly a hundred years ago today.

His energies, as we all know, were primarily directed towards academic research and the teaching of his students; and it was probably the intellectual stimulation that he found among his Muslim colleagues at Aligarh, rather than any political, ideals, that made him feel more at home in their company than in the more Philistine British social scene in India. In order to identify more closely with the students, he even adopted Muslim dress while teaching at Aligarh. This must have been quite a brave action in British India of the 1890s, and we would like to know what reaction it evoked among the British community.^[10]

Lelyveld, in his book on Aligarh as it was at the end of the last century (Lelyveld, 1978),^[11] describes Arnold in Aligarh as a man of shy, scholarly temperament. However, his ability communicated as a teacher, and the warm friendships he established with both staff and students at Aligarh and Lahore were praised and acknowledged by all. A letter written to *The Times* in 1930^[12] records that: "Where others saw dullness he found interest, and could make the interest general. Himself a fascinating talker, he had the rarer gift of inspiring his hearers to talk well, so that each went away with the pleasant, if erroneous, sense of being brilliant". Some of his friends, such as Iqbal and Shibli, were themselves great intellectuals; but as they acknowledge, Arnold's gift of teaching served to inspire them as well.

While at the Anglo-Mohammedan College, his interest shifted from Sanskrit to Arabic, possibly under the influence of Shibli. The two men developed a close working partnership. Arnold helped Shibli locate European

source, taught him some French, and acquainted him with the conventions of English scholarship, while Shibli was Arnold's major guide to Arabic literature.^[13] According to Stein "This was the British-Muslim friendship of Sayyid Ahmad's dreams, and he^[14] helped both of them obtain books and manuscripts for their research. He also made sure they were known to the scholarly world and that their writings were published'. In a letter written to his wife in London in November 1896 Arnold describes Shibli's philosophical reaction to a burglary at his home, when he expressed thanks that the burglar was not a scholar, otherwise he would have lost his most precious possessions - his books.

Other scholars with whom he had a deep friendship, besides Sir Sayyid himself, included Nawab Mohsinul Mulk. In one of the letters written home in 1896 Arnold recalls a discussion in which Mulk Jestingly reproached Arnold for "traducing his religion" in his book *The Preaching of Islam*, which had just been published. "His religion, he said, according to the Maulavis,^[15] had flourished under the shadow of the sword, whereas Arnold, under the heretical influence of Syed "Sahib, had said that it was not spread by the sword".

Sir Syed^[16] at the same meeting solemnly shook his head and said to Arnold that it was a pity he was not a Muslim.^[17]

The family story has it that, in fact, he was on the point of converting to Islam when he met his future wife, May Hickson. She 'saved him', as she put it.

In a book written by his colleague at Aligarh, and later Principal of the College, Theodore Morison, he (Morison) may have been thinking of 'TWA' when he suggested that modern teaching at colleges in India was too distant and should be encouraged to develop more towards the personal relationship between teacher and pupil characteristic of the 'pundits and Maulavis of old days'. It must be admitted, however, that an important motivation behind this proposal was the need to counteract growing disaffection among the population of India. (Morison, 1899; p. 116)^[18]

T.W. Arnold's move to Lahore in 1898, as Professor of Philosophy at the Government college,^[19] was apparently prompted by the difficulties the European Staff had at Aligarh College after the death^[20] of Sir Sayyid Ahmad

Khan. We, unfortunately, have practically no details of this period of his life, since no letters survive and thus there is no family documentation of his early contacts with Iqbal. Stein suggests that at Lahore it was more difficult for him to develop the same close relationships with his students that he enjoyed at Aligarh. It was also a period when he published less than before or afterwards.

His decision finally to return to England in 1904 was a clearly difficult one; but he made the move to a less well paid and less prestigious position as Assistant Librarian at the India Office Library for the sake of the education of his daughter, who was then seven years old.

In 1909 he was selected by the India Office to be Education Adviser or Indian students in England, a commitment which he undertook with such dedication and, according to Theodore Morison, with well-nigh saintly unselfishness, that it eventually earned him a knighthood, and it was in that capacity that he was able again to assist Iqbal.^[21] In 1921 he was appointed to the Chair of Arabic at University College, London.

His later association with Iqbal is unfortunately as undocumented by our family as the first encounter in Lahore. All that exists is a letter Iqbal wrote in 1911 to my mother in England when she was thirteen, recalling her instruction of his in the names of English flowers, and one or two postcards.^[22]

In his later life back in Europe, Arnold's research interest turned more towards Islamic Painting. He had always been passionately fond of the early Italian Renaissance art, and he was clearly inspired by the same bright clear colours which were to be found in Islamic painting. In the preface to his book *Painting in Islam* he states its purpose as being to "indicate the place of painting in the culture of the Islamic world both in relation to those theological circles which condemned the practice, and to those persons who, disregarding the prohibitions of religion, consulted their own tastes in encouraging it".

He was particularly interested in the influences which led to the development of Islamic painting from Sassanian, Chinese and Christian sources. His fascination for the link with Christian traditions reflected his earlier interests in the relationship between Islam and the West, and he devoted a series of lectures to the subject which were posthumously

published as *The Old and New Testaments in Muslim Religious Art*. On the other hand his editorship of the *Legacy of Islam*, and the short article he wrote for it on 'Islamic art and its influence on painting in Europe', show his interest in the opposite current of influence: the influence of Islam on the West.

Sir Thomas Arnold is held to be the first person to awaken interest in this style of painting in Europe, and was engaged on the preparations for the Persian Exhibition at the Royal Academy held in 1931 when he died. The official guide for this exhibition was dedicated to his memory.

NOTES & REFERENCES

**Editorial comments added by Chairman, Iqbal Academy (UK)*

^[1]M-A. Stein, 1930. Thomas Walker Arnold, 1864-1930, Proceedings of the British Academy, XVI

^[2]It was during this time that Iqbal deputized for him to teach Arabic at the University College, London. -Ed.

^[3]M-A. Stein, 1932. Thomas Walker Arnold, Proceedings of the British Academy, XVI

^[4]Where he arrived in 1898. -Ed.

^[5]According to the official history of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu (,j jvf), Professor Arnold was its first President. -Ed.”

^[6]Presumably, the Forman Christian College, Lahore - Ed.

^[7]Badshahi (Imperial) Mosque at Lahore. - Ed.

^[8]The reference is to the members and office-bearers of the 'Duty Club' of the College. -Ed.

^[9]Magdalene College, Cambridge. -Ed.

^[10]According to Mr Arnold Barfield, who visited Aligarh in the spring of 1989 (and where he was greatly honoured), this 'brave action' of Professor Arnold's (i.e. adoption of Muslim dress) is still recalled by the staff of that university today. -Ed.

^[11]Lelyveld, 1978. *Aligarh's First Generation*, Princeton University Press.

^[12]On Arnold's death. -Ed.

^[13]Shibli, we believe, gave Arnold lessons in Arabic. -Ed.

^[14]i.e., Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan. -Ed.

^[15]The term is usually reserved for Muslim scholars or divines; here Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, apparently, applies it to Christian scholars (or, possibly, to Muslim theologians, as a witticism, for Arnold starts the sentence by saying 'He [the Nawab] was very amusing'). -Ed.

^[16]Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's first name is variously spelled as 'Syed' or 'Sayyid'. -Ed.

^[17]T.W. Arnold. -Ed.

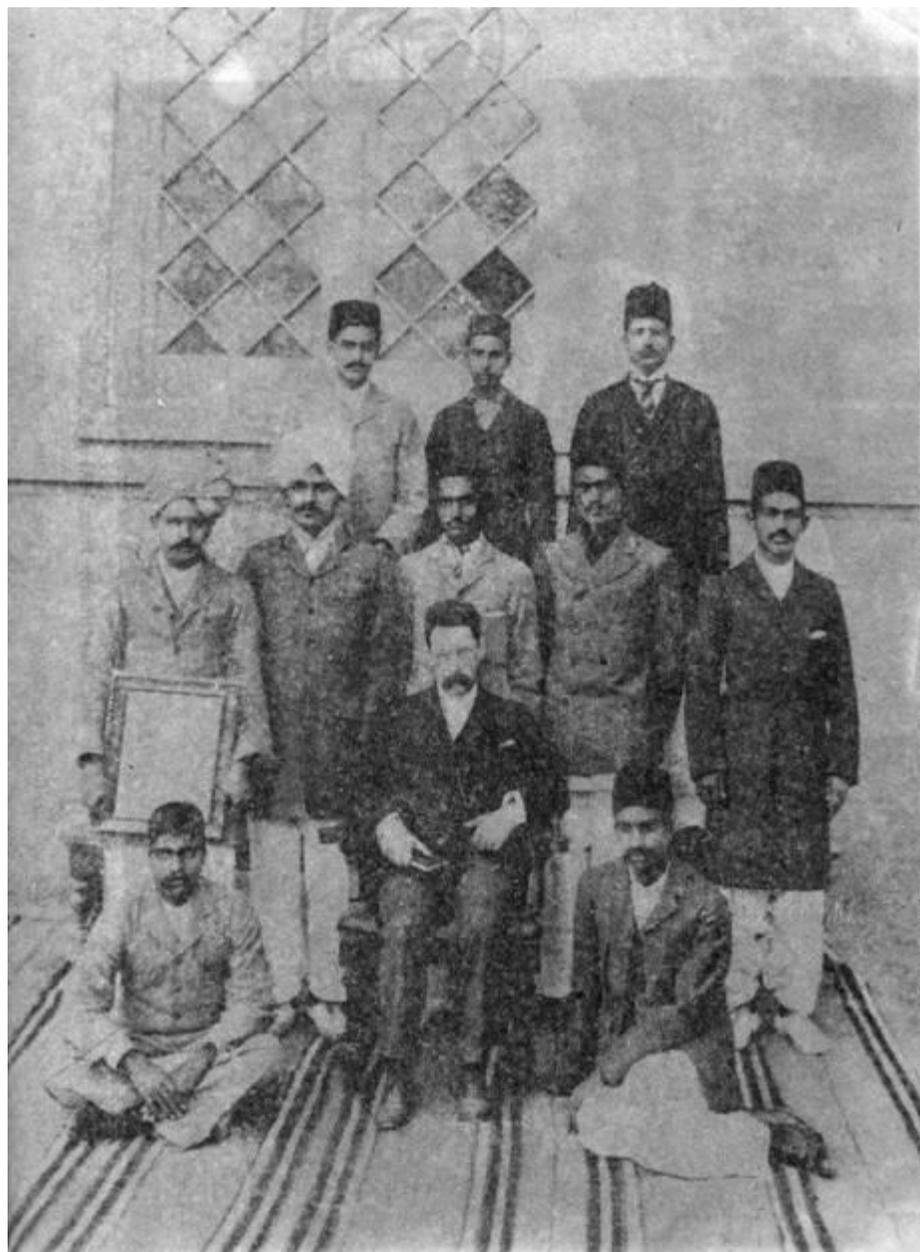
^[18]T. Morison, 1899. Imperial Rule in India, Archibald Constable, London.

^[19]Arnold, also acted as the principal of the Oriental College at Lahore. -Ed.

^[20]In 1898, -Ed.

^[21]Although Professor Arnold did assist Iqbal in many ways during the latter's stay in Europe (1905-1908), Iqbal, in fact, returned to India in July 1908. -Ed.

^[22]Iqbal's letter of condolence to Lady Arnold, expressing profound grief at Sir Thomas's death in June 1930, and paying him handsome tribute, has also survived in the special album (of messages, etc.) prepared by the deceased's family. Incidentally, since the present speech was made at the 'Arnold Day', Mr Arnold Barfield has unearthed three postcards written by Iqbal to Professor Arnold during the period 1906-7 (one from Cambridge and two from Munich). These have been included in a recent paper on Iqbal's Munich and Cambridge activities, written by the present editor (Dr S.A. Durrani). -Ed.





VALEDICTORY ADDRESS (1904)

Muhammdan Anglo Oriental College, Aligarh



بخدمت

ہاجد ارکان و اموزگارگان و دانش اندوزان این دارالعلوم

امروز باین داعیہ فراہم آمدہ ایم کہ شمارہ دین ششم کہ رو برون وارد با کمال تسخ و اندود العواع
گلوبم و منجھ از ان منت با یکیران بر شماریم کہ جسم در روزگار اقامت اینجا دم پس
از ان از شمار ما سبند دل پودہ است، لبند پایگاما! از آغاز کار کہ سرشتہ اموزگار
پست نما سپردند، بزرگترین اندیش کہ شمارا پیش نهاد خاطر بود. ان بود کہ دانش
نہ بین اندانش و اگبی بہرہ دور پودہ باشند بگذر فرغ میکو کرداری و فہمندہ خوبی و
درست کاری و آرزوم جوی ہم از ناصیہ حال شان سپید باشد۔ لطف و مہر شمارا کجا
رساید کہ اوستنادی و شمارودی از میان برخاست، و پوری و فہم زندگی در میان آمد
و چون مستلمان را چونند ارادت باشما حکم گشت، مہرچہ از زبان شمار می اد خود در
دل شان جاسیت میگرفت۔

چون شمارا بخت و اختیار محسوس شد کہ بسیاری از مستلمان را تہمتی و کم ہنگامی
سدرا تہمتیم بیارید شمار دل ببرد آمد و این اثر در سبکہ انجمن الفاضلین پیدای گرفت
و راست اینست کہ اگر نہ با و این انجمن در میان بودی بیشتر و را از سہ با مستکان ان

دارالعلوم پیاپہ کامرانی برٹش ان میر نموش

یکم از جلد انار حمیدہ شام مجلس انخوان اجناس است کہ امر فرہ بہنونی او بہ
از دانش آموزان در حین آرائی و نکتہ پرایی و بہ بصرہ گوی و نکتہ ملزازی بابتہ او از نگینی دار
آوخ کہ چون این مجلس از فیض بہت شام محروم ماند گری شامہ انس فروشت بشوہ
حقیقتش از ہم گہیخت۔

کوششہای بے اندازہ شام کہ پوستہ در ترفی دادن کالج بروی کار آمد۔ ہرگز
کمز از ان نبودہ است کہ از بزرگترین ارکان کالج رونمودہ است۔

تکلف تر آن کہ بآن کہ چہ سال است کہ نیز نگینی سپہر شام از علی گڈہ بریدہ و
پنجاب برو باز ہم از مہر و التفات شام چہری کم نشد۔ و جوش بادیہ دوستی فروزہ
در پنجاب ہرگز نہ کوشش و جہد جو کہ برای علی گڈہ کالج بروی کاری آمد شام در وہرہ و ہنرہ
خطو کافی بودہ است۔

کتاب دعوت اسلام کہ فروختہ شد خاصہ بہت طسہ از شام است۔ اسلامیان ا
صد گوینت از ہر گردن است؛ از وہرہ باز ہمہ یورپ را این اندیشہ باطل ترا گرفتہ بود کہ
اسلام را ارتدیح و خجہ و سنباری نمیکرد کارش این ہمہ بالا نحو کشید و کلین کہ غمخہ و چوہر شہ

شگفتنی پرمرد -

دعوت اسلام بجهت ماعروشن این اندیشه را اینج برکنده اشکال ساخت که سندی و
زنگی - روی و شامی - قطبی و اولغی - ترک و تاجیک - با هم میگرد و طایفه که اسلام را
گردن بفرمان نباد، نه از بیم جان و نه به تیغ و سنان بود، بلکه از آن بود که از یک سو
رهنمونان اسلام - بیکو کرداری و از هم جوی مردم را بسوی خود میکشیدند، و از دیگر سو
عقاید اصول اسلام - از بس بدای و سادگی و آسان و زنی خود در دل ما جا میکرد -
پایان سخن همه از روی و خواهش ما آنست که داور و ادارت ما از هر گونه کامرانی با
بهره مانجند، و خاتون کلام، و دختر نیک اختر شما از هر جهت و آویز شو محفوظ و مصون
دارد - آمین آمین -

H.E. MR. SHAHJAD

طوقی

محررانجام
زیانین

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شیخ عبدالقادر

محمد یوسف

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CLOSING ADDRESS

H.E. MR. SHAHARYAR M. KHAN

The text of the address by H.E. The Ambassador of Pakistan has been edited and annotated by Dr. Saeed Durrani from a tape-recording (transcribed by Mrs. E.A. Shinn).

Mr. Chairman Dr. Saeed Durrani, your Worship Lord Mayor of Rugby, distinguished guests, fellow guests, ladies and gentlemen. It is a very great pleasure and honour for me to be present here today in order to celebrate and share in Iqbal Academy's reverence and appreciation for the memory of Sir Thomas Arnold.^[1]

Before I say a few words on this august subject I would like to say how much I appreciate, and greatly value, the gatherings that Dr. Saeed Durrani has organized over these last two years. I remember last year the meeting was a memorable one. We had some very eminent speakers, so eminent that I had asked Saeed, my old friend, to make a pamphlet. And when he said he would, and took a little time doing it, we decided to make one ourselves and we sent out this speech. We sent it round to our community all over Britain to show the kind of work that is being done by the Iqbal Academy in appreciation of Iqbal, Iqbaliyat, and a tremendous commitment [that it has] to national unity and to an understanding of what Pakistan is: its ethos, its background, its history. So I would, really, from the bottom of my heart, like to congratulate you, Saeed, for the wonderful (clapping)... for the wonderful spirit in which you have organized these functions. May you succeed, continue to succeed, in projecting the rays of Allamah Iqbal's thoughts and ideas that have illuminated not only Pakistan, not only our neighbours, not only the Islamic world, but throughout the world, where his name lives in great eminence and great reverence (prolonged clapping).

Today we have been very honoured to have heard equally eminent speakers. The addresses have been truly outstanding, and I think I would be remiss if I weren't to mention Dr. Christian Troll and the generations of Sir Thomas's children,^[2] grandchildren and great-grandchildren who have been with us today, to give such a human touch and such a deep insight not only into the thoughts and ideas of Sir Thomas Arnold but also how it came about that he lived a life which eventually led to so much fulfillment for the

people of Pakistan and the Islamic world. We also learnt the background of how he began his youth, he matured, he went abroad, his beliefs, his thoughts, his family connections, his letters. This is an ethos which I think, is a very valuable insight into Iqbal and his early development. Dr. Saeed Durrani has, for instance, told us how greatly Sir Thomas had influenced Iqbal, his modes of thought, and his whole career.

Before I go any further, may I remark how very much I appreciate this very large turnout here today from the people around Birmingham who have continuously appreciated and supported Iqbal Academy. And also let me say how very much we appreciate it, Lord Mayor, Councillor James Shera, that you are with us here from Rugby. Let me say a few words about him. He is not only a Lord Mayor, not only a young Lord Mayor, but I think you should know that his election in Rugby was a rare one. It was rare in the sense not because he's a Pakistani, but rare in the sense that everyone, Conservatives, Liberals, Labour, when he came up for election, they all unanimously elected him - which is very rare 'and which shows... (clapping)... and which shows the high esteem in which the people of Rugby hold him.

Lastly I would like also to welcome Dr Ansari, Now Dr Ansari and I have an old and common bond; her father was my teacher, and he was one of the great Arabic scholars of undivided India, later Pakistan. Her father was someone who always told me that I have several daughters but the most brilliant of them is Atiyya^[3]... (clapping)... You will be proud to know that she is herself, in her own right, a very great scholar of Arabic. She has written a great deal on Arabic poetry; she has been a professor at Riyadh University^[4]; she is now teaching at Karachi University. She has a fluency in Arabic which is unmatched in Pakistan, I can tell you; and it really is a privilege to have her with us. She is here (in the U.K.) to give a few lectures; but her lectures are very erudite and very long. So we have asked her to limit herself to simply a poem today;^[5] but I am sure, later on, we will have the privilege and pleasure of listening to her and to her thoughts.

A few words, if I may now add, concerning Sir Thomas Arnold: and I will not be very long in my speech; but I will say something about the importance of today's meeting: the spirit of today's meeting. You will be able to appreciate it if I give you two, two anecdotes of my life, which you will, perhaps not early on, relate easily to Sir Thomas Arnold; but later on the link will be there.

The first one dates back, Saeed, to the time when we came down [from Cambridge], and after university you stayed on and you continued your research. I came back, after Cambridge, and came to Karachi and joined a British firm. I was waiting for my results of the examination for the Foreign Service, that I had taken, and during the interim period of six to eight months I joined a British Company. I remember one day that, soon after I had joined as an executive, I was invited by the Chief of that firm to a cocktail. In those days, British firms, with British Sahibs and Mem sahibs, gave cocktails for Pakistani executives, etc. I was invited, and in the evening we were expected to dress in dinner Jackets in those days - I am talking of 1956 or thereabouts. And I told a friend of mine; I said to him, "Look, I have been working here three months, and in the evening it is hot; they have asked for dinner jackets; I am going to go to this cocktail in my shirwani".^[6] And he looked at me and he said, "Look, you can't do that." I said, "Why?" He said, "You see, the company, the Burro Sahibs,^[7] they are the British people who own this company. They belong to the Sind Club, where no Pakistani is allowed... um... and you simply cannot go in a shirwani." I said, "Look, I work for them, I know. During the day I put on a tie; I will do all the right things; but in the evenings, I am a Pakistani. I have just come from Cambridge, where I have lived for several years; I have lots of British friends. I belong to rugby clubs and cricket clubs, where they drink beer and all sorts of things. I don't drink, but they respect me for my beliefs and for my religion. And I know the British people, they are not like that; they will not misunderstand me. I will go in my shirwani." So that night I went in my shirwani - and two or three months later I left that company, thank God... (laughter)... and I joined the Foreign Office.

Now it left a mark on me, that, because I had lived in Britain, I knew the British people. I had known that they really respect you if you do not drink beer or do not drink this or that, or you believe in your religion: if you believe in your ideas, if you believe in your background, they respect you more. And I keep saying this all the time, while I am here now as an Ambassador. And, therefore, the attitude that was being projected to me of the Burra Sahib was totally out of kilt with the attitude of the true Englishman, of the true Scott, that I knew from here, and all the more reason why it made me put on that shirwani.

Now I take you forward over a thirty year span, and here is the other extreme - here is the other extreme. Three days ago I got a letter, I got a letter in my post and it said as follows. It was from a 70 year old lady, a widow, and it said: "Dear Ambassador,

I am the widow of... so and so..." I will not give you the name, because I am sure she would want to remain anonymous. She said that, "My husband was in the British army; he served in the northern parts of what is now Pakistan. He had lived there with the Frontier Scouts for years and years, and when independence came to Pakistan he was not satisfied with the way in which he was being instructed by the British army in those days, as he was leaving; and so he decided to resign. And he resigned and he stayed on with the Scouts which were now all Pakistani, and served with them for many years: four, five or six years, after independence. Not only that; with his Pakistani friends he began campaigns which led to the full independence and full liberation of this extreme northern part of what is now Pakistan. And in the full liberation of this territory he had co-operated with the Pakistani people, with the northern Scouts."

Now this lady went on to say that, "I was very sad when I went back to Pakistan and I read the history that the regiment had written about those days, [to find] that my husband's name had not been mentioned at all. He was not there: he had been erased from the memory of the regiment as though his contribution was not there!"

Now I have given you these two anecdotes of my personal experience for the one reason which is important, I think, today.

And that is that Pakistan and Pakistanis have a very important relationship with this country. Pakistan and Pakistanis is people who must recognize, in a mature way, those who have contributed to Pakistan. Those people who have, over the years, been true friends of Pakistan, and there are many of them. And let us not put a veil over the memory of these great people: it does not behave an independent and mature nation to do this. Let us not erase the memory of that man who helped us on the northern frontier. Let us not put a veil over his exploits; let us be big enough to understand that there were many people, then, as today, who are genuinely and sincerely friends of the Pakistani People Friends of Islam. Let there not be this thought that a country as young as Pakistan, having wrested

independence in such a dramatic manner as we did through the thoughts of Allamah Iqbal, through the courageous fights of Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah [would forget those who helped it]. We achieved independence. Many people doubted that we'd be able to preserve this independence; many people felt in our neighbourhood, and even here, that this was a flash in the pan, and that it would soon be over. But a nation which has established itself has the right to feel proud, has the right to be a little headstrong, has the right to say that we have arrived on our own. We had nothing then, not tanks, no desks, no telephones, no engineers, no doctors, no bankers, no infrastructure, nothing: we had less than scratch. And yet we've made it; we've made it in spite of Bangladesh. Such a nation is there in truth: a nation that is now fully mature, that believes in itself; but, in believing in ourselves, let us not forget those who have genuinely helped us.

...(prolonged clapping)...

Sir Thomas Arnold was one such person. There are others, I mean, think about them: this is an exercise that we can all indulge in. Sir Mortimer Wheeler^[8] what a great man! Look [also] at the number of headmasters that we've had: British headmasters, who stayed on, who won't come back here. They want to teach at Lawrence College, Ghora Gali; Abbotabad; Aitchison College. [These were the] people who would not go back, just because they wanted to teach where they had dedicated their lives. I don't know if many of you know Mr. Catchpole. Mr. Catchpole, he used to teach me in Dehra Doon. Thirty years later I find him, at the age of 75, still teaching in Abbotabad. He's not a headmaster now, he says, "No, no, I'm too old to be headmaster; but I continue to go on teaching."

There are lots of people, Catchpoles - people like that. There is Auchinleck^[9], who did so much for our army. Professor Arberry^[10], Dr Schimmel^[11], great thinkers, great friends of Pakistan. It is these people whom we must raise above that morass of people that I saw at that Sind Club, who wanted to invite me. They are not representative. Although the memories always give you images of colonial types, yet the truth is that you have to look beyond that: if you are a mature people, you have to look beyond that. And what we have done today is to celebrate the memory of a man who was a true friend of Islam, a true friend of Allamah Iqbal, and really, therefore, a true friend of Pakistan. Because of his influence on Allamah Iqbal not only intellectually, but in the manner, in his demeanour -

in his personal demeanour -, in his personal contacts, in his day-to-day dealings with Allamah Iqbal, he was someone who really helped formulate Allamah Iqbal's thoughts and ideas, and I think it is very important therefore that we should, as we have done today, revere his memory, think of what he did, think of the bridge that he built.

For instance, it came to me during Dr. Troll's brilliant speech today, it came to me that he is the bridge really between Allamah Iqbal and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. These are points in our national history, but the linkages sometimes are rather shaky and grey. And here, for the first time, I was able to find a true linkage between great men who have given us the concept of what is today Pakistan: the Pakistan I described to you a few minutes ago, which has gone through great vicissitudes, great doubts, and yet has come, as a young nation, to play its full part not only in the region, not only in the Islamic world, but, insha Allah, in the entire world.

It is this maturity which is vitally important. It is this maturity that has given us only a few days ago an election¹²² free of any incidents, an election in which [there was] not one complaint of rigging, an election which has taken place after many many years, when people wondered what kind of violence might engulf Pakistan. And yet, not only on Election Day, but for weeks, if not months before, there have been processions up and down the towns and villages without a single shot, without any violence. Now this... (clapping)... it is this maturity that is important for us, for us as a young nation. We are headstrong, we are in a hurry, we want to make up a lot of leeway. But unless we stop, and think, and ponder, and meditate, this maturity' will not come to us easily. It is functions like today's when we can stop and think of our friends, those who have influenced us, those who have been sincere to us, those who have helped us along, that we can begin to think of those, even today, now, who are doing a similar task. I have mentioned Dr. Schimmel; there are so many in the academic world here in London, in America; in Western Germany, in Australia. There are so many who are helping [us]; let us hold their hand and work with them, because there is nothing wrong, there is no shame in learning from people who are not entirely of your own ilk. So if that regiment has written that little piece of history without, to that man, I think it's a shame: he should be acknowledged. And let us not feel ashamed to acknowledge the greatness amongst us. And Sir Thomas Arnold was a great man. We have revered him today: he was a great eminence, he

was a man who gave light, who was a man of great humanity, whose work and whose personal conduct is such that we need to have Days in which, like today, the Iqbal Academy should dedicate itself to the memory of Sir Thomas Arnold.

I would like to thank you for listening to me. These thoughts have come out of my heart. I share them with you. And I would like to say how very much I look forward to the transcripts of today's deliberations and speeches. The transcripts, alas, will not have the beautiful portrait that has been given to us^[13], and we would like very much to have perhaps photographs of it's so that we are reminded. The transcripts will also not have the beauty of the voice of those who have come and spoken to you here, and particularly, if I may say so, of Dr Christopher Lamb, whose English translations of Iqbal's poetry^[14] have been really moving; and alas this will not come out in the transcript, but I think we can pay tribute to the brilliant manner in which these were rendered today.

With these words, once again, may I say, thank you for having this Thomas Arnold Day on Iqbal Day; thank you for inviting me, thank you for listening patiently; and thank you above all for the manner in which you have started a tradition, which I hope you will continue year after year.

Thank you very much indeed. (prolonged clapping)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

^[1]The Proceedings of the 'Iqbal and Mysticism' Seminar, referred to by His Excellency, have, since, come out as the winter 1988 issue of the Iqbal Review, Pakistan (29, No. 3, pp. 1-26, 1988). -Ed

^[2]No Children were, in fact, present. However, a two-year old maternal grandson of Arnold Barfield (Sir Thomas's eldest grandson), who was present at the meeting with his mother, did represent the fifth generation of Sir T. Arnold. -Ed.

^[3]Dr. Mrs. Atiyya Ansari -Ed.

^[4]In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia -Ed.

^[5]Dr. Ansari had, earlier in the proceedings, recited the poem entitled: 'In memory of Arnold' (نالہٴ فراق (آرنلڈ کی یاد میں), written by Iqbal in 1904 to

commemorate Arnold's departure from India to England. - Ed.

^[6]High-necked tunic, with a column of front buttons; a formal Pakistani dress. -Ed.

^[7]The 'white chiefs' or big bosses. - Ed.

^[8]The great British archaeologist who is famous, among other things, for his work on the ancient megapolis, Mohenjo Daro, in southern Pakistan -Ed.

^[9]Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck, the first Commander -in Chief of the armies of independent Pakistan -Ed.

^[10]Professor Arthur J. Arberry, Sir Thomas Adams' Professor of Arabic at the university of Cambridge, who has extensively translated oriental poetry and prose, including several Persian works of Iqbal -Ed.

^[11]Professor Annemarie Schimmel, one of the foremost western scholars of Islamic Sufi and metaphysical literature living today. She has extensively translated into German (and written books in German and English on) the poetical works of, amongst others, the great 13th century mystic, Jalal-ed-Dine Rumi, and Iqbal. - Ed.

^[12]The Ambassador was referring to the first free national elections held in Pakistan on 17th November 1988. -Ed.

^[13]The special portrait of Sir Thomas Arnold, commissioned by the Academy from the distinguished Pakistani artist, Shaikh M. Saeed, and inaugurated by H.E. The Ambassador at the beginning of the day's proceedings. This, together with another portrait of Professor Arnold in the robes of an Islamic scholar at Aligarh University, has been donated by the artist to the Iqbal Academy (UK). - Ed.

^[14]The translation, from both Persian and Urdu poetry of Iqbal, had been made by Dr. S.A. Durrani, and recited by Dr C. Lamb in his inimitable style. It may be worth recording here that a complete video film of the Arnold Day Proceedings was made, to professional standards, and has been preserved in the Academy's archives. -Ed.

CLOSING SPEECH

Dr. S. A. DURRANI

Thank you very much, Your Excellency, for your excellent speech. I am very encouraged that Shaharyar Muhammad Khan has taken so much trouble on a successive November day to come all the way from London to be with us. As His Excellency said, the Proceedings of that last Symposium, 'Iqbal and Mysticism' - as he had very kindly then proposed that we should prepare a compendium of it - is now in fact in press, and the Iqbal Review in Lahore will be bringing it out. It will be, it is supposed to be, the October 1988 issue. So far we haven't received it; but I can assure you that it is in press and should soon see the light of day.'

Similarly, as you, Sir, have said today [that] we should produce these Proceedings, I am very much hoping that these' will be preserved; and we shall indeed put some photographs [together]; and we have made some [tape-] recordings and also a video. So the beauty of the voice of Christopher Lamb, and the beauty of the portrait, will be preserved, and I'm very glad that these will be kept on a historical basis.

I was especially moved by the point you made, Sir, about these bridges between famous, important landmarks, or whatever the metaphor should be - that Pakistan has come about through the great works of these few people. And of these few people, the first we usually mention is Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who was reviving the fallen nation of the Muslims in India in the 19th century. So, Sir Syed inspired Sir Thomas Arnold; and Sir Thomas Arnold, again, inspired Iqbal: and Iqbal in fact inspired Jinnah. He wrote to Mr Jinnah' and said: You are the man who should lead the Muslims of India to their goal. It's a very pertinent point that you made here, Sir.

Similarly, if I may just say one more word about people like Annemarie Schimmel. As you so rightly said, we should be proud of those great Orientalists, those great scholars of all nationalities and religions, who have contributed to the scholarship and tradition of our great continent, and our great religion, and the Islamic world in general. And, today, perhaps, [I should specially mention] Annemarie Schimmel. whom I had to privilege of meeting

only last Saturday,⁵ again, in Brussels. And I am very pleased on this occasion to announce that we have, in fact, founded the Iqbal Foundation Europe, and she is our first president (clapping) and this Foundation has been launched.⁶ I am always impressed by Professor Schimmel - she has written 50 books, and any human being who can write 50 books, I take my hat off to that person. And I am quite sure that she will one day be revered just as much [as Sir Thomas Arnold today]. And she in fact mentioned Christian Troll at Brussels, saying: "I consider him as my own son".⁷ So we have many such examples here today, of these close relationships of Islamic scholarship.

So, finally, I am very thankful to you, Sir, for taking the trouble to come. And to you, Your Worship, Lord Mayor of Rugby, Mr James Shera, to grace us with your presence. We are very proud of you, and I hope that you will keep doing good work and bring great credit both to your original homeland and to your present one. Similarly, I must thank once again Sir Thomas Arnold's family: Lawrence Barfield, his wife Marylane Barfield, Arnold Barfield and his daughter and grandson, and master [Sebastian]⁸ Barfield, and Abigail⁹ here, and the (at this moment, temporarily) missing fifth generation.

Also I am very thankful to the young schoolboy⁹ who recited Iqbal's prayer (° • / r

I would also like to take this opportunity of thanking all the members of the Iqbal Academy and its Management Committee, who have done a great deal of work to bring about a successful day today here. And I must not forget to mention the Pakistan Students' Society, of which the President, Mr Majeed, is sitting there. They have, in fact, been very helpful in making all the arrangements here in the Union, since we are in a way their guests, because this is the Students' Union (clapping)

With these words, your Excellency, I would like to draw the formal part of this meeting to a close, and to say that all of you are most welcome to have a cup of tea and some refreshments, which are being served in Committee Room 4. And there, indeed,

Dr Lawrence Barfield and Arnold Barfield have brought some _memorabilia, the paintings, the books, and portraits of Sir Thomas [for exhibition]. And may I mention that Mr Salimuddin Qureshi has arrived with a big bundle of some other rare books [of Arnold's] from the India Office

Library - because, as I said, Sir Thomas Arnold was, for seventeen years, the Assistant Librarian of the India Office Library. So we are very grateful to you, Sir,¹⁰ that you have come today and brought some more of these important books with you.

And with these words, I would like to thank all the audience for your very patient and exemplary attention and interest that you have maintained in today's proceedings.

Thank you very much indeed.

NOTES & REFERENCES

1. Held at the University of Birmingham on 7th November 1988 -Ed.

2. The Proceeding have now come out as a Special Issue of the Iqbal Review (Winter 1988, Volume 29, No.3, pp. 1-26), published by the Iqbal Academy Pakistan. -Ed.

3. I.e., Proceedings of Sir Thomas Arnold Day, -Ed.

4. Quaid-i-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan -Ed.

5. 12 November, 1988 -Ed.

6. The Foundation, launched through the vigorous efforts of Mr Toheed Ahmad, Cultural Counsellor, Pakistan Embassy, Brussels, has as its two Vice-Presidents: Professor R. Anciaux (Free University of Brussels) and Dr S.A. Durrani; and as its Secretary: Mr Shafiq Naz. -Ed.

7. Dr Christian Troll's father is the Rector of Bonn University, where Dr. Schimmel is a professor of religion. -Ed.

8. Dr Lawrence Barfield's children. -Ed.

9 Master Shaukat Fail of Moseley School, Birmingham. - Ed.

10. Mr Salimuddin Qureshi.